1609/1482

THE

Fourth Volume

OF

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

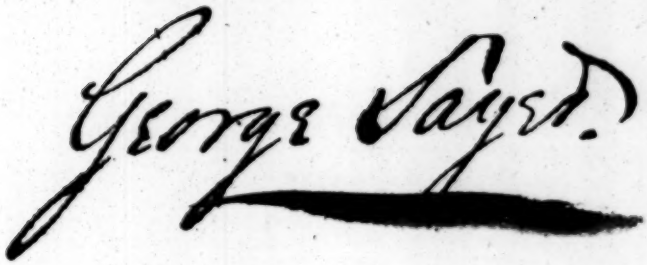
Translated from the Greek,

BY

SEVERAL HANDS.

LONDON,

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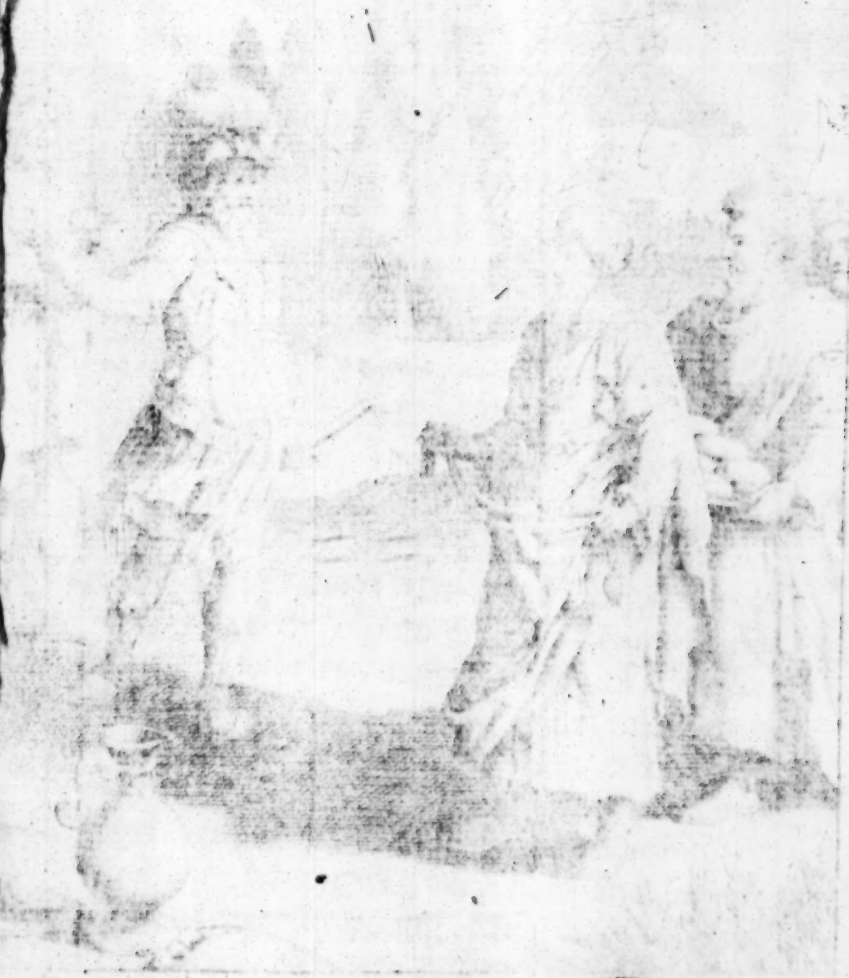
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	The *Olympiad*.	The Year of the *Olympiad*.	After the building of *Rome*.	After the Worlds Creation.	Before the coming of Christ.	The *Julian* Period.
Ageſilaus	95	1	353	3550	398	4314
Pompeius	174	3	672	3869	79	4633
Alexander overcame *Darius*	111	2	418	3615	333	4379
Julius Cæſar Conſul	180	2	694	3891	57	4655
Phocion	105	4	396	3593	355	4357
Cato Utican	179	4	692	3889	59	4653
Agis	134	2	510	3707	241	4471
Cleomenes	138	1	525	3722	226	3722
Tiberius Gracchus	161	1	617	3814	134	4578
Caius Gracchus	163	4	628	3825	123	4589



AGESILAUS.



M Burghers sculp.

THE LIFE OF AGESILAUS.

Translated out of Greek by W. Needham, *M. D.*

ARchidamus, the Son of *Zeuxidamus*, having reigned gloriously over the *Lacedæmonians*, left behind him two Sons. *Agis* the elder, begotten of *Lamprido*, a very Noble and Illustrious Lady *Agesilaus*, much the younger, born of *Eupolia*, the Daughter of *Melisippidas*. Now the Crown belonging to *Agis* by Law, *Agesilaus* who in all probability was to be but a private Man, was educated according to the usual Discipline of the Country, which was very hard and severe, but such as taught young Men how to obey their Superiors. Whence it was that (Men say)

Simonides called *Sparta* the Tamer of Men, becauſe by a cuſtomary ſtrictneſs of Education, they inured the Citizens to Obedience to the Laws, and made them patient of Subjection, as Horſes are broke from Colts: The Law did not hold ſo ſtrict a Rein on the Heirs apparent of the Crown. But *Ageſilaus*, whoſe good Fortune it was to be born a younger Brother, was conſequently bred to all the *Laconick* Arts of Obedience, and thereby fitted for the Management of the Government, when it fell to his ſhare: Hence it was that he became the moſt popular of the *Spartan* Kings, having learned how to temper the Grandeur of a Royal Condition, with the Sweetneſs and Debonairneſs of familiar Condeſcenſions.

While he was yet a Boy, bred up in one of the Schools or Colledges of Youth, he contracted an Intimacy with *Lyſander*, (a great Man afterwards in *Lacedæmon*) who much admired a generous Modeſty and ingenuous Shame he found in him: For tho' he was one of the higheſt Spirits, and fulleſt of Bravery of any of his Companions, always ambitious of Preheminence above them, towards which the impetuous Vigour and invincible Fervour of his Mind irreſiſtibly carried him, maugre all Oppoſition or Difficulty he could meet with; yet on the other ſide he was ſo eaſie and gentle in his Nature, and ſo apt to hearken to all rational and friendly Propoſals, that a good Word wrought more upon him than the greateſt Dint of Force;

he

he being ready to do any thing upon ingenuous Motives, but nothing upon Compulſion.

He had one Leg ſhorter than another; which Deformity he eaſily hid by a good meen and briskneſs in his Behaviour, he being the firſt always to paſs a Jeſt upon himſelf. And indeed it was a great Argument of his Love to Glory and great Actions, that his Lameneſs was no Diſcouragement to him in the purſuit of them. Neither his Statue nor Picture are extant, he never allowing them in his Life, and utterly forbidding them to be made after his Death: He is ſaid to have been a little Man, of a contemptible Preſence; but the goodneſs of his Humour, and his conſtant Chearfulneſs, and agreeable Converſation, alway free from any thing of Moroſeneſs or Haughtineſs, made him more amiable (even to his old Age) than the moſt beautiful Men of the Nation.

Theophraſtus writes, That the *Ephori* laid a Fine upon *Archidamus*, for marrying a little Wife, *For* (ſaid they) *ſhe will bring us a Race of Kinglets inſtead of Kings.*

Whilſt *Agis*, the elder Brother, reigned, *Alcibiades* (being then an Exile from *Athens*) came from *Sicily* to *Sparta*; nor had he ſtaid long there, before his Familiarity with *Timæa* the Queen grew ſuſpected, inſomuch that *Agis* refuſed to own a Child of hers, which (he ſaid) was *Alcibiades*'s, not his. Nor (if we may believe *Duris* the Hiſtorian) was *Timæa* much concerned at it, being herſelf forward enough

to whiſper among her Servants, that the Infant's true Name was *Alcibiades*, not *Leotychides*. Mean while it was believed, that the Amour he had with her, was not the effect of his Love but his Ambition, that he might have *Spartan* Kings of his Poſterity. This Affair being grown publick, it was time for *Alcibiades* to withdraw himſelf: But the Child *Leotychides* had not the Honours due to a Legitimate Prince paid him, nor was he ever own'd by *Agis*, till by his Prayers and Tears he prevail'd with him to declare him his Son before Witneſſes upon his Death-Bed. But this could not fix him in the Throne of *Agis*; after whoſe Death, *Lyſander*, the great *Lacedæmonian* Captain, who had lately conquered the *Athenians* in a Sea-fight, and was of great Power in *Sparta*, did promote *Ageſilaus* to the Kingdom, urging *Leotychides*'s Baſtardy, as a Bar to his Pretenſions. Many of the Citizens ſoon betook themſelves to *Ageſilaus* his Party, being thereto induced by the Opinion they had of his Gallantry, of which they themſelves had been Spectators, in the time that he had been bred up among them. Yet was not his way ſo ſmooth as to be free from Rubs: One he met with very conſiderable from a Fortune-Teller named *Diopithes*, who was of great Eſteem among them for his Skill in Divination; he alledged, That it was unlawful to make a Lame Man King of *Lacedæmon*, citing to that purpoſe the following Oracle:

Great

Great is thy Empire, Sparta, *yet beware*
Leſt thy Strength bend under an halting Heir;
Then Ills untry'd ſhall thy old Honour ſtain,
And Wars deſtructive Rage thro' thy whole
Country reign.

But *Lyſander* was not wanting of an Evaſion, alledging, That if the *Spartans* made any Conſcience of the Oracle, they muſt have a care of *Leotychides*; for it was not the limping Foot of a King that the Gods were offended at, but the baſtardizing of the *Herculean* Family, into whoſe Rights if a ſpurious Iſſue were admitted, it would make the Kingdom to halt indeed. *Ageſilaus* likewiſe alledg'd, That the Baſtardy of *Leotychides* was witneſſed to by *Neptune*, who threw *Agis* out of Bed from his Wife by a violent Earthquake, after which time he did not Cohabit with her, yet *Leotychides* was born above ten Months after it. *Ageſilaus* was upon theſe Allegations declared King, and ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the private Eſtate of *Agis*, as well as his Throne, *Leotychides* being wholly rejected as a Baſtard. Which being done, he caſt his Eye on the Kindred of *Agis* by the Mother's ſide, whom he conſidered as Perſons of good Worth and Virtue, but very poor: He gave them half his Brother's Eſtate, and by this popular Act gained the good will, not of them only, but of the *Spartans* in general, and ſtifled that Envy that was growing

againſt him upon the account of his Succeſs. But whereas *Xenophon* ſaith of him, That by complying with, and as it were being ruled by his Country, he grew into ſo great Power with them, that he could do what he pleaſed. This was by the Power he got with the *Ephori* and Senate: Theſe were of great Authority in the State; the former were Officers annually choſen; the Senators held their Places during Life, both inſtituted as Bridles to reſtrain the Licentiouſneſs of the Kings, as it is already more fully diſcourſed in the Life of *Lycurgus*. Hence it was that there was alway a Feud and Contention between them and the Kings. But *Ageſilaus* took another courſe; inſtead of contending with them, he courted them: He alway acted by their Advice, was alway ready to go, nay almoſt run, when they called him: If he were upon his Throne hearing of Cauſes, and the *Ephori* came in, he aroſe to them; whenever any Man was elected into the Senate, he did alway preſent him with a Gown and an Ox. Thus, whilſt he craftily made ſhew of Reverence to them, and a Deference to their Power, he ſecretly advanced his own, and enlarged the Prerogatives of the Crown, by ſeveral Liberties which their Friendſhip to his Perſon did grant him, or at leaſt did wink at. To other Citizens he ſo behaved himſelf, as to be leſs blameable in his Enmities than in his Friendſhips: For towards his Enemy he behaved himſelf generouſly, ſcorning to take any unjuſt

Advantage

Advantage againſt him; but to his Friends he was partial, even in things manifeſtly unjuſt. If an Enemy had done any thing praiſe-worthy, he ſcorned to retract any thing from his due Praiſes; but his Friends he knew not how to reprove when they did ill, nay, he would eagerly joyn with them, and aſſiſt them in their Outrages: He thought all Offices of Friendſhip commendable, let the Matter wherein they were employ'd be what it will. Again, when any of his Adverſaries was overtaken in a Fault, he would pity them, and be ſoon entreated to Pardon them, and ſhew them Kindneſs, by which means he allured the hearts of all Men: inſomuch that his Popularity grew at laſt ſuſpected by the *Ephori*, who fined him as a Monopolizer of the Citizens, who ought to be the common Goods of the Republick. For as it is the Opinion of Philoſophers, that if you take away Strife and Oppoſition out of the Univerſe, all the Heavenly Bodies will ſtand ſtill, Generation and Motion will ceaſe, by reaſon of the mutual Conſent and Agreement of all things. So the *Spartan* Legiſlator did ſeem to have mingled Ambition and Emulation, among the Ingredients of his Commonwealth, as the Incentives of Virtue, as thinking that mutual Compliance, in winking at one another, in Caſes that deſerved Rebuke, was but a falſe ſort of Concord, no way uſeful to the Publick, but rather a Corruption of it. This ſome Men think *Homer* to have had an eye to, when he

introduceth *Agamemnon* well pleaſed with the Jars of *Ulyſſes* and *Achilles*, and with the hard Words that paſſed between them; which he would never have done, unleſs he had thought that Diſſentions and Factions of great Men had been of uſe to the State. Yet this Maxim is not ſimply to be granted him without reſtriction, for if the Heats grow too great, they are very dangerous to Cities, and of moſt pernicious conſequence.

When *Ageſilaus* was newly entred upon the Government, there came News from *Aſia*, that the *Perſian* King was making great Naval Preparations, reſolving with an high Hand to diſpoſſeſs the *Spartans* of their Maritime Greatneſs. *Lyſander* was glad of this opportunity of ſuccouring his Friends in *Aſia*, whom he had there left Governors and Lords of Cities, who for their Male-adminiſtration and Tyrannical Behaviour, had been depoſed, and many of them put to death: He therefore perſwaded *Ageſilaus* to undertake the Expedition, and by tranſlating the War from *Greece* into *Perſia*, prevent the Deſigns of the *Barbarian*. He alſo wrote to his Friends in *Aſia*, that by a Solemn Embaſſy they ſhould demand *Ageſilaus* for their Captain. *Ageſilaus* thereupon coming into the Publick Aſſembly, offered his Service, upon condition that he might have Thirty eminent *Spartans* for Captains and Counſellors; that he might alſo have 2000 of the newly Enfranchized *Helots*, and of other Allies to

the

the number of 6000. *Lyſander*'s Authority and Aſſiſtance ſoon obtained his Requeſt, ſo that he was ſent away with the thirty *Spartans*, of which *Lyſander* was the Chief, not only in Power and Reputation, but alſo in Friendſhip with *Ageſilaus*, who eſteemed his procuring him this Charge a greater Obligation, than that of preferring him to the Kingdom.

Whilſt the Army was drawing to the Rendezvous at *Geraſtus*, *Ageſilaus* went with ſome of his Friends to *Aulis*, where in a Dream he ſaw a Man approach him, and ſpeak to him after this manner: *O King of the* Lacedæmonians, *you cannot but know that (before your ſelf) there hath been but one general Captain of the* Greeks, *viz.* Agamemnon; *now ſince you ſucceed him in the ſame Office and Command of the ſame Men, ſince you war againſt the ſame Enemies, and begin your Expedition from the ſame Place, you ought alſo to offer ſuch a Sacrifice, as he offered before he weighed Anchor.*

Ageſilaus ſoon remembred that the Sacrifice which *Agamemnon* offered was his own Daughter, he being ſo directed by the Oracle. Yet was he not at all diſturbed at it, but as ſoon as he aroſe, he telleth his Dream to his Friends, adding withal, that he would worſhip the Goddeſs with ſuch Sacrifices as would be acceptable to her a Goddeſs, and not imitate the rude Barbarity of that General. He therefore ordered an Hind to be crowned with Chaplets, and delivered to his own Southſayer,

not

not to him whom the *Bæotians* did of courſe delegate to that Office. When the *Bæotian* Governors underſtood it, they were very much moved, and ſent Officers to *Ageſilaus*, to forbid his Sacrificing contrary to the Laws of the Country. Theſe having deliver'd their Meſſage to him, immediately went to the Altar, and threw down the Quarters of the Hind that lay upon it. *Ageſilaus* took this very ill, and without further Sacrifice immediately hoiſed Sail, being highly diſpleaſed with the *Bæotians*, and much diſcouraged in his mind at the bad Omen, boading to himſelf an unſucceſsful Voyage, and a bad iſſue of the whole Expedition.

When he came to *Epheſus*, he found the Power and Intereſt of *Lyſander* grow to an intolerable height; all Applications were made to him, great Crowds of Suitors alway attended at his Door, all men following and worſhipping of him at ſo high a rate, as if nothing but the Name of Emperor were left to *Ageſilaus*, the whole Power of it being devolved upon *Lyſander*. None of all the Commanders that had been ſent into *Aſia*, was either ſo powerful or ſo formidable as He; no one had rewarded his Friends better, or had been more ſevere againſt his Enemies. Which things having been lately done, made the greater Impreſſion in Mens minds, eſpecially ſince they obſerved the deboniar and popular Behaviour of *Ageſilaus*, whereas that of *Lyſander* was high and rigid. He took Men up ſhort, and

by

by that fierceneſs of Carriage ſo ſubdued the Spirits of Men, that they wholly ſubmitted to him, giving little regard to *Ageſilaus*. This was firſt ſtomached by the other Captains, who with Indignation reſented it, that they ſhould rather ſeem the Officers of *Lyſander*, than the Counſellors of *Ageſilaus*.

At length *Ageſilaus* himſelf, though no envious Man in his Nature, nor apt to be troubled at the Honours redounding upon other Men, yet being highly jealous of his own Glory, began to apprehend that *Lyſander*'s Greatneſs would ſoon eclipſe his, and carry away from him the Reputation of whatever great Action ſhould happen. He therefore went this way to work: He firſt oppoſed him in all his Counſels; whatever *Lyſander* adviſed, was rejected, and other Propoſals followed. Then whoever made any Addreſs to him, if he found him a Retainer to *Lyſander*, certainly loſt his Suit. Whoever was proſecuted by him in Judiciary Matters, was ſure to get off with Victory, and whoever was viſibly favoured by him, was uſed with all Severity and Rigour. Theſe things being not done by Chance, but conſtantly and on ſet purpoſe, *Lyſander* was ſoon ſenſible of them, and ſtuck not to tell his Friends that they ſuffered for his ſake, bidding them apply themſelves to the King, and ſuch as were more powerful with him than he was. Which ſayings of his, when they ſeemed to be deſigned purpoſely to procure Envy to *Ageſilaus*, he

ſtuck

ſtuck not to affront *Lyſander* at a higher rate, impoſing upon him the Office of dividing the Fleſh among the Soldiers, and would in publick Companies ſpeak ſcornfully of him, bidding them to go and pay their Obſervances to his Suttler. *Lyſander* no longer able to brook theſe Indignities, complained at laſt to *Ageſilaus* himſelf, telling him, that he knew very well how to oppreſs his Friends. To which *Ageſilaus* anſwer'd, *I know who they be that pretend to more Power than my ſelf.* *That*, reply'd *Lyſander*, *is rather ſaid by you, than done by me; I deſire only this Favour of you, that you will aſſign me ſome Office and Place, in which I may ſerve you without incurring your diſpleaſure.*

Upon this *Ageſilaus* ſent him to the *Helleſpont* on an Embaſſy, whence he procured *Mithridates*, a *Perſian* of the Province of *Pharnabazus*, to come to the Aſſiſtance of the *Greeks* with 200 Horſe, and a great Supply of Money. Yet did not his Stomach ſo come down, but he fell to forming a Deſign, of wreſting the Kingdom out of the hands of the two Families which then enjoy'd it, and making it wholly elective; and it is thought that he would have made a great Commotion in *Sparta*, if he had not died in the *Bæotian* War. Thus ambitious Spirits are apt to grow troubleſom in a Common-wealth, and when they tranſgreſs their Bounds, do more harm than good. Of this, this Quarrel between two ſuch great Men is an Example: For though *Lyſander*'s Pride

was

was unſufferable, and his ambitious Projects very inconvenient to *Ageſilaus*'s Affairs, yet might the King have found out many ways of taming him, leſs reproachful to a man of his Quality, and ambitious Deſigns. Indeed in my opinion they were both equally guilty, both blinded with the ſame Paſſion, ſo as one not to know the Power of his Prince, the other not to bear with the Imperfections of his Friend.

Tiſaphernes being at firſt afraid of *Ageſilaus*, ſoon treated with him about ſetting the *Grecian* Cities at liberty, which was agreed on. But ſoon after finding a ſufficient Force drawn together, he reſolved upon War, for which *Ageſilaus* was not ſorry. For the expectation of this Expedition was great, and he did not think it for his Honour, that *Xenophon* with 10000 men ſhould march through the heart of *Aſia* to the Sea, beating the *Perſian* Forces when and how he pleaſed, and that *Ageſilaus*, in the Head of a *Spartan* Army, (who then Commanded both at Sea and Land) ſhould raiſe no Monument of his Fame by any great Action. Therefore to be even with *Tiſaphernes*, he revengeth his Perjury by a Stratagem. He pretends to march into *Caria*, whither when he had drawn *Tiſaphernes* and his Army, he ſuddenly turneth back, and falleth upon *Phrygia*, taking many of their Cities, and carrying away great Booty. Upon this occaſion telling his Friends that to break ſolemn Leagues,

and

and betray their Faith, was a downright Contempt of the Gods; but the Circumvention of an Enemy in War, was not only juſt but honourable, very pleaſant as well as advantageous.

Being weak in Horſe, and with all terrify'd by ſome ill Omen in the Sacrifices, (*viz.* a Calf's Liver, wanted that little Lobe which the Southſayers call the Head) he retired to *Epheſus*, and there raiſed them. He obliged the rich Men, that were not minded to ſerve in Perſon, to find Horſemen armed and mounted; which being performed, *Ageſilaus* his Army was ſoon changed, from ſhabby Foot into many gallant Regiments of Horſe: For thoſe that were not good at Fighting themſelves, hired ſuch as were more martial in their Inclinations, and ſuch as loved not Horſe-ſervice, ſubſtituted in their rooms ſuch as did. He profeſſed in this to imitate the laudable Example of *Agamemnon*, who took the Preſent of an excellent Mare, to diſmiſs a rich Coward from the Army.

When by *Ageſilaus* his Order, the Priſoners he had taken in *Phrygia* were expoſed to Sale, they were firſt ſtripped of their Garments, and then ſold naked. The Cloaths found many Cuſtomers to buy them, but the Bodies being by the Eaſe they had alway lived in, rendred white and tender-skinned, were derided and ſcorned as unſerviceable. *Ageſilaus* who ſtood by at the Auction, told his *Græcians*, *Theſe are the*

the men againſt whom ye fight, and thoſe are the things for which ye fight.

The Seaſon of the Year being come, he boldly gave out, that he would invade *Lydia*; which Plain-dealing of his was miſtaken for a Stratagem by *Tiſaphernes*, who by not believing *Ageſilaus*, having been already deceiv'd by him, over-reached himſelf. He expected that he ſhould have made choice of *Caria*, as a rough Countrey, not fit for Horſe, in which he deemed *Ageſilaus* to be weak, and directed his own Marches accordingly. But when he found him to be as good as his word, and to have entred into the Country of *Sardis*, he made great haſte after him, and by great Marches of his Horſe, overtaking the looſe Stragglers who were pillaging the Country, he cut them off. *Ageſilaus* mean while conſidering that the Horſe had out-rid the Foot, but that he himſelf had the whole Body of his own Army entire, made haſte to engage them. He mingled his light-armed Foot, that wore Leather Shields, with the Horſe, commanding them to begin the Battel, whilſt he brought up the heavier-armed Men in the Rear. The Succeſs was anſwerable to the Deſign; the *Barbarians* were put to the Rout, the *Grecians* purſued hard, took their Camp, and put many of them to the Sword. The conſequence of this Victory was very great; for they had not only the liberty of foraging the *Perſian* Countrey, and plundering at pleaſure, but

but alſo ſaw *Tiſaphernes* pay dearly for all the Cruelty he had ſhewed the *Greeks*, to whom he was a profeſſed Enemy. For the King of *Perſia* ſoon ſent *Tithrauſtes*, who took off his Head, and preſently dealt with *Ageſilaus*, about his Return into *Greece*, ſending to him Ambaſſadors to that purpoſe, with Commiſſion to offer him great Sums of Money. *Ageſilaus*'s Anſwer was, That the making of Peace belonged to the *Lacedemonians*, not to him; as for Wealth, he had rather ſee it in his Soldiers hands than his own; that the *Grecians* thought it not honourable to enrich themſelves with the Bribes of their Enemies, but with their Spoils only. Yet, that he might gratifie *Tithrauſtes* for the Juſtice he had done upon *Tiſaphernes*, the avowed Enemy of the *Greeks*, he removed his Quarters into *Phrygia*, accepting of Thirty Talents towards the Charge of it. Whilſt he was upon his March, he received a Patent from the Councel of *Sparta*, which did conſtitute him Admiral as well as General. This Honour was never done to any but *Ageſilaus*, who being undoubtedly the far greateſt Man of his Time, (as *Theopompus* witneſſeth) gloried more in his Vertue, than in his Authority and Power. Yet he committed a great Overſight, in preferring *Piſander* to the Command of the Navy, when there were many at hand both older and wiſer, and more experienced Captains; in this not ſo much conſulting the publick Good, as the Gratification of his

his Kindred, and eſpecially his Wife, whoſe Brother *Piſander* was.

Having removed his Camp into *Pharnabazus*'s Province, he not only met with great plenty of Proviſions, but alſo raiſed great Sums of Money, and marching on to the Bounds of *Paphlagonia*, he ſoon drew *Cotys*, the King of it, into a League, to which he of his own accord inclined, out of the Eſteem he had of *Ageſilaus* his Honour and Vertue. *Spithridates* as ſoon as he fell off from *Pharnabazus*, did conſtantly attend *Ageſilaus* in the Camp whitherſoever he went. This *Spithridates* had a handſom Boy to his Son, of whom *Ageſilaus* was enamoured, alſo a very beautiful Daughter, that was marriageable. Her *Ageſilaus* matched to *Cotys*, and taking of him a 1000 Horſe, with 2000 light-armed Foot, he returned into *Phrygia*, and there pillaged the Countrey of *Pharnabazus*, who durſt not ſtand him in the Field, nor yet truſt to his Garriſons, but getting his Jewels and rich Commodities together, flitted up and down with a flying Army, till *Spithridates* being joyned with *Erippidas* the *Spartan*, beat him out of all his Holds, and they poſſeſſed themſelves of all the Spoyl. Here *Erippidas* being too ſevere an Enquirer into the Plunder wherewith the *Barbarian* Soldiers had enriched themſelves, and forcing them to deliver it up with too much ſtrictneſs, ſo diſobliged *Spithridates*, that he changed ſides again, and went off with the

Paphlagonians to *Sardis*. This was no ſmall Diſpleaſure to *Ageſilaus*, not only that he had loſt the Friendſhip of a valiant Commander, and with him a conſiderable part of his Army, but chiefly that he did it with the Diſrepute of a ſordid Covetouſneſs, of which he always took care to clear both himſelf and his Countrey. Beſides theſe publick Cauſes, he had a private one, *viz.* the exceſſive Love of his Son, which touched him to the quick, yet did he ſo much endeavour to maſter, and eſpecially in preſence of the Boy, to ſuppreſs all appearance of it, that when *Megabates* (for that was his Name) did addreſs himſelf to him to ſalute and kiſs, he declined it. At which when the young Man bluſhed and drew back, and afterward ſalute him at a more reſerved diſtance, *Ageſilaus* ſoon repenting his Coyneſs, and changing his Mind, pretended to wonder why he did not ſaluted him with the like Familiarity as formerly. His Friends about him anſwered, *You are in the fault, who durſt not ſtand the Kiſs of a pretty Boy, but fearfully avoided it, and now ſhould he come within reach of a Kiſs, you would not have the courage to receive it.* Upon this *Ageſilaus* pauſed a while, and at length anſwered, *You need not encourage him to a repetition of that Kindneſs; I had rather be Maſter of my ſelf in the refuſal of that Kiſs, than ſee all things that are now before mine eye turned into Gold.* Thus he demeaned himſelf to *Megabates* when preſent, but he had ſo great a paſſion for him in his

his abſence, that I queſtion whether if the Boy had returned again, all the Vertue he had, would have obliged him to ſuch another Refuſal.

After that, *Pharnabazus* ſought an opportunity of conferring with *Ageſilaus*, which *Apollophanes* of *Cyzicum*, the common Hoſt of them both, procured for him. *Ageſilaus* coming firſt to the appointed Place, lay down upon the Graſs under a Tree, lying there in expectation of *Pharnabazus*, who bringing with him ſoft Skins and wrought Carpets to lie down upon, when he ſaw *Ageſilaus*'s poſture, grew aſhamed of his own Proviſions, made no uſe of them, but laid himſelf down upon the Graſs alſo, though he had a fine delicate richly-died Coat on, which was like to loſe much of its beauty by the action. *Pharnabazus* had matter enough of Complaint againſt *Ageſilaus*, and therefore after the mutual Civilities were over, he put him in mind of the great Services he had done the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Attick* War, of which he thought it an ill Recompence, to have his Countrey thus harraſſed and ſpoiled, by thoſe Men who had been ſo obliged to him. The *Spartans* that were about *Ageſilaus*, hung down their Heads, as aſhamed of the Wrong they had done to their good Ally. But the King briskly anſwer'd, *We*, *O* Pharnabazus, *when we were in Amity with your Maſter the* Perſian, *did behave our ſelves like Friends*, *now when he hath given us occaſion of*

War, we behave our ſelves as Enemies. As for you, whoſe kind Offices we are ready to acknowledge, we look upon you as his Servant; we are fain to do theſe Outrages upon you, not intending the harm to you, but to him whom we wound through your ſides. But when-ever you will chooſe rather to be a Friend to the Grecians, *than a Slave of the King of* Perſia, *you may then reckon this Army and Navy to be all at your Command, to defend both you and your Countrey, together with your Liberties, without which there is nothing honourable, or indeed deſirable among men.* Upon this *Pharnabazus* diſcovered his mind, and anſwered, *If the King ſendeth another Governour in my room, I will certainly come over to you, but as long as he truſteth me with the Government, I ſhall be juſt to him, and not fail to do my utmoſt Endeavours in oppoſing you. Ageſilaus* was taken with the Anſwer, and ſhook hands with him, and (riſing) ſaid, *How much rather had I have ſo gallant a Man my Friend than mine Enemy.*

Pharnabazus being gone off, his Son, ſtaying behind, ran up to *Ageſilaus*, and ſmilingly ſaid, *Ageſilaus, I make you my Gueſt*; and thereupon preſented him with a Javelin which he had in his hand. *Ageſilaus* received it, and being much taken with the good Meen and Gallantry of the Youth, looked about to ſee if there were any thing in his Train fit to offer him in Return; and obſerving the Horſe of *Adæus*, his Secretary, to have very fine Trappings

pings on, he took them off, and beſtowed them upon the young Gentleman; nor did his Kindneſs reſt there, but he was ever after mindful of him, inſomuch that when he was driven out of his Countrey by the Injury of his Brethren, and lived an Exile in *Peloponneſus*, he took great care of his Maintenance, and not only ſo, but alſo condeſcended to aſſiſt him in his Amours: For he being in Love with a Youth of *Athenian* Birth, which was bred up to his Exerciſes, in order to playing of the Prize in the *Olympick* Games, and this Youth being, by reaſon of his great Bulk, and ſowr Looks, in ſome danger of not being admitted into the Liſt, the *Perſian* betook himſelf to *Ageſilaus*, and made uſe of his Friendſhip. *Ageſilaus* readily aſſiſted him, and took great pains in effecting his Deſires. He was in all other things a Man of great and exact Juſtice, but when the Caſe concerned a Friend, to be ſtrait-laced in point of Juſtice, (he ſaid) was only a colourable pretence of denying him. There is an Epiſtle written to *Idrieus*, Prince of *Caria*, that is aſcribed to *Ageſilaus*; it is this: *If* Nicias *be innocent, abſolve him; if he be nocent, abſolve him upon my account, however be ſure to abſolve him.* And indeed this is the true Character of *Ageſilaus*, as to his Deportment towards his Friends. Yet was not his Rule without exception; for ſometimes he conſidered the neceſſity of his Affairs more than his Friend, of which he once gave a great Example, when

upon a ſudden and diſorderly Remove of his Camp, he was forced to leave a ſick Friend behind him; who when he called loud after him, and implored his help, *Ageſilaus* turned his Back, and ſaid, *What an hard thing is it to be merciful and wiſe too?* This Story is deliver'd by *Hieronymus*.

Another Year of the War being ſpent, *Ageſilaus* his Fame ſtill increaſed, inſomuch that the *Perſian* King received daily Informations concerning his many Virtues, and the great Eſteem the World had of his Continency, his Candor and Moderation. When he made any Journey with his private Train, he would uſually take up his Lodging in a Temple, and there make the God's Witneſſes of his moſt private Actions, which others would ſcarce permit Men to be acquainted with. In ſo great an Army, you ſhould ſcarce find a common Soldier lye on a courſer Mattreſs, or fare more hardly than *Ageſilaus*; he was ſo inured to the varities of Heat and Cold, that both ſeemed natural to him. The *Greeks* that inhabited *Aſia*, were much pleaſed to ſee the great Dons of *Perſia*, with all the Pride, Cruelty and Luxury, in which they lived, to vail Bonnet to a Man in a poor Thread-bare Cloak, and to be govern'd by a Word or Nod, or a *Laconick* Sentence out of his Mouth. It put them in mind of that Verſe in *Timotheus*:

Mars

Mars *is the Tyrant*, Grecia *fears not Gold.*

Many parts of *Aſia* now revolting from the *Perſian*, *Ageſilaus* took order with ſeveral of the Cities, and compoſed the Differences of divers of the Republicks without Bloodſhed, or Baniſhment of any of their Members. By theſe means having rendred himſelf every where popular, he reſolved to quit the Sea-ſide, to march further up into the Country, and to attack the King of *Perſia* himſelf in *Suſa* and *Ecbatane*, not willing to let that Monarch ſit idle in his Chair, whilſt he made Wars by his Lieutenants, and by his Money corrupted the Demagogues of *Greece*. But theſe great Thoughts were interrupted by unhappy News from *Sparta*; *Epicydidas* is from thence ſent to remand him home, to aſſiſt his own Country, which was then involved in a great War.

Greece *to her ſelf doth a* Barbarian *grow*,
When others could not, doth her ſelf o'rethrow.

What better can we ſay of thoſe Civil Wars, and inteſtine Broils, which did deſtroy the Fortune of *Greece*, and call her back from her full Career of Victory over the *Barbarians*, only to ſheath her Sword into her own Bowels? For I do by no means aſſent to *Demaratus* of *Corinth*, who ſaid, *That thoſe*

Grecians *were deprived of a great Satisfaction, that did not live to ſee* Alexander *ſit in the Throne of* Darius. That Sight ſhould rather have drawn Tears from them, when they conſidered, that they had left that Glory to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians*, whilſt they ſpent all their own great Commanders, in playing them upon each other in the Fields of *Leuctra*, *Coronea*, *Corinth* and *Arcadia*.

Nothing was greater or braver than the Behaviour of *Ageſilaus* on this occaſion, nor can a nobler Inſtance be found in Story, of a ready Obedience and juſt Deference to the Orders of the Senate. *Annibal*, though in a bad condition himſelf, and almoſt driven out of *Italy*, yet ſtormed and raged when he was called home to ſerve his Country. *Alexander* made a Jeſt of the Battel between *Agis* and *Antipater*, the Succeſs of which required his looking back into his own Country, laughing and ſaying, *That whilſt we are fighting* Darius *in* Aſia, *it ſeems there is a Battel of Mice in* Arcadia. Happy *Sparta*, mean while, in the great Juſtice and Modeſty of *Ageſilaus*, and in the Deference he paid to the Laws of his Country; who immediately upon receipt of his Orders, (though in the midſt of his good Fortune, and in full hope of ſo great and glorious Succeſs) left his Work unfiniſhed, and inſtantly departed, leaving his Friends in *Aſia* very ſorrowful for the loſs of him. Which great Kindneſs and Fidelity of his, that had obliged ſo many to him in

Aſia,

Aſia, did ſufficiently confute the ſaying of *Demaratus*, the Son of *Phœux*, *That the* Lacedæmonians *excelled in their publick Tranſactions, and juſt maintaining of Leagues, but the* Athenians *were better obſervers of private Friendſhip: For approving himſelf an excellent King and General, he likewiſe ſhew'd himſelf to be a deſirable Friend, and agreeable Acquaintance.*

The Coin of *Perſia* was ſtamped with the Picture of an Archer; *Ageſilaus* ſaid, *That a* 1000 Perſian *Archers had driven him out of* Aſia; meaning the Money that was laid out in Bribing the Demagogues, and the Orators in *Thebes* and *Athens*, whereby thoſe two Republicks were incited to a War with *Sparta*.

Having paſſed the *Helleſpont*, he march'd by Land through *Thrace*, not begging or entreating a Paſſage any where, only he ſent his Envoys to them, to demand whether they would have him paſs as a Friend or as an Enemy. All the reſt received him as a Friend, and uſed him with all Civility. But the *Trallians* (of whom *Xerxes* is ſaid to have bought his Paſſage) demanded a Price of him, *viz.* 100 Talents of Silver, and 100 Women. *Ageſilaus* in ſcorn asked, *Why they were not ready to receive them?* He marched on, and meeting with Oppoſition from the *Trallians*, fought them, and ſlew great numbers of them. He ſent the like Embaſſy to the King of *Macedonia*, who reply'd, He would take time to deliberate: *Why then let him deliberate*, ſaid *Ageſilaus*,

ſilaus, we will go forward in the mean time. The *Macedonian* being ſurprized and daunted at the Reſolution of the *Spartan* King, fairly ſent him a Complement, and let him paſs. When he came into *Theſſaly*, he waſted the Countrey, becauſe they were in League with the Enemy. To *Lariſſa*, the chief City of *Theſſaly*, he ſent *Xenocles* and *Scythes* to treat of a Peace, whom when the *Lariſſæans* had laid hold of, and put into Cuſtody, the Army was enraged, and adviſed the Siege of the Town; but the King anſwered, *That he valued either of thoſe Men at more than the whole Countrey of* Theſſaly. He therefore made Terms with them, and received his Men again upon Compoſition. Nor need we wonder at that Saying of *Ageſilaus*, at a time when he had News brought him from *Sparta*, of ſeveral great Captains ſlain in a Battel near *Corinth*, in which though the Slaughter fell upon other *Grecians*, the *Lacedæmonians* obtaining a great Victory with ſmall loſs, yet *Ageſilaus* did not appear at all ſatisfi'd in it; contrarily with a great Sigh he cried out, *O* Greece, *how many gallant men haſt thou deſtroyed, which if they had been preſerved to ſo good an uſe, might have conquered all* Perſia! Yet when the *Pharſalians* grew troubleſom to him, by preſſing upon his Army, and incommoding his Paſſage, he drew out 500 Horſe, and in Perſon fought and routed them, ſetting up a Trophy at *Narthacium*. He valued himſelf much upon that Victory, that with ſo ſmall a number of

of his own training, he had vanquiſhed an Army of Men, that thought themſelves the beſt Horſemen of *Greece*.

Here *Diphridas*, the *Ephore*, met him, and delivered his Meſſage from *Sparta*, which order'd him immediately to make an Inroad into *Bœotia*; which though he thought fitter to have been done at another time, and with greater Force, yet he obeyed the Magiſtrates. He thereupon told his Soldiers, that the day was come, in which they were to enter upon that Employment, for the performance of which they were brought out of *Aſia*. He ſent for two Cohorts of the Army near *Corinth* to his Aſſiſtance. The *Lacedæmonians* at home, in Honour to him, made Proclamation for Voluntiers that would ſerve under the King, to come in and be liſted. Finding all the young Men in the City ready to offer themſelves, they choſe 50 of the ableſt, and ſent them.

Ageſilaus having gain'd the *Thermopylæ*, and paſſed quietly through *Phocis*, as ſoon as he had entred *Bœotia*, and pitched his Tents near *Chæronea*, at once met with an Eclipſe of the Sun, and with ill News from the Navy, *Piſander* the *Spartan* Admiral, being beaten and ſlain at *Cnidos*, by *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*. He was much moved at it, both upon his own and the publick account. Yet leſt his Army, being now near engaging, ſhould meet with any Diſcouragement, he ordered the Meſſengers to give out, that the *Spartans* were the Conquerors,

rors, and he himſelf putting on his Crown, did ſolemnly ſacrifice, for the good News, and ſent portions of the Sacrifices to his Friends.

When he came near to *Coronea*, and was within view of the Enemy, he drew up his Army, and giving the left Wing to the *Orchomenians*, he himſelf led the right. The *Thebans* did make the right Wing of their Army, leaving the left to the *Argives*. *Xenophon*, who was preſent, and fought on *Ageſilaus*'s ſide, reports it to be the hardeſt fought Battel that he had ſeen. The beginning of it was not ſo, for the *Thebans* ſoon put the *Orchomenians* to rout, as alſo did *Ageſilaus* the *Argives*. But both Parties having News of the Misfortune of their left Wings, they betook themſelves to their Relief. Here *Ageſilaus* might have been ſure of his Victory, had he contented himſelf not to charge them in the Front, but in the Flank or Rear; but being too high in Mettle, and heated in the Fight, he would not ſtay the Opportunity, but fell on downright, thinking to bear them down before him. The *Thebans* were not behind him in Courage, ſo that the Battel was fiercely carri'd on on both ſides, eſpecially near *Ageſilaus*'s Perſon, whoſe new Guard of 50 Voluntiers ſtood him in great ſtead that day, and ſaved his Life. They fought with great Valour, and interpoſed their Bodies frequently between him and Danger, yet could they not ſo preſerve him, but that he received many Wounds through his Armour with

Lances

Lances and Swords, and was with much ado gotten off. They making a Ring about him, did guard him from the Enemy, with the Slaughter of many, and loſt many of their own number. At length finding it too hard a task to break the Front of the *Theban* Army, they opened their own Files, and let the Enemy march through them, (an Artifice which in the beginning they ſcorned) obſerving in the mean time the poſture of the Enemy, who having paſſed through, grew careleſs, as eſteeming themſelves paſt danger. Whereupon they were immediately ſet upon by the *Spartans*, yet were they not then put to rout, but marched on to *Helicon*, vapouring, that they themſelves, as to their part of the Army, were not worſted. *Ageſilaus*, ſore wounded as he was, would not be born to his Tent, till he had been firſt carri'd about the Field, and had ſeen the dead Men of his Party carri'd off in their Armour. As many of his Enemies as had taken Sanctuary in the Temple, he diſmiſſed: For there ſtood hard by the Temple of *Minerva* the *Itonian*, and before it a Trophy erected by the *Bæotians*, for a Victory, which under the Conduct of one *Sparton* their General, they obtained over the *Athenians*, who were led that day by *Tolmides*, and *Tolmides* himſelf ſlain.

Next morning early *Ageſilaus*, to make trial of the *Theban* Courage, whether they had any mind to a ſecond Encounter, did command his Soldiers to put on Garlands on their Heads, and

and play with their Flutes, and raiſe a Trophy before their Faces; but when they inſtead of Fighting, ſent for leave to bury their Dead, he gave it them, and ſo confirmed to himſelf the Victory. After this he went to *Delphos*, to the *Pythian* Games which were then celebrating, at which Feaſt he aſſiſted, and there ſolemnly offered the 10*th.* part of the Spoyls he had brought from *Aſia*, which amounted to an 100 Talents.

Being now returned to his own Countrey, the *Spartans* lov'd and admir'd him when they obſerv'd his Diet and Way of Living: For he (not according to the Cuſtom of other Generals) came home the ſame Man that he went out, having not ſo learned the Faſhions of other Countreys, as to forget his own, much leſs to nauſeate or deſpiſe them, but he follow'd all the *Spartan* Cuſtoms, without changing either the manner of his Supping, or Bathing, or his Wifes Apparel, as if he had never travelled over the River *Eurotas*. The like he did by his Houſehold ſtuff, his Armour, nay, the very Gates of his Houſe were ſo old, that they might well be thought of *Ariſtodemus*'s ſetting up. His Daughters Chariot (called the *Canathrum*) was no richer than that of other People. Now this *Canathrum*, whether Chariot, or Chair, was made of Wood, in the ſhape of a *Griffon*, or of the * *Tragelaphus*, ſome antick ſhape or

* Goat-deer.

other

other, on which the Children and young Virgins were carried in Proceſſions. *Xenophon* hath not left us the Name of this Daughter of *Ageſilaus*; and *Dicæarchus* is much concern'd, becauſe we do not know the Name of *Ageſilaus*'s Daughter, nor *Epaminondas*'s Mother. But in the Records of *Laconia* we find his Wifes Name to be *Cleora*, and his two Daughters to have been *Apolia* and *Prolyta*; and you may even to this day ſee *Ageſilaus*'s Spear kept in *Sparta*, nothing differing from that of other Men.

There was a Vanity he obſerved among the *Spartans*, about keeping running Horſes for the *Olympick* Games, upon which he found they much valued themſelves. *Ageſilaus* much deſpiſed it, as an Oſtentation more of Wealth than Vertue, deeming the Victory to be the Horſe's, not the Man's. He therefore to convince the *Græcians* of it, did put his Siſter *Syniſca* upon keeping a running Horſe for that publick Solemnity.

To the wiſe *Xenophon*, his Friend, whom he much valued, he did propoſe the bringing of his Children to *Sparta*, to be there bred up in the ſtricteſt way of Diſcipline, and in the noble Art of Obeying and Governing.

Lyſander being dead, and his Faction yet great and prevalent, which he upon his coming out of *Aſia* had raiſed againſt *Ageſilaus*, the King thought it adviſable to expoſe both him and it, by ſhewing what manner of a Citizen he

he had been whilſt he lived. To that end, finding an Oration among his Writings, that was (compoſed by *Cleon* the *Halicarnaſſean*, but) intended to be ſpoken by *Lyſander* in a publick Aſſembly, to excite the People to Innovations and Changes in the Government, he reſolved to publiſh it, as an Evidence of *Lyſander's* ill Practices. But one of the Senators having the peruſal of it, and finding it ſtrongly written, adviſed him to have a care of digging up *Lyſander* again, and rather bury that Oration in the Grave with him. This Advice he wiſely hearkened to, and ever after forbore publickly to affront any of his Adverſaries, but took occaſions of picking out the Ringleaders, and ſending them away upon foreign Services. He alſo found out ways of diſcovering the Avarice and the Injuſtice of many of them in their Employments; yet when they were by others brought into Queſtion, he made it his buſineſs to bring them off, obliging them by that means, of Enemies to become his Friends, and ſo by degrees wore out the Faction.

Ageſipolis, his fellow-King, was under the Diſadvantage of being born of an exil'd Father, and himſelf young, modeſt, and unactive, and meddled not much in Affairs. *Ageſilaus* took a courſe of growing upon him, and making him yet more tractable. According to the Cuſtom of *Sparta*, the Kings if they were in Town, always dined together. This was *Ageſilaus's* opportunity of dealing with *Ageſipolis*, whom

whom he found apt to amorous Intrigues as well as himſelf. He therefore alway diſcourſed him about handſom Boys, egging him forward that way, and himſelf aſſiſting in it, ſo far as to become the Confident of the Amour. Yet were theſe Amours innocent according to the Cuſtom of the *Spartan* Loves, which were alway accompani'd with Vertue and Honour, and a noble Emulation; of which you may ſee more in *Lycurgus*'s Life.

Having thus eſtabliſhed his Power in the City, he eaſily obtained that his half Brother *Teleutias* might be choſen Admiral, and thereupon making an Expedition againſt the *Corinthians*, he made himſelf Maſter of the long Walls by Land, through the Aſſiſtance of his Brother at Sea. Coming thus upon the *Argives* (who then held *Corinth*) in the midſt of their *Iſthmian* Games, he made them retire from their Sacrifices, and leave all their feſtival Proviſions behind them. The exil'd *Corinthians* that were in the *Spartan* Army, deſired him to keep up the Feaſt, and to appear Chief in the celebration of it. This he refuſed, but gave them leave to carry on the Solemnity if they pleaſed, and he in the mean time ſtaid and guarded them. When *Ageſilaus* marched off, the *Argives* returned to their Sports again, with this variety of Fortune, that ſome who were Victors before, became Victors a ſecond time, others loſt the Prizes which before they had gained. But *Ageſilaus* reproached them ſeverely of Cowardiſe,

who having ſo great an Eſteem of the *Iſthmian* Games, and ſo much valuing themſelves upon the Victories there gotten, yet durſt not adventure to fight in defence of them. He himſelf was of opinion, that to keep a Mean in ſuch things was beſt; he allowed of the Sports uſually permitted in his Countrey, and would not refuſe to be preſent at the Exerciſes either of the young Men, or of the Girls, being alway ready to take his ſhare in them; but what many Men ſeemed to be highly taken with in theſe Games, he ſeemed not at all concerned in. *Callipides* the Tragedian being eminent in that Faculty through all *Greece*, meeting this King, ſaluted him; of which when he found no notice taken, he confidently thruſt himſelf into his Train, expecting that *Ageſilaus* would take ſome notice, and begin ſome diſcourſe with him. When all that failed, he boldly accoſted him, and asked him, *Whether he knew him not? What* (ſaid the King) *art thou* Callipides *the Scaramouchio?* and ſo turned from him. Being invited once to hear a Man ſing, who did admirably imitate the *Nightingale*, he refuſed, and anſwered, *That he had heard the* Nightingale *her ſelf.* There was one *Menecrates* a Phyſician in *Laconia*, who having been famed for great Succeſs in great and deſperate Diſeaſes, was by way of Flattery called *Jupiter*: He was ſo vain as to take it, and having occaſion to write a Letter to *Ageſilaus*, thus endorſed it: *Menecrates Jupiter* to King *Ageſilaus*, greet-

greeting. The King returned Anſwer, *Ageſilaus* to *Menecrates*, Health, and a ſound Mind.

Whilſt *Ageſilaus* was in the *Corinthian* Territories, beholding his Soldiers pillaging the Temple of *Juno*, the *Theban* Ambaſſadors came to him to treat of Peace. He having a great Averſion for that City, and thinking it then advantagious to his Affairs publickly to ſlight them, did it ſufficiently, for he would not ſeem either to ſee them, or hear them ſpeak. But as if the expreſs Vengeance of God had appeared againſt this Inſolence, before they parted from him, he received News of the Overthrow of one of his Cohorts, by *Iphicrates*, with a greater Slaughter than he had received a long time; and that the more grievous, becauſe it was a choice Regiment of *Lacedæmonians* well armed, but overthrown by a parcel of light-armed Mercenaries. *Ageſilaus* made all the haſt he could to their Reſcue, but found it too late, the Buſineſs being over. He therefore retired to *Juno*'s Temple, and ſent for the *Theban* Ambaſſadors to give them Audience. They now reſolved to be even with him for the Affront he gave them, and without ſpeaking one word of the Peace, only deſired leave to go into *Corinth*. *Ageſilaus* being nettled with this Overture, told them in ſcorn, *That if they were minded to go and ſee how proud their Friends were of their Succeſs, they ſhould do it to morrow with ſafety.* Next morning taking the Ambaſſadors with him, he ſpoiled the *Corinthian* Ter-

ritories, up to the very Gates of the City; where having made a Stand, and let the Ambaſſadors ſee, that the *Corinthians* durſt not come out to defend themſelves, he diſmiſſed them; then gathering up the ſmall Remainders of the ſhattered Cohort, he marched homewards, alway removing his Camp before Day, and alway pitching his Tents after Night, that he might prevent the *Arcadians* from taking any Opportunity of inſulting over their Loſs.

After this, at the Requeſt of the *Achaians*, he marched with them into *Acarnania*, from whence he brought great Spoils, and overcame the *Acarnanians* in Battel. The *Achaians* would have perſwaded him to keep his Winter-Quarters there, to hinder the *Acarnanians* from ſowing their Corn; but he was of the contrary Opinion, alledging, That they would be more afraid of a War next Summer, when their Fields were ſown, than they would be if they lay fallow. The Event did juſtifie his Opinion; for next Summer, when the *Achaians* began their Expedition again, the *Acarnanians* immediately made Peace with them.

When *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* with the *Perſian* Navy were grown Maſters of the Sea, and had not only infeſted the Coaſt of *Laconia*, but alſo rebuilt the Walls of *Athens* at the Coſt of *Pharnabazus*, the *Lacedæmonians* thought fit to treat of Peace with the King of *Perſia*. To that end, they ſent *Antalcidas* to *Teribazus*, baſely betraying the poor *Aſiatick Greeks*, on whoſe

whoſe behalf *Ageſilaus* had made the War. But no part of this Diſhonour fell upon *Ageſilaus*, the whole being tranſacted by *Antalcidas*, who was a bitter Enemy of *Ageſilaus*, and did therefore urge on the Peace, becauſe *Ageſilaus* was ſo earneſt for continuing the War, it being his Talent, in which he alway gain'd Reputation and Authority. Yet as ill as he liked the Peace, when once it was on foot, he promoted it; and being told by way of Reproach, that the *Lacedæmonians* did now apply themſelves to the *Median* Intereſt, he replied, No, but the *Medes* applied themſelves to the Intereſt of the *Lacedæmonians*. And when the *Grecians* were backward to the Agreement, he threatned them with War, unleſs they came up to the King of *Perſia*'s Terms. *Ageſilaus* had a particular End in this, *viz.* to weaken the *Thebans*; for it was made one of the Articles of Peace, That the Country of *Bæotia* ſhould be ſet at liberty, which was then under the Dominion of *Thebes*.

This Picque of his to *Thebes* appeared further afterwards, when *Phœbidas* in full Peace did very diſhonourably ſeize upon *Cadmea*, a Caſtle belonging to *Thebes*. The thing was much ſtomached by all *Greece*, and not well liked of by the *Laconians* themſelves; thoſe eſpecially who were Enemies to *Ageſilaus*, did require an Account of the Action, and by whoſe Authority it was done, laying the Suſpicion of it at his Door. *Ageſilaus* reſolutely anſwered, on the behalf of *Phœbidas*, That

the Profitableneſs of an Action was chiefly to be conſidered; if it were for the Advantage of the Commonwealth, it was no matter by whoſe Authority it was done. This was the more remarkable in him, becauſe he was alway obſerved to be a great Lover of Juſtice, and would in his private Diſcourſes commend it as the chief of Vertues, ſaying, *That Valour without Juſtice was uſeleſs; and if all the World were juſt, there would be no need of Valour.* When any would ſay to him, *The Great King* (meaning the *Perſian*) *will have it ſo*; he would ſmartly reply, *How is he greater than I, unleſs he be juſter?* He took the truly Royal Meaſure of Greatneſs, which is to be computed by Juſtice, not by Force.

The Peace being concluded, the King of *Perſia* wrote to *Ageſilaus*, deſiring a private Friendſhip and Correſpondence; but he refuſed it, ſaying, *That the Publick Friendſhip was enough; whilſt that laſted, there was no need of Private.* Yet was he not alway of that mind, it plainly appearing, that ſometimes out of Ambition, and ſometimes out of private Picque, he brake that Rule: Particularly, in this Caſe of the *Thebans*, he not only ſaved *Phœbidas*, but perſwaded the *Lacedæmonians* to take the Fault upon themſelves, and to retain *Cadmea*, putting a Garriſon into it, and to make *Archias* and *Leontidas* chief Governours of *Thebes*, who had been Betrayers of the Caſtle to them. This gave ſtrong Suſpicion, that what *Phœbi-*

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das did, was by *Ageſilaus* Order, which was afterward made evident by the Conſequences: For when the *Thebans* had ſlain the Garriſon, and aſſerted their Liberty, he accuſing them of the Murther of *Archias* and *Leontidas*, (who indeed were Tyrants, though in Title *Polemarchi*, or Generals) made War upon them. He ſent *Cleombrotus* on that Errand, who was now the other King, in room of *Ageſipolis* that was dead, excuſing himſelf by reaſon of his Age: For it was Forty Years ſince he had firſt born Arms, and was conſequently excuſed by the Law. Mean while the true Reaſon why he withdrew himſelf from the War, was, that he was aſhamed, having ſo lately fought againſt the Tyranny of the *Phliaſians*, to fight now in defence of a Tyranny againſt the *Thebans*.

One *Sphodrias* of *Lacedæmon*, being of a contrary Faction to *Ageſilaus*, was Governour of *Theſpiæ*, a brisk daring Man, one that had more of Courage than Wiſdom. This Action of *Phœbidas* fired him, and incited his Ambition to attempt ſome great Enterprize, which might render him as famous, as he perceived the taking of *Cadmea* had made *Phœbidas*. He thought the taking of the *Piræum*, and the cutting off thereby the *Athenians* from the Sea, a Matter of far more Glory: 'Tis ſaid, that *Pelopidas* and *Gelon*, the Governors of *Bœotia*, put him upon it; they privily ſent Men to him, that pretended to be of the *Spartan* Faction, who highly commending *Sphodrias*,

blew him up into a great Opinion of himſelf, proteſting him to be the only Man in the World, that was fit for ſo great an Enterprize. Being thus pricked forward, he could hold no longer, but ſoon engaged himſelf in a Buſineſs every whit as diſhonourable and treacherous as that of *Cadmea*, but attempted with leſs Valour and leſs Succeſs; for the Day broke whilſt he was yet in the Plains of *Thriaſium*, whereas he deſigned the whole Exploit to have been done in the Night. As ſoon as the Soldiers perceived the Rays of Light reflecting from the Temples of *Eleuſine*, upon the firſt Riſing of the Sun, it is ſaid, that their Hearts failed them; nay, he himſelf, when he ſaw that he could not have the Benefit of the Night, had not Courage enough to go on with his Enterprize; but, having pillaged the Country, he returned with Shame to *Theſpiæ*. An Embaſſy was upon this ſent from *Athens* to *Sparta*, to complain of the Breach of Peace; but the Ambaſſadors found their Journey needleſs, *Sphodrias* being then under Proceſs by the Magiſtrates of *Sparta*. *Sphodrias* durſt not ſtay to expect Judgment, which he found would be Capital, the City being highly incenſed againſt him, out of the Shame they had of the Buſineſs, and the Reſolution they had to give the *Athenians* no Cauſe of ſuſpecting them to be any way conſenting to ſo baſe an Action.

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This *Sphodrias* had a handſom Youth to his Son named *Cleonymus*, with whom *Archidamus*, the Son of *Ageſilaus*, was deeply in Love. *Archidamus*, as became him, was concern'd for the danger of his Father, but yet he durſt not appear publickly in his aſſiſtance, he being one of the profeſſed Enemies of *Ageſilaus*. But *Cleonymus* having ſolicited him with Tears about it, (as knowing *Ageſilaus* to be of all his Father's Enemies the moſt formidable) the young Man did for two or three days follow his Father with ſuch Shame and Confuſion within himſelf, that he durſt not ſpeak to him. At laſt, the day of Sentence being at hand, he adventur'd to tell him, that *Cleonymus* had entreated him to intercede for his Father. *Ageſilaus*, though well aware of the Love between the two young Men, yet did not prohibit it, becauſe he looked upon *Cleonymus* as an extraordinary Youth, and of great Hopes: Yet he gave not his Son any kind Anſwer in the Caſe, but coldly told him, *That he would conſider what he could honeſtly and honourably do in it*, and ſo diſmiſſed him. *Archidamus* being aſhamed of his want of Succeſs, did forbear the Company of *Cleonymus* for ſome days, a thing not uſual with him. This made the Friends of *Sphodrias* to think his Caſe deſperate, till *Etymocles*, one of *Ageſilaus*'s Friends, did diſcover to them the King's Mind, *viz. That he abhorred the Fact, but yet he thought* Sphodrias *a gallant Man, ſuch as the Commonwealth much*

much wanted at that time. *Ageſilaus* us'd to talk thus concerning the Cauſe, being willing to gratifie his Son; upon which, *Cleonymus* quickly underſtood, that *Archidamus* had been juſt to him, in uſing all his Intereſt with his Father; and *Sphodrias* his Friends grew brisk in his Defence. The truth is, That *Ageſilaus* was a very fond Man of his Children; inſomuch, that it is reported, That when they were little ones, he would make a Hobby-Horſe of a Reed, and ride with them. Being catched at this Sport by a Friend, he deſired him to ſay nothing of it, till he himſelf were the Father of Children.

Mean while, *Sphodrias* being abſolved of his Crime, the *Athenians* betook themſelves to Arms, inſomuch that *Ageſilaus* fell into great Diſgrace with the People; that to gratifie the Amours of a Boy, would pervert Juſtice, and make the City acceſſary to the Crimes of two private Men, who by diſhonourable Actions had broke the Peace of *Greece*. He alſo found his Collegue, *Cleombrotus*, little inclined to the *Theban* War; ſo that it became neceſſary for him to quit the Priviledge of his Age, and which he before had claimed, and to lead the Army himſelf; which he did with variety of Succeſs, ſometimes conquering, and ſometimes conquered; inſomuch, that receiving a Wound in a Battel, he was reproached by *Antalcidas*, That the *Thebans* had made him a good Requital, for teaching them to Fight. And indeed,

deed, they were now grown far better Soldiers than ever they had been, being ſo much haraſſed, and ſo much beaten into War, by the frequency of the *Lacedæmonian* Expeditions againſt them. Out of the foreſight of which, it was, that anciently *Lycurgus* in three ſeveral Laws, forbid them to make Wars often in one Place, which would be to inſtruct their Enemies in the Art of it.

Mean while, the Allies of *Sparta* were not a little diſcontented at *Ageſilaus*, becauſe this War was commenced not upon any juſt publick Offence taken, but meerly out of his private Hatred to the *Thebans*, and with Indignation grumbled, that they being the Majority of the Army, ſhould from year to year be thus expoſed to Danger and Hardſhip here and there, at the Will of a few Perſons.

Ageſilaus being put to his Shifts, to obviate the Objection, deviſed this Expedient, to ſhew the Allies were not the greater number. He gave Orders that all the Allies, of what-ever Country, ſhould ſit down promiſcuouſly on one ſide, and all the *Lacedæmonians* on the other: Which being done, he commanded an Herald to proclaim, that all the *Potters* of both Squadrons ſhould ſtand out; then all the *Black-ſmiths*; then all the *Maſons*; next the *Carpenters*; and ſo he went through all the Handicrafts. By this time all almoſt the Allies were riſen, but of the *Lacedæmonians* very few, they being by Law forbidden to learn any Handicraft-Trade:

Trade: Whereupon *Ageſilaus* fell on Laughing, and told them, *Ye ſee, Gentlemen, how that our number of Soldiers is greater than yours.*

When he brought back his Army from *Bæotia* through *Megara*, as he was going up to the Town-Hall in the Caſtle of that Town, he was ſuddenly taken with Pain, and convulſive Motions, on his better Leg, upon which a great Tumour and Inflammation ſoon aroſe. He was treated by a *Syracuſian* Phyſician, who let him blood below the Ankle: This ſoon eaſed his Pain; but then the Blood could not be ſtopped, till it brought him to fainting and ſwouning; at length, with much ado, he ſtopped it. *Ageſilaus* was carried home to *Sparta* in a very weak Condition, inſomuch that he recover'd not Strength enough to appear in the Field a long time after.

Mean while, the *Spartan* Fortune was but ill, they having received many Loſſes both by Sea and Land; but the greateſt was that at *Leuctra*, which was the firſt time that they were overthrown by the *Thebans* in a ſet Battel. The occaſion was this:

The *Grecians* were all diſpoſed to a general Peace, and to that end ſent Ambaſſadors to *Sparta*. Among theſe was *Epaminondas*, the *Theban*, famous at that time for his Wiſdom and Learning, but he had not yet given proof of his Martial Virtues. He ſeeing all the others crouch to *Ageſilaus*, and curry favour with him, did himſelf notwithſtanding keep up the

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Port of an Ambaſſador, and with that Freedom that became his Character, make a Speech in behalf not of *Thebes* only, from whence he came, but of all *Greece*, remonſtrating, That *Sparta* had grown great by War, to the great grievance of all her Neighbours. He urged, That Peace might be made upon equal Terms, ſuch a one as might be a laſting one, which could not otherwiſe be done, than by reducing all to a Parity. *Ageſilaus* perceiving all the other *Greeks* to hearken much to this Diſcourſe, and to be pleaſed with it, preſently asked him, *Whether he thought it fit that* Bœotia *ſhould be ſet free, and be permitted to live by her own Laws? Epaminondas* briskly returned the Queſtion, *Whether it were fit that* Sparta *ſhould live by hers? Ageſilaus*, being moved at this Reply, *Bid him ſet forth what ground he had for pleading ſuch Immunity for* Bœotia. *Epaminondas* again asked him, *What grounds he had for demanding liberty for* Sparta? *Ageſilaus* was ſo enraged at this, that he immediately ſtruck the *Thebans* out of the League, and declared War againſt them. With the reſt of the *Greeks* he made a Peace, and diſmiſſed them with this Saying, *That what could be peaceably adjuſted, ſhould, what was otherwiſe incurable, muſt be committed to the Succeſs of War, it being a thing of too great difficulty to provide for all things by Treaty.*

The *Ephori* did hereupon diſpatch their Orders to *Cleombrotus*, who was at that time in *Phocis*,

Phocis, to march directly into *Bœotia*, and at the ſame time ſent to their Allies for Help. The Confederates were very reſty in the Buſineſs, and unwilling to engage, but as yet they feared the *Spartans*, and durſt not refuſe. And although many Portents, and Prodigies of ill Preſage, (which I have mentioned in the Life of *Epaminondas*) had appeared; and though *Prothous* the *Laconian* had laboured all he could to hinder it, yet *Ageſilaus* would needs go forward, and prevailed ſo, that the War was decreed. He thought the preſent Juncture of Affairs very advantageous for his Revenge, the reſt of *Greece* being wholly free, and in League with them, the *Thebans* only exempted. But that this War was undertaken more upon Paſſion than Judgment, the Event did prove: For the Treaty was finiſhed but the 14th of *May*, and the *Lacedæmonians* receiv'd their great Overthrow at *Leuctræ* the 5th of *June* within 20 days. There fell at that time a 1000 *Spartans*, and *Cleombrotus* their King, in the Company of many others of the moſt gallant Men of that Nation; particularly *Cleonymus*, the Son of *Sphodrias*, that beautiful Youth, was thrice knock'd down at the Feet of the King, and as often roſe, but was ſlain at the laſt.

This unexpected Blow, which fell ſo heavy upon the *Lacedæmonians*, brought greater Glory to *Thebes*, than ever was acquired by any other of the *Grecian* Republicks, in their Civil Wars againſt each other. The Behaviour notwithſtanding

ſtanding of the *Spartans*, though beaten, was much greater, and more to be admired, than that of the *Thebans*. And indeed, if as *Xenophon* ſaith, In Converſation, good Men, even among their Sports and in their Wine, do let fall many remarkable Sayings and Jeſts, that are worth the preſerving; how much more worthy to be recorded, is an exemplary conſtancy of Mind, appearing both in the Countenances and Behaviours of brave Men, when they are preſſed by adverſe Fortune. It happen'd that the *Spartans* were celebrating a ſolemn Feaſt, at which many Strangers were preſent from other Countries, and the Town full of them, when this News of the Overthrow came. The *Ephori*, though they were ſufficiently aware that this Blow had quite ruined the *Spartan* Grandeur, and its Primacy over the reſt of *Greece*, yet gave Orders that the Dancing ſhould not break off, nor any of the Ceremonies of the Feſtival abate. But privately ſending the Names of the Slain to each Family, out of which they were loſt, they continued the publick Solemnity. The next Morning, when they had full Intelligence concerning it, and every body knew who were ſlain, and who ſurvived, the Fathers of the ſlain came out rejoycing in the Market-place, ſaluting each other with a kind of Exultation; on the contrary, the Fathers of the Survivors hid themſelves at home among the Women, as wholly aſhamed of their Children. If Neceſſity drove

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any of them abroad, they went very dejectedly, with down-Caſt Looks, and ſorrowful Countenances. The Women out-did the Men in it; ſuch whoſe Sons were ſlain, openly rejoycing, chearfully making Viſits to one another, and meeting triumphantly in the Temples; they who expected their Children home, being very ſilent, and much troubled.

But the common People being awaken'd by this Calamity, deſerted by their Allies, and withal terrified with the News of *Epaminondas* his Deſign of invading *Peloponneſus*, began to think of the Oracle, which had predicted Woes to them, when they had a lame Man to their King, and grew mightily afflicted for the Rejection of *Leotychidas*, who was both the right Heir, and ſtreight in all his Limbs. Yet the Regard they had to the Wealth and Reputation of *Ageſilaus*, ſo far ſtifled this Murmuring of the People, that notwithſtanding it, they threw themſelves upon him in this Diſtreſs, as the only Man that was fit to heal the publick Malady, by being made ſole Arbiter of all their Difficulties, whether relating to the Affairs of War or Peace. One great one was then before them, concerning the Run-aways that had fled out of the Battel, who being many and powerful, it was feared that they might make ſome Commotion in the Republick, to prevent the execution of the Law upon them for their Cowardice. The Law in that Caſe was very ſevere; for they were not only to be degraded from

from all Honours, but alſo it was a Diſgrace to Inter-marry with them: Who ever met any of them in the Streets, might beat him if he liſted, nor was it lawful for him to reſiſt; they in the mean while were obliged to go abroad in a naſty Habit, with their Gowns patched of divers Colours, and to wear their Beards half ſhaved, half unſhaven. To execute ſo rigid a Law as this, in a Caſe where the Offenders were ſo many, and of thoſe many Men of great Families and Intereſt, and that in a time when the Common-wealth wanted Soldiers ſo much as then it did, was of dangerous conſequence. Therefore they choſe *Ageſilaus* a Dictator, or new Law-giver, with full power of abrogating old Laws, or making new ones, as he pleaſed. But he without adding to or diminiſhing from, or any way changing the Law, came out into the publick Aſſembly, and ſaid, *That the Law ſhould lie dormant at preſent, but be vigorouſly executed for the future.* By this means he at once preſerved the Law from Abrogation, and the Citizens from Infamy: And that he might take off the Conſternation that was upon the young Men, he made an Inroad into *Arcadia*, where avoiding Fight as much as he could, he contented himſelf to ſpoil the Territory, and to take a ſmall Town belonging to the *Mantineans*, thereby reviving the Hearts of the Populace, letting them ſee that they were not every where unſucceſsful.

Upon this, *Epaminondas* made an Inroad into *Laconia*, with an Army of 40000, beſides light-armed Men, and others that follow'd the Camp only for Plunder, ſo that in all they were at leaſt 70000. It was now 600 years ſince the *Dorians* had poſſeſſed *Laconia*, and in all that time the Face of an Enemy had not been ſeen within their Territories, no Man daring to Invade them: But now they made their Incurſions without reſiſtance, as far as *Eurotas*, and the very Suburbs of *Sparta*; for *Ageſilaus* would not permit them to engage againſt ſo impetuous a Torrent, as *Theopompus* called it. He contented himſelf to fortifie the chief parts of the City, and to place Guards conveniently, enduring mean while the Taunts of the *Thebans*, who reproached him as the Firebrand of the War, and the Author of all that Miſchief to his Country, bidding him, defend himſelf if he could. But this was not all: He was greatly diſturbed at home with the Tumults of the City, the Outcries and running about of the old Men, who were highly enraged at their preſent Condition, and the Women much worſe, being terrifi'd by the Clamours, and the Fires of the Enemy in the Field. But that which cut him to the Heart, was the ſenſe of his loſt Glory; who having come to the Crown of *Sparta*, when it was in its moſt flouriſhing Condition, and higheſt Grandeur, now lived to ſee it laid low in Eſteem, and all its great Vaunts derided, even thoſe which he himſelf had

had been accuſtomed to uſe, *viz. That the Women of* Sparta *had never ſeen the Smoak of the Enemies Fire.* It is ſaid, that *Antalcidas* being in diſpute with an *Athenian* about the Valour of the two Nations, the *Athenian* bragged, That they had often driven the *Spartans* from the River *Cephiſus: Yes*, ſaid *Antalcidas*, *But we never had occaſion to drive you from* Eurotas. A common *Spartan* of leſs Quality, being in Company with an *Argive*, who was vapouring how many *Spartans* lay buried in the Fields of *Argos*, reply'd, *But you have none buried in the Country of* Laconia. Yet now the Caſe was ſo altered, that *Antalcidas* being one of the *Ephori*, out of Fear ſent away his Children privately to the Iſland of *Cythera*.

When the Enemy eſſay'd to get over the River, and thence to attack the Town, *Ageſilaus* betook himſelf to the high Places and ſtrong Holds of it. But it happen'd, that *Eurotas* at that time ſwelled to a great height, by reaſon of the Snow that had fallen, and made the Paſſage very difficult to the *Thebans*, not only by its depth, but much more by the Ice that was upon it. Whilſt this was doing, *Epaminondas* every where appeared the foremoſt Man in the Army, inſomuch that *Ageſilaus* viewing the whole Action, fell into Admiration of his Gallantry. But when he came to the City, and would have attempted ſomething either upon it, or within the Limits of it, that might raiſe him a Trophy there, he could not

tempt *Ageſilaus* out of his Hold, but was forc'd to march off again, waſting the Country as he went.

Mean while there did a dangerous Conſpiracy happen in *Sparta*, where 200 Men having gotten into a ſtrong part of the Town called *Iſſorion*, did ſeize upon the Temple of *Diana*, and gariſon it. The *Spartans* were enraged at it, and would have fallen upon them preſently; but *Ageſilaus* not knowing how far the Sedition might reach, did command them to forbear, and going himſelf in his Cloak, with but one Servant, when he came near the Rebels, called out, and told them, *That they miſtook their Orders; That by his Order they were to go, one part of them thither, ſhewing them another Place in the City, and part to another, which he alſo ſhewed.* The Conſpirators gladly heard this Diſcourſe, thinking themſelves no way ſuſpected of Treaſon, and readily went off to the Places which he ſhewed them. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* placed in their room a Gariſon of his own: Of the Conſpirators he apprehended Fifteen, and put them to Death in the night.

After this, a much more dangerous Conſpiracy was diſcovered of *Spartan* Citizens, who had privately met in each others Houſes, to cauſe a Diſturbance. It was equally dangerous, by reaſon of the Greatneſs of the Party, to proſecute them publickly according to Law, and to connive at them. *Ageſilaus* took another Courſe, and by Conſent of the *Ephori*, put them

them to death privately without Proceſs; a thing never before known in *Sparta*.

At this time alſo many of the *Helots*, and other Hirelings, that were liſted in the Army, ran away to the Enemy, which was matter of great Conſternation to the City. He therefore cauſed ſome Officers of his, every Morning before day, to ſearch the Quarters of the Soldiers, and where any Man was gone, to hide his Arms, that ſo the greatneſs of the number might not appear.

Hiſtorians differ about the Cauſe of the *Thebans* departure from *Sparta*. Some ſay, the Winter forced them; as alſo that the *Arcadian* Soldiers disbanding, made it neceſſary for the reſt to retire. Others ſay, that they ſtay'd there 3 Months, till they had laid the whole Country waſte. *Theopompus* is the only Author who gives out, That when the *Bœotarchæ*, or Council of War of the *Theban* Army, had reſolved upon the Retreat, *Phrixus* the *Spartan* came to them, and offer'd them from *Ageſilaus*, ten Talents to be gone, ſo hiring them to do what they were already doing of their own accord. How he alone ſhould come to be aware of this, I know not; only in this all Authors agree, That the ſaving of *Sparta* from Ruin, was wholly due to the Wiſdom of *Ageſilaus*, who in this Extremity of Affairs quitted all his Ambition and his Haughtineſs, and reſolved to play a ſaving Game. But all his Wiſdom and Proweſs was not ſufficient to recover the Glory of it,

and to raiſe it to its ancient Greatneſs. For as we ſee in Bodies, long uſed to ſtrict and too exquiſitely regular Diet, if they commit any great Diſorder, it is uſually fatal; ſo in this City, which by the ſtrictneſs of her Laws, and the ſevere Virtue, and great Conduct of her Leaders, had flouriſhed ſo long, one great miſtake in Policy undid all. Nor was this Fall wholly undeſerved, ſince they ſo much ſwerved from the Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus*, to which their Anceſtors were ſworn, who had formed a Republick, wholly fitted to the Eaſe, and Peace, and virtuous Life of the Inhabitants, ſo that they might have lived happily within themſelves, without moleſting their Neighbours, or ſeeking Dominion over them.

Ageſilaus being now very aged, gave over all Military Employments; but his Son *Archidamus*, having received Help from *Dionyſius* of *Sicily*, did give a great Overthrow to the *Arcadians*, in a Fight remarkably known by the Name of *The Tearleſs Battel*, wherein there was a great Slaughter of the Enemy, without the loſs of one *Spartan*. This Victory did but too much diſcover the preſent Weakneſs of *Sparta*; for heretofore Victory was eſteemed ſo uſual a thing with them, that for their greateſt Succeſſes, they ſeldom ſacrificed any more than a *Cock* to the Gods. The Soldiers never vaunted, nor were the Citizens extravagantly joyful at the News: Yea, when the great Victory was obtained at *Mantinea*, which is at large de-

deſcribed by *Thucidides*, the Meſſenger that brought the News had no other Reward, than a good piece of powdered Beef ſent him to his Lodgings. But at the News of this *Arcadian* Victory, they were not able to contain themſelves; but the old King went out in Proceſſion with Tears of Joy in his Eyes, to meet and embrace his Son, and all the Council attended him. The old Men and Women all marched out as far as the River *Eurotas*, lifting up their Hands, and thanking the Gods, that they had waſhed off the Stain that had lately ſtuck upon *Sparta*, ſaying, *That now they could boldly appear in the Face of the Sun, who before out of Shame and Confuſion could not appear even to their own Wives.*

When *Epaminondas* rebuilt *Meſſene*, and recalled the ancient Citizens to it, they were not able to obſtruct the Deſign, being not in condition of appearing in the Field againſt them. But the *Spartans* were very much offended with *Ageſilaus*, when they found ſo large a Territory equal to their own in Compaſs, and for Fertility the richeſt of all *Greece*, which they had enjoy'd ſo long, taken from them in his Reign. Therefore it was that the King broke off Treaty with the *Thebans*, when they offered him Peace, rather than ſet his Hand to the paſſing away of that Countrey, though it was already taken from him. Which Punctilio of Honour had like to have coſt him dear; for in the progreſs of the War he was over-reach-

ed by a Stratagem, which had almoſt amounted to the loſs of *Sparta*. For when the *Mantineans* again revolted from *Thebes* to *Sparta*, and *Epaminondas* underſtood that *Ageſilaus* was come to their Aſſiſtance with a powerful Army, he privately in the night quit his Quarters at *Tegea*, and unknown to the *Mantineans*, paſſing by *Ageſilaus* marched towards *Sparta*, inſomuch that he failed very little of taking it empty and unarmed. Of this *Ageſilaus* having Intelligence ſent him by *Euthymus* the *Theſpian*, ſaith *Calliſthenes*, but by ſome *Cretan* ſaith *Xenophon*, immediately diſpatched a Poſt to *Lacedæmon*, to advertiſe them of it, and withal to let them know that he was haſtening to them. He did it with that Expedition, that he prevented the *Thebans*, who came over *Eurotas* after he was in the Town. They notwithſtanding made an Aſſault upon the Town, and were received by *Ageſilaus* with great Courage, he beſtirring himſelf much beyond what was to be expected in his years. For he did not now fight with that Caution and Cunning which he formerly made uſe of, but put all upon a deſperate puſh; which (though not his uſual method) ſucceeded ſo well, that he reſcued the City out of the Jaws of *Epaminondas*, and forced him to retire. This Action deſerved a Trophy, and had one; at the erection of which, *Ageſilaus* encouraged the Citizens, by ſhewing them how well they had paid their Debt to their Countrey in this Action, and particularly

ly took notice of the great Performances of his Son *Archidamus*, who had that day made himſelf illuſtrious, both by his Courage and Agility of Body, ſpeedily ſhifting Places to all the dangerous Paſſes, where the Enemy preſſed hardeſt into the Town, every where charging the Enemy, though with but few in his Company. But the grand Example of an heroick Valour was given by *Iſadas*, the Son of *Phæbidas*, to the Admiration of the Enemy as well as of his Friends. He was a very comely, handſom, well grown proper Youth, juſt beginning to write Man. He had no Arms upon him, ſcarce Clothes; he had juſt anointed himſelf at home when upon the Alarm, without further Ceremony, in that Undreſs, he ſnatched a Spear in one hand, and a Sword in the other, and brake into the thickeſt of his Enemies, bearing down all before him. He received no Wound, whether that he were the particular Care of God, who rewarded his Valour with an extraordinary Protection, or whether his Shape being ſo large and beautiful, and his Dreſs ſo unuſual, they thought him more than a Man. The gallantry of the Action was ſo eſteemed among the *Spartans*, that the *Epheri* gave him a Garland; but as ſoon as they had done, they fined him a 1000 Drachms, for going out to Battel unarmed.

A few days after this there was another Battel fought near *Mantinea*, wherein *Epaminondas* having routed the Van of the *Lacedæmonians*,

nians, was eager in the purſuit of them, when *Anticrates* the *Laconian* wounded him with a Spear, ſaith *Dioſcorides*; but the *Spartans* to this day call the Poſterity of this *Anticrates*, * Sword-men, becauſe that he wounded *Epaminondas* with a Sword. They ſo dreaded *Epaminandas* when living, that the Slayer of him was embraced and admired by all; nay, they decreed Honours to him and his Poſterity, to which latter they gave immunity from all manner of Taxes: This Priviledge, *Callicrates*, one of his Deſcendants, now enjoyeth.

Epaminondas being ſlain, there was a general Peace again concluded, from which *Ageſilaus*'s Party excluded the *Meſſenians*, as Men that had no City, and therefore would not let them ſwear to the League; to which when the reſt of the *Greeks* admitted them, the *Lacedæmonians* went off, and continued the War alone, in hopes of ſubduing the *Meſſenians*. For this Reaſon was *Ageſilaus* eſteemed a ſtubborn, refractory Man, and inſatiable of War, who took ſuch pains to hinder the League, and to protract the War at a time when he had not Money wherewith to carry it on, but was forced to borrow of the Citizens, and to oppreſs them with heavy Taxes, and all this to retrieve the poor City of *Meſſenia*, after he had loſt ſo great an Empire both by Sea and Land, as the *Spar-*

* Machærione.

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tans were poſſeſſed of, when he came to the Crown.

But it did more move the Indignation of all Men, when he put himſelf into the Service of *Tachos* the *Ægyptian*. They thought it too too much unworthy of a Man of his Quality, who was then looked upon as the prime Commander in all *Greece*, who had filled all Countreys with his Renown, to let himſelf out to Hire to a *Barbarian*, an *Ægyptian* Rebel, (for *Tachos* was no better) and to fight for Pay, as Captain only of a Band of Mercenaries. If at thoſe years of eighty and odd, after his Body had been worn out with Age, and enfeebled with Wounds, he had engaged in ſome very honourable Cauſe, as the Liberty of *Greece*, or the like, it had been however worthy of ſome Reproof. To make an Action honourable, it ought to be agreeable to the Age, and other Circumſtances of the Perſon; for it is Circumſtance that doth difference the Action, and make it either good or bad. But *Ageſilaus* valued not other Mens Diſcourſes; he thought no publick Employment diſhonourable; the ignobleſt thing in his eſteem was for a Man to ſit idle and reſty at home, till Death ſhould come and take him napping. The money therefore that he received from *Tachos*, he laid out in raiſing of Men, wherewith having filled his Ships, he took alſo 30 *Spartan* Captains with him, as formerly he had done in his *Aſiatick* Expedition, and ſet ſail for *Ægypt*.

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As ſoon as he arrived at *Ægypt*, all the great Officers of the Kingdom came to pay their Complements to him at his Landing. His Reputation being ſo great, had rais'd the Expectation of the whole Country, which did flock in to ſee him; but when they found, inſtead of the great Prince whom they looked for, a little old Man of contemptible preſence, without all Ceremony lying down upon the Graſs, his Hair uncombed, his Cloaths threadbare, they fell into laughter and ſcorn of him, crying out, that the old Proverb was now made good, *The Mountain had brought forth a Mouſe.* They were much more ſcandalized at his Stupidity, (as they thought it) who, when Preſents were made of all manner of Proviſions, took only the Meal, the Calves, and the Geeſe, but rejected the Sweat-meats, the Confections and Purfumes: When they did urge him to the acceptance of them, he took them and gave them to the *Helots* that were in his Army; yet he was taken with the Garlands they made of the * *Papyrus*, becauſe of their native Simplicity, and when he returned homewards, he demanded one of the King, which he carried with him.

When he joyned with *Tachos*, he found his Expectation of being Generaliſſimo fruſtrated; *Tachos* reſerved that Place for himſelf, making *Ageſilaus* only Captain of the Band of *Merce-*

* *An Ægyptian Plant, of which Paper was made.*

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naries, and *Chabrias* the *Athenian* Admiral. This was the firſt occaſion of his Diſcontent; but there followed others: He (being daily tired with the Inſolency and Vanity of this *Ægyptian*) was at length forced to attend on him into *Phœnicia*, in a condition much below his Spirit and Dignity, which notwithſtanding he was forced to digeſt for a while, till he had opportunity of ſhewing his Reſentment. It was ſoon afforded him by *Nectanabis*, the Uncle of *Tachos*, and a great Captain under him, who took an occaſion to fall off from his Nephew, and was ſoon proclaimed King by the *Ægyptians*. This Man invited *Ageſilaus* to his Party, and the like he did to *Chabrias*, offering great Rewards to both. *Tachos* having ſmelt it, did immediately apply himſelf both to *Ageſilaus* and *Chabrias*, with great Humility to them both, beſeeching their continuance in his Friendſhip. *Chabrias* conſented to it, and did what he could to ſweeten *Ageſilaus* in the matter: But he gave this ſhort Reply, *You*, O Chabrias, *came hither a Voluntier, and may go and ſtay as you ſee cauſe; but I am the Servant of* Sparta, *appointed to head the* Ægyptians, *and therefore I cannot fight againſt thoſe to whom I was ſent as a Friend, unleſs I am commanded to do ſo by my Country.* This being ſaid, he ſoon diſpatched Meſſengers to *Sparta*, who were ſufficiently inſtructed both in the Accuſations of *Tachos*, and the Commendations of *Nectanabis*. The two *Ægyptians* did alſo ſend their

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Ambaſſadors to *Lacedæmon*, the one to claim Continuance of the old League already made, the other to make great Offers for the breaking of it, and making a new one. The *Spartans* having heard both ſides, gave in their publick Anſwer, *That they referred the whole Matter to* Ageſilaus; but privately wrote to him, to act as he ſhould find it beſt for the Profit of the Commonwealth. Upon receipt of his Orders, he ſoon changed ſides, carrying all the *Mercenaries* with him to *Nectanabis*, covering ſo foul an Action, with the plauſible pretence of acting for the benefit of his Country, whereas the fine Vale being taken off, the Fact was no better than downwright Treachery. But the *Lacedæmonians* who make it their firſt Principle of their Actions to ſerve their Countrey, know not any thing to be juſt or unjuſt by any Meaſures but that.

Tachos being thus deſerted by the *Mercenaries*, fled for it: Upon which one of the *Mendeſian* Province being deſigned his Succeſſor, came againſt *Nectanabis* with an Army of 100000 Men. *Nectanabis* in his Diſcourſe with *Ageſilaus*, deſpiſed them as new raiſed Men, who, though many in number, were of no skill in War, being moſt of them Handicrafts-men and Trades-men, never bred to War. To whom *Ageſilaus* anſwered, *That he deſpiſed their numbers, but was afraid of their Ignorance, which gave no room for treating them by Fineneſs and Stratagem; for thoſe are to be uſed only with cunning*

ning and crafty Men, who being themſelves full of Deſign, and ſuſpicious alway of yours, do give opportunity of putting Tricks upon them; but a Fool-hardy Man, that neither ſeeth nor feareth any thing, giveth no more opportunity to the Enemy, than he that ſtands ſtock-ſtill without putting out his Leg, giveth to a Wreſtler. This *Mendeſian* was not wanting in the Solicitations of *Ageſilaus*, inſomuch that *Nectanabis* grew jealous. But when *Ageſilaus* adviſed to fight the Enemy, preſently before either their Skill or their Numbers increaſed; it being imprudent to protract a War with ſuch Men, who (rude and inexpert as they were) would ſo increaſe in numbers, as wholly to incompaſs them, and prevent their Deſigns. This confirmed him in his Jealouſie, and made him take the quite contrary courſe, retreating into a ſtrong Gariſon, well fortifi'd with Walls and Bulwarks. *Ageſilaus* finding himſelf miſtruſted, took it very ill, and was full of Indignation, yet was aſhamed to change Sides again, the other having been ſo lately done; ſo that he was forced to follow *Nectanabis* into the Town.

When the Enemy came up, and began to draw a Line about the Town, and to intrench, the *Ægyptian* was reſolving upon a Battel, thinking it much ſafer than to be begirt round with a Ditch, and ſo ſtarved out in a long Siege, The *Greeks* were alſo of that mind, the Proviſions growing already ſcarce in the Town. When *Ageſilaus* oppoſed it, the *Ægyptians* then

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ſuſpected him much more, publickly calling him, *The Betrayer of the King.* But *Ageſilaus* (being now ſatisfi'd within himſelf) did bear all theſe Reproaches patiently, and follow'd the Deſign cloſe which he had laid, of over-reaching the Enemy, which was this:

The Enemy had intrenched with a deep Ditch and high Wall, reſolving to ſhut up the King and ſtarve him. When the Ditch was brought almoſt quite round, he took the Advantage of the Night, and armed all his *Greeks*. Then going to the King, *This, young Man, is your opportunity*, ſaid he, *of ſaving your ſelf, which I durſt not all this while diſcover, leſt the diſcovery ſhould prevent it; but now the Enemy hath at his own coſt, and the pains and labour of his own Men, provided for our ſecurity. As much of this Wall as is built, will prevent them from ſurrounding us with their Multitude, the Gap yet left will be ſufficient for us to ſally out by: Now play the Man, and follow the Example the* Greeks *will give you, and by fighting valiantly, ſave your ſelf and your Army; their Front will not be able to ſtand againſt us, and their Rear we are ſufficiently ſecured from, by a Wall of their own making.* *Nectanabis* admiring the Wiſdom of *Ageſilaus*, immediately placed himſelf in the *Grecian* Army, and fought with them; which upon the firſt Charge ſoon routed the Enemy. *Ageſilaus* having now gotten Credit with the King, began to uſe what Stratagems he thought good, without being interrupted by him: He

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ſometimes pretended a Retreat, otherwhile charged furiouſly, by this means diſordering the Enemy, and at laſt trolling him into a Place encloſed between two Ditches that were very deep, and full of Water. When he had them at this Advantage, he ſoon charged them, drawing up the Front of his Battel equal to the ſpace between the two Ditches, ſo that they had no way of ſurrounding him, being encloſed themſelves on both ſides. They made but little Reſiſtance; many fell, others fled and were diſperſed.

Nectanabis being thus ſettled and fixed in his Kingdom, did with much Kindneſs and Earneſtneſs invite *Ageſilaus* to ſpend his Winter in *Ægypt*: But he made haſt home to aſſiſt in the Wars of his own Countrey, whoſe Treaſury he knew to be empty, yet were they forced to hire *Mercenaries*, whilſt their own Men were fighting abroad. The King diſmiſſed him very honourably, and among other Preſents, he preſented the State of *Sparta* with 230 Talents of Silver, towards the Charge of their Wars: But the Winter-ſeaſon being tempeſtuous, he was driven upon a deſart Shore of *Africa*, called *The Haven of* Menelaus, where when his Ships were juſt upon landing, he expired, being then 84 years old, and having reigned in *Lacedæmon* 41. 30 of which years he paſſed in great Splendor, being eſteemed the greateſt and moſt powerful Prince of all *Greece*, and being looked on as in a manner General and King of it, till the

Battel of *Leuctra*. It was the Cuſtom of the *Spartans*, to bury their common dead in the Place where they died, whatſoever Countrey it was, but their Kings they embalmed and carried home. Now the Followers of *Ageſilaus* having not wherewith to embalm him, did, for want of Honey which they uſed in their Embalming, wrap his Body in Wax, and ſo conveyed him to *Lacedæmon*.

His Son *Archidamus* ſucceeded him in his Throne, ſo did his Poſterity ſucceſſively to *Agis* * the 5*th*. from *Ageſilaus*. Who was murthered by *Leonidas*, for ſeeking to reſtore the ancient Diſcipline of *Sparta*.

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* viz *by deſcent*. *See the Life of* Agis.

THE



CN. POMPEIVS MAGNVS.



THE LIFE OF POMPEY.

Tranſlated out of the Greek by W. Oldys, *LL. D.*

§. 1. THE People of *Rome* ſeem to have embraced *Pompey* from his Childhood, with the ſame affection that *Prometheus* in the Tragedy of *Æſchylus* expreſſed for *Hercules*, ſpeaking of him as the Author of his Deliverance, in theſe words,

Ah cruel Sire! how dear's thy Son to me!
The generous Off-ſpring of my Enemy!

For on one hand, never did the *Romans* give ſuch a demonſtration of their Hatred (a Hatred ſo implacable and ſavage) againſt any of

their Generals, as they did againſt *Strabo*, the Father of *Pompey*. All his Life-time, 'tis true, they ſtood in awe of his martial Proweſs and Power, (for indeed he was a mighty Warrier) but immediately upon his Death, (which hapned by a Stroke of Thunder) they treated him barbarouſly, dragging his very Corps from the Herſe, as it was carried in Pomp at his Funeral, with Villany and Diſgrace. On the other ſide, in favour of *Pompey*, never had any *Roman* the Peoples Good-will and Devotion more zealous throughout all the Changes of Fortune, either ſpringing up earlier, and aſpiring together with him in Proſperity, or ſo conſtantly loyal in Adverſity, as *Pompey* had. In *Strabo*, there was one great Cauſe of their Hatred, his unſatiable Covetouſneſs; but in *Pompey* there were many, whereby he became the Object of their Love; his Temperance, Skill, and Exerciſe in Martial Diſcipline, Eloquence of Speech, Integrity of Mind, and Affability in Converſation and Addreſs; inſomuch as no Man ever made his Addreſſes with leſſer Trouble, or gratifi'd an Addreſſor with more Delight: For in Preſents when he gave, 'twas without Diſdain; when he receiv'd, 'twas with Reverence and Honour.

In his Youth he had a Grace in his Countenance extreamly taking, ſeeming to anticipate his Eloquence, and win upon the Affections of the People before he ſpoke; for in his Air there was a majeſtick Gravity, temper'd with no

no leſs Candour and Humanity: And when as yet he was but in the Flower and Dawn of his Manhood, there appear'd in his Deportment a ſage and princely Genius, even in its Meridian. His Hair ſat ſomewhat hollow or riſing a little: And the languiſhing motion of his Eyes, ſeem'd to form a reſemblance in his Face, (though perhaps more through the ſpeech of People, than real likeneſs) to the Statues of King *Alexander*: Now becauſe many call'd him by that Name in his Youth, *Pompey* himſelf did not decline it, inſomuch that ſome in deriſion call'd him ſo; yet even *Lucius Philippus*, a Man of Conſular Dignity, when he was pleading in favour of him, thought it not unfit to ſay, *That there was nothing abſurd or unexpected in this, that he himſelf being* Philip, *ſhould be a Lover of* Alexander.

'Tis reported of *Flora* the Curtezan, That in her latter time ſhe took great delight in relating her Amours and Familiarity with *Pompey*, and was wont to ſay, That ſhe could never part upon an Enjoyment without a Bite, or Satyrical Reflection. And withal ſhe would farther tell you, That one *Geminius*, a great Companions of *Pompey*'s, fell in Love with her, and made his Court with all the Arts imaginable; but ſhe refuſing, and telling him, However her Inclinations were, yet ſhe could not gratifie his Deſires for *Pompey*'s ſake: He therefore mov'd *Pompey* in it, and *Pompey* frankly gave his Conſent, but never afterwards would touch her, or

have any Converſe with her, notwithſtanding he ſeem'd to have a great Paſſion for her; which *Flora* reſented, not with the Levity of a Strumpet, for that ſhe languiſh'd afterwards under a tedious Sickneſs through Grief and Deſire. Now 'twas ſaid, That this *Flora* became ſuch a celebrated Beauty, that *Cecilius Metellus*, when he adorn'd the Temples of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* with divers rare Statues and Images, among the reſt dedicated hers for her ſingular Beauty. But *Pompey* was quite beſides his natural Temper, in his Deportment towards the Wife of *Demetrius*, his franchis'd Servant, (who had a great Influence upon him in his Life-time, and left an Eſtate of 4000 Talents) where he demean'd himſelf neither gentilely nor ingenuouſly, fearing leſt he ſhould fall under the common Cenſure of being enamour'd and charm'd with her Beauty, which was incomparable, and became famous every where. Thus though herein he ſeem'd to be providently circumſpect and cautious, yet even in Matters of this nature, he could not avoid the Calumnies of his Enemies, but upon the ſcore of Women, his Wives at leaſt, they accuſed him, as if he had conniv'd at many things, and embezil'd the publick Revenue to gratifie their Luxury.

Then for his Sobriety, and Temperance in Diet, there was one remarkable Paſſage in his Sickneſs; when his Stomach nauſeated common Meats, his Phyſician preſcrib'd him a *Thruſh* to eat;

eat; but upon ſearch, there was none to be bought, (for they were not then in ſeaſon) and one telling him, they were to be had at *Lucullus*'s, who kept them all the year round, *Why then*, ſaid he, *if it were not for* Lucullus's *Luxury, ſhould not* Pompey *live?* Thereupon: not minding the Preſcription of the Phyſician, he contented himſelf with ſuch Meat as could eaſily be procur'd. But of that hereafter.

Now *Pompey* being as yet a very young Man, and upon an Expedition, (in which his Father was appointed General againſt *Cinna*) had in his Tent with him one *Lucius Terentius*, his Companion and Camerade, who, being corrupted by *Cinna*, enter'd into an Engagement to kill *Pompey*, as others had done to ſet the General's Tent on Fire. This Conſpiracy being diſcovered to *Pompey* at Supper, he ſeem'd no ways diſcompos'd at it, but drank more liberally than uſual, and expreſs'd an extraordinary Kindneſs to *Terentius*; then about Bed-time (pretending to go to his Repoſe) he ſtole away ſecretly out of his own Tent, and ſetting a Guard about his Father, quietly expected the Event: *Terentius* now thinking his Enterprize ripe for execution, roſe with his naked Sword, and coming to *Pompey*'s Bed-ſide, ſtabb'd ſeveral Strokes through the Bed-cloaths, as if he were lying there. Immediately upon this there was a great Uproar throughout all the Camp, ariſing from the Hatred they bore to the General, and an univerſal inclination of the Soldi-

ers to Revolt, all tearing down their Tents, and betaking themſelves to their Arms; the General himſelf all this while durſt not venture out becauſe of the Tumult, but *Pompey* running into the midſt of them, beſeech'd them with Tears, and at laſt threw himſelf proſtrate upon his Face before the Door of the Tent, and lay there in the Paſſage as a Bar at their Feet, bewailing his Fate, and bidding thoſe that were marching off, if they would go, to trample upon him: Whereupon every Man began to retreat, and all, except 800, either through Shame or Compaſſion, repented of their Folly, and were reconcil'd to the General.

Immediately upon the Death of *Strabo*, there was an Action commenc'd againſt *Pompey* as his Heir, for that his Father had imbezil'd the publick Treaſure: But *Pompey* having well trac'd the Thief, charg'd it upon one *Alexander*, a franchis'd Bondſlave of his Fathers, and made an undoubted Evidence before the Judges, that he had purloin'd and converted it to his own Uſe. Afterwards he himſelf was arraign'd, for that he had ſeiz'd upon the Toils, or hunting Tackle, and Books, that were taken at *Aſculum*. To this he confeſs'd thus far, That he receiv'd them from his Father when he took *Aſculum*, but pleaded farther, That he had loſt them ſince, which happen'd upon *Cinna*'s Return to *Rome*, when his Houſe was broke open and plunder'd by thoſe of his Guards. In this Cauſe he had a great many preparatory Pleadings

Pleadings againſt his Accuſer, in which he appearing ſtrangly ſubtil and induſtrious beyond his years, gain'd great Reputation and Favour; inſomuch, that *Antiſtius*, the Prætor and Judge of that Cauſe, took a great Liking to *Pompey*, and offer'd him his Daughter in Marriage, having had ſome Treaties and Communications with his Friends about it. *Pompey* accepted of the Condition, and they were privately contracted: However this Matter was not ſo cloſely convey'd, as to eſcape the Multitude, but it was diſcernible enough, from the Favours that were ſhewn to him by *Antiſtius* in his Cauſe. Whereupon, at laſt, when *Antiſtius* pronounc'd the abſolutory Sentence of the Judges, the People (as if it had been upon a Signal given) made the ſame Acclamation as was anciently us'd at Marriages, *Talaſſio*; the original of which Cuſtom is reported to be this: Upon a time when the Daughters of the *Sabines* came to *Rome*, to ſee the Shows and Sports there, and were violently ſeiz'd upon by the Nobles for Wives, it happen'd that ſome Goatſwains and Herdſmen of the meaner Rank, were carrying off a beautiful and proper Damoſel; and leſt any of the Nobles ſhould meet them, and take her away as they ran, they cry'd out with one voice, *Talaſſio*: Now *Talaſſius* was an eminent and acceptable Perſon among them, inſomuch, as all that heard the Name, clapp'd their Hands for Joy, and joyn'd with them in the Shout, as applauding and congratulating the Chance; now,

now, ſay they, (becauſe that prov'd a fortunate Match to *Talaſſius*) hence 'tis that this Acclamation is jocularly us'd as a Nuptial Song at all Weddings. And this is the moſt credible Account that I can meet with touching *Talaſſio*.

Some few days after this Judgment, *Pompey* married *Antiſtia*, and after that went to *Cinna*'s Camp, where finding ſome falſe Suggeſtions and Calumnies forg'd againſt him, he began to be afraid, and preſently withdrew himſelf in diſguiſe from the Camp; this ſudden Diſappearance occaſion'd great Jealouſies, and there went a Rumour and Speech throughout all the Camp, that *Cinna* had murder'd the young Man; whereupon all that had been any ways diſoblig'd, and bore any Malice to him, reſolv'd to make an Aſſault upon him: But he endeavouring to make his Eſcape, was apprehended by a *Centurion*, that purſu'd him with his naked Sword; wherefore *Cinna* in this Diſtreſs fell upon his Knees, and offer'd him a Seal of great Value for his Ranſom; but the *Centurion* checked him very inſolently, ſaying, *I come not here to ſeal a Covenant, but to chaſtiſe and be reveng'd upon a lawleſs and wicked Tyrant*; and ſo diſpatch'd him immediately.

§. 2. Thus *Cinna* being ſlain, *Carbo*, a Tyrant more ſenſleſs than he, took the Adminiſtration of the Government, and all things upon him. But ſhortly after came *Sylla*, a Man by reaſon of theſe imminent Evils deſir'd of moſt, but eſ-

eſpecially of thoſe who plac'd no ſmall eaſe and ſatisfaction in the exchange of a Maſter: For the City was brought to that paſs by thoſe grievous Oppreſſions and Calamities, that every Man now being utterly in deſpair of Liberty, was compounding for himſelf, and laying out for the mildeſt and moſt tolerable Bondage. About that time *Pompey* was at * *Picenum* in *Italy*, where he had ſpent ſome time in his Diverſion, for that he had a Country Inheritance there, though the chiefeſt Motive of his Abode in that Country, was the Delight he took in the Cities thereabouts, where his whole Family was nobly received, and treated with all the Offices of Humanity for his Fathers ſake.

Now when *Pompey* perceived, that the nobleſt and beſt of the City began to forſake their Fortunes, and fly from all Quarters to *Sylla*'s Camp, as to their Haven, he deſign'd likewiſe thither among the reſt, yet he diſdain'd to go as a Fugitive, or alone, and without a Party; but like one who would oblige *Sylla* by making a reputable Appearance, and carrying Forces along with him. And to that end, he mov'd and ſolicited the *Peicentines* for their Aſſiſtance, who as cordially embrac'd his Motion, and rejected thoſe that were ſent from *Carbo*; inſomuch, that one *Vindius*, a malepert Fellow of that Faction, taking upon him to ſay, *That*

* Now the Marches of *Ancona*.

Pompey

Pompey *was come from the Top Form of School Boys to put himſelf at the Head of the People:* They were ſo incens'd againſt him, that immediately they fell upon this *Vindius*, and ſlew him. From henceforward *Pompey* finding a Spirit of Government upon him, though as yet not above 23 years of Age, nor yet deriving an Authority by Commiſſion from any ſuperiour Magiſtrate, took the priviledge to grant himſelf a full Power, and Juriſdiction; and in order to that, he caus'd a Tribunal or Court of Judicature to be erected in the Market-place of *Auximum*, a populous City; now it happened that two of the chiefeſt among them, (the *Ventidians*, Brethren) of *Carbo*'s Faction, were grand Oppoſers of his Deſigns, thoſe he baniſh'd inſtantly, commanding them by a publick Edict to depart the City. Then he fell to levying an Army, iſſuing out Commiſſions to Serjeants of Bands, Centurions, and other Officers, according to the Form of Military Diſcipline: And in this manner he went round, and modell'd all the reſt of the Cities in the ſame Circuit; ſo that thoſe who were of *Carbo*'s Faction, flying, and all others cheerfully ſubmitting to his Command, in a little time he muſter'd up three entire Legions, having ſupplied himſelf beſide with all manner of Proviſions, Ammunition, Beaſts, Carriages, and all other Implements of War. And in this Equipage he ſet forwards on his March towards *Sylla*, not with Whip and Spur, as if he were in haſte, not yet

in

in a Cloud, as if he coveted to be conceal'd, but by ſmall Journeys, making ſeveral Halts upon the Road, to diſtreſs and annoy the Enemy, deſigning to inſinuate himſelf in every part of *Italy* where e're he came, and to work them into a Revolt and Defection from *Carbo*.

Now there aroſe together againſt him three great Commanders of the Enemy, *Carinna*, *Cælius*, and *Brutus*, and drew up their Forces, not all in the Front, nor yet together on any one part, but encamping three ſeveral Armies in a Circle about him, they reſolv'd to encompaſs and devour him at once; *Pompey* was no ways amaz'd at this, but drawing up all his Forces into one Body, and placing his Horſe in the Front of the Battel, where he himſelf was in Perſon, he ſingl'd out and bent all his Forces againſt *Brutus*; now the Enemies Horſe, conſiſting chiefly of *Gauls*, *Pompey* himſelf encountring hand to hand with one of the foremoſt and ſtouteſt among them, made a home-Paſs at him with his Launce, and ſlew him: The reſt ſeeing this, turn'd their Backs, and fled in great Diſorder, falling foul upon themſelves, and breaking the Ranks of their own Foot, inſomuch that it preſently caus'd a total Rout; whereupon the Commanders fell out among themſelves, and every one march'd off, ſteering their Courſe ſome one way, ſome another, as their Fortunes led them: The Towns likewiſe round about, came in and ſurrendred them-

themſelves to *Pompey*, concluding that the Enemy was diſpers'd for fear. Next after theſe, came *Scipio* the Conſul to attack him, and with as little Succeſs; for before the Armies could joyn, or be within the Throw of their Darts, *Scipio*'s Soldiers ſaluted *Pompey*'s, and came over to them, but *Scipio* made his Eſcape by Flight. Laſt of all, *Carbo* himſelf ſent down divers Regiments of Horſe by the River *Arſis*, which *Pompey* aſſail'd with the ſame Courage and Succeſs as thoſe before; for having routed and put them to Flight, he forc'd them in the purſuit upon mooriſh and boggy Places, altogether unpaſſable for Horſe, where ſeeing no Hopes of Eſcape, they cry'd out Quarter, yielding themſelves, Horſe and Armour, all to his Mercy,

Sylla was hitherto unacquainted with all this Action; but as ſoon as he had Intelligence of his Engagements, he ſeem'd extreamly concern'd, fearing leſt *Pompey* ſhould be circumvented and oppreſs'd by ſo many, and ſuch experienc'd Commanders of the Enemy, whereupon he march'd with all ſpeed to his Aid. Now *Pompey* having Advice of his Approach, ſent out Orders to his Officers, commanding them to marſhal and draw up all his Forces in Battel Array, that they might appear in the greateſt Order and Bravery before their Emperor, for he expected indeed great Honours from him, but he met with greater; for as ſoon as *Sylla* ſaw him thus advancing, his Army ſo well

well appointed, and ſuch goodly Men, adorn'd and elevated with all the Glories of Youth and Victory, he alighted from his Horſe, and being firſt, (as he ought to be) ſaluted by the Title of Emperor, he return'd the Salutation upon *Pompey*, in the ſame Term and Style of Emperor, contrary to the Expectations of all that were preſent, who little dream'd that he would have imparted ſuch an honourable Title to one of no greater Age, nor yet a Senator, eſpecially conſidering how deſperately he himſelf had contended for that very Title and Dignity, againſt the Factions of *Scipio* and *Marius*. And indeed all the reſt of his Deportment was agreeable to his firſt Compliments; for when e're *Pompey* came into his Preſence, he did ſome ſort of Obeiſance to him, either in riſing and being uncover'd, or the like, which he was rarely ſeen to have done to any of the reſt of his Nobles, notwithſtanding there were divers others about him of great Quality and Honour. Yet was not *Pompey* puff'd up at all, or exalted with theſe Favours: And therefore when *Sylla* would have ſent him with all Expedition into *Gallia Celtica*, a Province under the Government of *Metellus*, for that 'twas thought *Metellus* had done nothing memorable, at leaſtwiſe worthy of that great Army he commanded there: *Pompey* reply'd as modeſtly, *That it could never be thought fair or honourable for him, to extort a Province out of the hands of an ancient Captain, and one of far greater*

greater Fame and Experience than himſelf, however if Metellus *were willing, and would command his Service, he ſhould be very ready to accompany and aſſiſt him in the War.* Which when *Metellus* came to underſtand, he approv'd of the Motion, and accordingly invited him over by Letter. Whereupon *Pompey* fell immediately like Lightning into *Gaul*, where he did not only do wonderful Exploits of himſelf, but alſo blew up and kindled anew, that bold and warlike Spirit, which old Age had in a manner extinguiſh'd in *Metellus*, having the ſame Operation with molten or boiling Copper, which being pour'd upon that that is cold and ſolid, ſeems to diſſolve and melt it faſter than Fire it ſelf. But I muſt obſerve the ſame courſe here as is done with a famous Wreſtler, who though he has excelled all Men in thoſe Games even from his Youth, and always born away the Prize with Glory, yet 'tis not uſual to account of his childiſh Victories, or enter them upon Record among the reſt: So for the Exploits of *Pompey* in his Minority, though they were brave in themſelves, yet becauſe they were obſcur'd and buri'd in the multitude and greatneſs of his latter Wars and Conqueſts, I dare not be particular in them, leſt by trifling away time in the leſſer moments of his Youth, I ſhould caſually omit thoſe grander Actions and Enterprizes, which beſt diſcover the natural Diſpoſition and ſingular Genius of the Man.

Now

Now, when *Sylla* had brought all *Italy* under his Dominion, and was proclaim'd Dictator, he began to reward the reſt of his Followers, giving them Eſtates, advancing them to Places of Honour and Truſt, and largely and liberally gratifying every Man according to his Tallant and Deſire. But for *Pompey*, he was a great Admirer of his Valour and Conduct, and thinking that he might prove a great ſtay and ſupport to him hereafter in all his Affairs, ſought by all means to eſpouſe and joyn him in Alliance to him, and having likewiſe the Approbation of his Wife *Metella*, they perſwaded him to put away *Antiſtia*, and Marry *Æmylia*, (the Daughter-in-Law of *Sylla*, by *Metella*, and *Scaurus* her former Husband) ſhe being at that very time the Wife of another Man, cohabiting with him, and with Child by him. Theſe were the very Tyrannies of Marriage, and much more agreeable to the Times under *Sylla*, than to the Nature and Genius of *Pompey*, That *Æmylia* great with Child, ſhould be, as it were, raviſh'd from the Embraces of another for him; and that *Antiſtia* ſhould be divorc'd with diſhonour and miſery by him, for whoſe ſake ſhe had been but juſt before been bereft of her Father; to be at once both a Widow and Fatherleſs by his means; for her Father *Antiſtius* was murder'd in the Senate, becauſe he was ſuſpected to be a Favourer of *Sylla* for *Pompey*'s ſake; and her Mother likewiſe, after ſhe had ſeen all theſe Indignities,

made away with her ſelf. Theſe were Tragedies that attended that unhappy Marriage, and that there might be nothing wanting to compleat the laſt Act, by Heavens! even *Æmylia* her ſelf not long after dy'd at *Pompey*'s in Child-Bed.

§. 3. About this time an Expreſs came to *Sylla*, That *Perpenna* had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Sicily*, whereby that Iſle was now become a Refuge and Receptacle for the Reliques of the adverſe Party: That *Carbo* was hovering about thoſe Seas with a Navy: That *Domitius* was fallen in upon *Africa*; and that many of the Exil'd Nobles, who fled before they were proſcrib'd, were daily flocking into thoſe Parts. Againſt theſe therefore was *Pompey* ſent with a great Army; and no ſooner was he arrived in *Sicily*, but *Perpenna* departed thence, leaving the whole Iſland to him. Wherefore *Pompey* received the diſtreſſed Cities into Favour, and treated all with great Humanity, except that of the *Mamertines* in *Meſſene*; for when they proteſted againſt his Court and Juriſdiction, alledging their Priviledge and Exemption founded upon an ancient Charter or Grant of the *Romans*, he replied as ſharply, *What! Will you ne'er leave prating of Laws to us that have Swords by our ſides?* 'Tis thought likewiſe, that he ſhewed but little Humanity to *Carbo*, ſeeming rather to inſult over his Misfortunes, than to chaſtize his Crime; for if there had been a neceſſity, (as perhaps there was) that he ſhould be taken off, that

that might have been done at firſt, as ſoon as he was taken Priſoner, for then it would have been the Act of him that commanded it, and imputed to his Malice; but here *Pompey* commands a Man (that had been thrice Conſul of *Rome*) to be brought in Fetters to the Bar, he himſelf ſitting upon the Bench in Judgment, examining the Cauſe throughout all the Formalities of Law, and pronouncing Sentence of Death, as upon a common Malefactor, to the Grief and Indignation of all that were preſent, and afterwards he ordered him to be taken away and put to Death. Now 'tis reported of *Carbo*, That as ſoon as he was brought to the Scaffold, and ſaw the Sword drawn for Execution, it wrought ſo with him, that immediately he had a looſeneſs or pain in his Belly, inſomuch that he deſired a little reſpite of the Executioner, and a convenient Place to eaſe himſelf. But yet farther, *C. Oppius*, a great Friend of *Cæſar*'s, tells us, That *Pompey* dealt as barbarouſly with *Q. Valerius*, a Man of ſingular Learning, eſpecially in Philology and Mathematicks few like him; for when he was brought to him, he walk'd aſide, and diſcours'd with him; and after a long Conference, and full Reſolution of all his Queſtions, having learned what he could, he ordered his Officers to take him away, and put him to Death. But we muſt not be too credulous in all the Narratives of *Oppius*, eſpecially when he undertakes to relate any thing touching the Friends or Foes of *Cæſar*:

This is certain, That there lay a neceſſity upon *Pompey* to be ſevere upon many of *Sylla*'s Enemies, thoſe at leaſtwiſe that were eminent Perſons in themſelves, and notoriouſly known to be taken; but for the reſt, he dealt with them after his own natural Temper, conniving at the Concealment of ſome, and himſelf being the Inſtrument in the Eſcape of others. And the like Argument of his Clemency was ſhewn in the *Himeræans*; for when *Pompey* had determined a ſharp Revenge upon their City, for that they had been ſtubborn Abettors of the Enemy, there ſtept out one *Sthenes*, a great Leader of the People there, and craving Audience of *Pompey*, told him, *That what he was about to do, was not at all conſiſtent with Juſtice, for that he would paſs by the Guilty, and deſtroy the Innocent: Pompey* demanding, *Who that guilty Perſon was that would father the Offences of them all? Sthenes* replied, *'Twas himſelf, who had wrought upon and engaged his Friends by Perſwaſions, and his Enemies by Force:* Whereupon *Pompey* being much taken with the frank Speech and Gallantry of the Man, firſt forgave him his Crime, and then pardoned all the reſt of the *Himeræans*. *Pompey* likewiſe hearing, That his Soldiers were very diſorderly in their March, doing Violence upon the Roads, he ordered their Swords to be ſealed up in their Scabbards, and whoſoever kept them not ſo, were ſeverely puniſhed.

Whilſt *Pompey* was thus buſie in the Affairs and

and Government of *Sicily*, he received a Decree of the Senate, and a Commiſſion from *Sylla*, commanding him forthwith to ſail into *Africa*, and make War upon *Domitius* with all his Forces: For *Domitius* had rallied up a far greater Army than *Marius* had not long ſince, when he ſailed out of *Africa* into *Sicily*, and extreamly diſtreſſed the Affairs of the *Romans*, being himſelf of a fugitive Out-law, become a Tyrant. *Pompey* therefore having prepared all things of a ſudden, and left *Memmius*, his Siſters Husband, Governor of *Sicily*, imbarked and ſet ſail with 120 Galleys, and 800 other Veſſels, laden with Proviſions, Money, Ammunition, Engines of Battery, and all other Neceſſaries. In this Equipage he arrived with his Fleet, part at the Port of *Utica*, part at *Carthage*; and no ſooner was he landed there, but that 7000 of the Enemy revolted and came over to him, which beſides his own Forces that he brought with him, (conſiſting of ſix entire Legions) made up an Army of 43000 Fighting-men. Here they tell us of a pleaſant Paſſage that happened to him at his firſt Arrival; For ſome of his Soldiers having by accident ſtumbled upon a Treaſure, whereby they got a good Maſs of Money: The reſt of the Army hearing this, began to fancy that the Field was full of Gold and Silver, which had been hid there of old by the *Carthaginians* in the time of their Calamities, and thereupon fell to work, ſo that the Army was uſeleſs to *Pompey* for many

days, being totally engaged in digging for the fancy'd Treaſure, he himſelf all the while walking up and down only, and laughing to ſee ſo many thouſands together, digging and turning up the Earth: But at laſt, growing weary and hopeleſs, they came to themſelves, and returned to their General, begging him to lead them where he pleaſed, for that they had already reaped the juſt Reward of their Folly. By this time *Domitius* had prepared himſelf, and drawn out his Army in Battel-array againſt *Pompey*; but there happened to be a rappid Torrent in the Valley betwixt them, craggy and difficult to paſs over, which together with a great Storm of Wind and Rain pouring down even from break of Day, ſeemed to ſhew but little poſſibility of their coming together: Inſomuch, that *Domitius* not expecting any Engagement that day, commanded his Forces to draw off and retire to the Camp. Now *Pompey*, who was watchful upon every Occaſion, making uſe of the opportunity, ordered a march forthwith, and having paſſed over the Torrent, they fell in immediately upon their Quarters. The Enemy was in a great Diſorder and Tumult, and in that Confuſion attempted a Reſiſtance; but they neither were all there, nor ſupported one another; beſides, the Wind having veered about, lay beating the Rain full in their Faces. Neither indeed was the Storm leſs troubleſome to the *Romans*, for that they could not clearly diſcern

diſcern one another, inſomuch that even *Pompey* himſelf, being unknown, eſcaped but narrowly; for when one of his Soldiers demanded of him the Word of Battel, it hapned that he was ſomewhat ſlow in his Anſwer, which might have coſt him his Life.

The Enemy being routed with a great Slaughter, (for 'tis ſaid, that of 20000 there eſcaped but 3000) the Army ſaluted *Pompey* by the Name of Emperor; but he declined it, telling them, *That he could not by any means accept of that Title, as long as he ſaw any of the Forts or Garriſons of the Enemy ſtanding; but if they deſigned to make him worthy of the Honour, they muſt firſt demoliſh the Camp wherein they lay intrenched.* The Soldiers hearing this, went preſently and made an Aſſault upon the Works and Trenches, and there *Pompey* fought without his Helmet, in memory of his former Danger, and to avoid the like; the Camp being thus taken by Storm, they were put to the Sword, and, among the reſt, *Domitius* was ſlain upon the Place. After that Overthrow, the Cities of the Country thereabout were all taken in, ſome by Surrender, and others by Storm: King *Jarbas* likewiſe, a Confederate and Auxiliary of *Domitius*, was taken Priſoner, and his Kingdom was given to *Hiempſal.*

Pompey could not reſt here, but being ambitious to follow the good Fortune and Valour of his Army, he fell into *Numidia*, and march-

ing forward many Days Journeys up into the Country, he conquered all where e'er he came, reſolving, That by his Hand the Name and Power of the *Roman* Empire (which was now almoſt obliterated among the barbarous Nations) ſhould be revived again, and appear as formidable as ever; he ſaid likewiſe, *That the wild Beaſts of* Africa *ought not to be left without ſome Experience of the Courage and Succeſs of the* Romans; and therefore he beſtowed ſome few Days in hunting of Lions and Elephants: Now 'tis ſaid, That 'twas not above the Space of Forty Days at the utmoſt, in which he gave a total Overthrow to the Enemy, reduced *Africa*, and eſtabliſhed the Affairs of the Kings and Kingdoms of all that Country, being then but 24 Years of Age.

§. 4. When *Pompey* returned back to the City of *Utica*, there were preſented to him Letters and Orders from *Sylla*, commanding him to disband the reſt of his Army, and himſelf with one Legion only to wait there the coming of another General, that ſhould ſucceed him in the Government of that Province; this grated inwardly, and was extreamly grievous to *Pompey*, though he made no ſhew of it; but the Army reſented it openly, and therefore when *Pompey* beſought them to depart home before him, they began to revile *Sylla*, and gave out broad Speeches, *That they were reſolved not to forſake him, neither did they think it ſafe for him to truſt the Tyrant.* Notwithſtanding

withſtanding this, *Pompey* endeavoured to appeaſe and pacifie them by fair Speeches; but when he ſaw that all his Perſwaſions were vain, he left the Bench, and retired to his Tent with Tears in his Eyes; but the Soldiers followed him, and ſeizing upon him, by force brought him again, and placed him in his Chair of State; where great part of that Day was ſpent in Diſpute, they on their part perſwading him to ſtay and command them; he, on the other ſide, preſſing upon them Obedience, and the danger of Mutinies; but at laſt, when they grew more importunate and clamorous, he ſwore, *That he would kill himſelf, if they attempted to force him*; and yet even this would ſcarce appeaſe them. However, this gave occaſion and riſe to ſome malicious Reports, whereby 'twas ſuggeſted to *Sylla*, That *Pompey* was up in Rebellion; whereupon *Sylla* ſaid to ſome of his Friends, *Well, then I ſee 'tis my Deſtiny to contend with Children in my Old Age*: reflecting likewiſe upon *Marius*, for that he, being but a meer Youth, had found him Work enouch, and brought his Affairs into extream Danger. But *Sylla* being undeceived afterwards by a better Intelligence, and hearing that the whole City in a manner had deſigned to meet *Pompey*, and receive him with all Kindneſs and Honour, he himſelf endeavoured to exceed them all in Civility, and therefore going out foremoſt to meet him, and embracing him with great Joy, he gave him his Welcom aloud

in

in the Title of *Pompey the Great*, and commanded all thoſe that were preſent to call him by that Name: Others ſay, That he had this Title firſt given him by a general Acclamation of all the Army in *Africa*, but that it was ſetled by the Ratification of *Sylla*; but this is true, That he himſelf was the laſt that owned the Title; for 'twas a long time after, when he was ſent Proconſul into *Spain* againſt *Sertorius*, that he began to ſubſcribe himſelf in his Letters and Commiſſions by the Name of *Pompey the Great*, even then when the Envy of the Title was worn off by being common and familiar. Hence may the Wiſdom of the ancient *Romans* be juſtly reverenced and had in admiration, that did not only reward the Succeſſes of Action and Conduct in War with ſuch honourable Titles, but adorned likewiſe the Vertues and Services of eminent Men in the Civil Government, with the ſame Diſtinctions and Characters of Honour; and therefore the People ſtiled two by the Names of *Maximi*, *i. e.* the Greateſt; *Valerius*, for that he reconciled the Senate to the People when they were at variance; and *Fabius Rullus*, for that he put out of the Senate certain *Libertines* that had been elected thither for their Riches.

Upon this *Pompey* deſired the Honour of Triumph, which *Sylla* oppoſed ſtifly, alledging, *That the Law allowed that Honour to none but Conſuls and Prætors, and therefore* Scipio *the elder, who ſubdued the* Carthaginians *in* Spain

Spain *in far greater and nobler Conflicts, never ſo much as petitioned for a Triumph, becauſe he had never attained to the Office of Conſul or Prætor: And if* Pompey *(who had ſcarce a Hair in his Face, nor yet of Age to be a Senator) ſhould enter the City in Triumph, what a Load of Envy would it caſt at once upon* Sylla's *Government and* Pompey's *Honour?* Theſe were the Arguments *Sylla* us'd againſt *Pompey*, ſhewing that he ſhould not by any means yield to his Requeſt, but if he would perſiſt in his Ambition, that he was reſolved to interpoſe his Power, and lay a Prohibition upon him, as a Lover of Contention and Diſobedience: *Pompey* was no ways daunted at this, but wiſhed *Sylla* to recollect with himſelf, *That more worſhipped the Riſing than the Setting Sun*; intimating thereby, That his Power was increaſing, and *Sylla*'s in the wane: *Sylla* did not perfectly hear the Words, but obſerving a ſort of Amazement and Wonder in the Looks and Geſtures of thoſe that did hear them, he asked, What it was that he ſaid? When it was told him, he ſeemed to be very much ſurprized with the Boldneſs of *Pompey*, and cried out twice together, *E'en let him triumph.* But when others began to ſhew their Stomach and Diſdain, *Pompey*, as 'tis ſaid, to gall and vex them the more, deſigned to have his Triumphant Chariot drawn with four Elephants, (having brought over ſeveral which belonged to the *African* Kings) but the Gates of the City being

ing too narrow, he was forced to deſiſt from that Project, and make uſe of Horſes: In the next place, ſome of his Soldiers, (who had failed of ſome Reward, or been ſome way or other diſappointed) began to clamour, and interrupt the Triumph; but *Pompey* regarded theſe as little as the reſt, and plainly told them, *That he had rather loſe the Honour of his Triumph, than flatter them.* Whereupon *Servilius* (a Perſon of great Quality, and at firſt one of the chiefeſt Oppoſers of *Pompey*'s Triumph, ſaid openly, "Now I perceive that *Pompey* is "truly Great, and worthy of Triumph; 'tis clear-"ly manifeſt, that he might eaſily have been "a Senator if he would, yet he did not ſue "for that, being ambitious of unuſual Ho-"nours. For what wonder had it been for "*Pompey* in his Nonage, to ſit in the Senate "before his time? But to triumph before he "was of the Senate, that was the Exceſs of "Glory to a Miracle.

This Conteſt of his with *Sylla* for Triumph did not a little ingratiate him in the Good-will of the People; for it could not but be extremely grateful for them, to ſee one of their own Order in Triumph, and then to return to them again, and take his Place among the *Roman* Knights: On the other ſide, 'twas no leſs ungrateful to *Sylla* to ſee how faſt he came on, and to what a height of Glory and Power he was advanced; yet being aſhamed to hinder him, he ſmothered his Grief, and lay quiet;

but

but when by plain Force, and in ſpite of him, *Pompey* procured the Conſulſhip for *Lepidus*, having by his own Intereſt reconciled him to the Favour of the People, *Sylla* could not contain himſelf any longer, but ſpying him after the Election, as he was croſſing the Market-place with a great Train after him, cryed out to him, *Well, young Man! I ſee thou rejoiceſt in thy Conqueſt; and for what Cauſe, I prethee? Is it not a generous and worthy Act, think you, that the Priority of Conſulſhip ſhould be given to* Lepidus *the vileſt of Men, againſt* Catulus *the beſt and moſt deſerving Man in all the City? and all this, forſooth, by your Influence upon the People: Well, this I'll adviſe thee, and look to't, that thou doſt not ſleep, but keep a vigilant Eye upon thy Affairs; for thou haſt raiſed up a dangerous Enemy to greater Power than thy ſelf.* But that which gave the cleareſt Demonſtration of *Sylla*'s Ill-will to *Pompey*, was his laſt Will and Teſtament; for whereas he had bequeathed ſeveral Legacies to all the reſt of his Friends, and appointed ſome of them Guardians to his Son, he paſſed by *Pompey* without the leaſt remembrance; however *Pompey* bore this with great Moderation and Civility; inſomuch that when *Lepidus* and others obſtructed his Interment in the *Campus Martius*, denying indeed any Publick Solemnity of a Funeral, he himſelf attended the Herſe; thereby giving both Honour and Security to it, and having his Obſequies performed with all the Pomp and Solemnity of a *Roman* General. §. 5.

§. 5. Shortly after the Death of *Sylla*, that prophetick Speech of his to *Pompey* touching *Lepidus* came to paſs; for *Lepidus* uſurping the Government and Authority that *Sylla* had, did not go about by Fetches, nor yet colourably on ſpecious Pretences, but immediately took up Arms, having ſtirred up again, and guarded himſelf with the corrupted Remains of that Faction that had eſcaped the Vengeance of *Sylla*: Now *Catulus* his Colleague, who was followed by the ſounder Part of the Senate and People, was a Man of the greateſt eſteem among the *Romans*, for his ſingular Wiſdom and Juſtice; but his Talent lay in the Government of the City, rather than the Camp, being no great Man of War, whereas the Exigency of Affairs in this Juncture required rather the Skill and Experience of *Pompey*: *Pompey* therefore was not long in ſuſpenſe which way to diſpoſe of himſelf, but joining with the Nobility, was preſently appointed General of the Army againſt *Lepidus*; who had already over-run the greateſt Part of *Italy*, and likewiſe brought *Gallia Ciſalpina* in Subjection with an Army under the Conduct of *Brutus*. As for the reſt of his Garriſons, *Pompey* ſubdued them with eaſe in his March, but * *Mutina* in *Gaul* engaged him in a formal Siege, where he lay a long time encamped againſt *Brutus*: In the mean time *Lepidus* marched in all haſte

* *Now* Modena.

againſt

againſt *Rome*, and ſitting down before it with a mighty Rabble of People, demanded a ſecond Conſulſhip, whereby he ſtruck no ſmall Terrrour into the Beſieged; but that Fear quickly vaniſhed, upon ſome Letters ſent from *Pompey*, advertiſing, That he had ended the War without a Battel; for *Brutus*, either betraying his Army, or being betrayed by them upon their Revolt, rendred himſelf to *Pompey*, and taking a Guard of Horſe, was conducted to a little Village in that Part of *Gaul* that lies upon the River *Padu* or *Po*; where he was ſlain the next day by *Geminius*, in execution of *Pompey*'s Commands: Upon this, *Pompey* was groſly cenſured; for, having at the very beginning of the Revolt written to the Senate, how that *Brutus* had voluntarily ſurrendred himſelf, yet immediately afterward he ſent other Letters, containing Matter of Charge or Accuſation againſt the Man, after he was taken off, which was ſomewhat unaccountable: Now you muſt note, that that *Brutus*, who together with *Caſſius* ſlew *Cæſar*, was Son to this *Brutus*, a Man neither in War, nor in his Death like his Father, as we have deſcrib'd at large in his Life. *Lepidus* upon this being driven out of *Italy*, fled to *Sardinia*, where he fell ſick and died, having his Heart broken with Sorrow, not for his Loſſes or Misfortunes, as they ſay, but upon the receipt of a Letter, wherein he was aſſured that his Wife had plaid the Harlot.

There

There was yet remaining *Sertorius* in *Spain*, a Man of War far different from *Lepidus*, and much more formidable to the *Romans*, to whom there reſorted all the Fugitives and Malecontents of the Nation, flowing thither as Humours to the laſt diſeaſed Part of a Civil War: This Man had already cut off divers inferiour Commanders, and was now buckling with *Metellus Pius*, a Man of Honour and a Soldier, though perhaps he might now ſeem too ſlow, by reaſon of his Age, to ſecond and improve the happier Moments of War, and might be ſometimes wanting to thoſe Advantages which *Sertorius* by his Sharpneſs and Dexterity would wreſt out of his Hands: For he was always hovering about, and coming upon him unawares, like a Captain of Thieves rather than Soldiors, peſtering him perpetually with Ambuſcadoes and light Skirmiſhes; whereas *Metellus*, like a good old Wreſtler, was accuſtomed to nothing but regular Conduct, and fighting in Battel-array with his Legionary Soldiers well arm'd. *Pompey* therefore having his Army in readineſs, made it his whole Court and Practice to be ſent in Aid to *Metellus*; neither would he be brought to disband his Forces, notwithſtanding that *Catulus* had commanded it, but by ſome colourable Device or other he ſtill kept them in Arms about the City, until the Senate at laſt thought fit, upon the Report of *L. Philippus*, to decree him that Government: At that time, they ſay, one of the Senators

nators there wondring at this Report, demanded of *Philip* whether his meaning was, *That* Pompey *ſhould be ſent into* Spain *Procunſul*, i. e. *inſtead of a Conſul*; *No*, replied *Philip*, *but Pro Conſulibus*, i. e. *inſtead of both Conſuls*; meaning, that neither of the Conſuls for that Year was of any Value. Now when *Pompey* was arrived in *Spain*, (as 'tis uſual upon the Fame of a new Leader) Men began to be rais'd with new Hopes, and thoſe Nations that had not entred into a very ſtrict League and Alliance with *Sertorius*, began to waver and revolt; whereupon *Sertorius* gave out very arrogant and ſcornful Speeches againſt *Pompey*, ſaying in deriſion, *That he ſhould want no other Weapon but a Ferula and Rod to chaſtiſe this Boy with, if he were not afraid of that old Woman*, meaning *Metellus*: Yet for all his proud Words, in deed and reality he ſtood in awe of *Pompey*, as appeared by all his Actions and Conduct throughout the whole management of the War, wherein he was obſerved ever after to ſtand better upon his Guard, and engage more warily than before: For *Metellus* (which one would not have imagined) was grown very debauched in his Life, having given himſelf over exceſſively to Riot and Pleaſure; and, from moderate and temperate, became on a ſudden diſſolute and proud: So that this very thing gained a wonderful Reputation and Honour to *Pompey*, as an Example of Frugality, although that Vertue was habitual in him, and

required no great Induſtry to exerciſe it, for that he was naturally inclined to Temperance, and no ways inordinate in his Affections. Here Fortune, as 'tis common in War, ſhew'd variety of Changes; but nothing came ſo near to *Pompey* as the taking of the City *Lauron* by *Sertorius*: For when *Pompey* thought he had him ſafe encloſed, and had boaſted largely of raiſing the Siege, he himſelf appeared of a ſudden to be encompaſſed; inſomuch that he durſt not move out of his Camp, but was forced with ſorrow to ſit ſtill, whilſt the City was taken, and in Flames before his Face. However afterwards in a Battel about *Valentia* he gave a great Defeat to *Herennius* and *Perpenna* (two Commanders of thoſe Fugitives who came to *Sertorius*, and were now Lieutenants to him) wherein he ſlew above 10000 Men. *Pompey* being exalted and puffed up with this Victory, made all the haſte imaginable to engage *Sertorius* himſelf, and the rather leſt *Metellus* ſhould come in for a Share in the Honour of the Victory: ſo that in the Evening, towards Sun-ſet, they joined Battel near the River *Sucron*, both being in great fear leſt *Metellus* ſhould come; *Pompey*, that he might engage in the Combate alone; *Sertorius*, that he might engage but with one alone. The Iſſue of the Battel proved doubtful, for that a Wing of each ſide had the better; but of the Generals, *Sertorius* had the greater Honour, for that he maintained his Poſt, having ſlain and put to flight all that Battalion

Battalion that was appointed againſt him: Whereas *Pompey* was worſted in his part of the Battel, and himſelf almoſt a Priſoner; for being ſet upon by a mighty Man of Arms that fought on foot, as they were cloſely engaged Hand to Hand, the Strokes of their Swords chanced to light upon each others Hand, but with a different Succeſs; for *Pompey*'s was a ſlight Wound only, whereas he lopt off the others Hand: However, it hapned ſo, that many falling upon *Pompey* together, and his own Forces there being put to the Rout, he made his Eſcape beyond expectation, by quitting his Horſe, and turning him up among the Enemy; for the Horſe being richly adorned with golden Trappings, and having a Capariſon of great value, the Soldiers quarrelled among themſelves for the Booty, ſo that while they were fighting with one another, and dividing the Spoil, *Pompey* made his Eſcape. By break of Day the next Morning each drew out his Forces into the Field to confirm the Victory; but *Metellus* coming up to them, *Sertorius* vaniſhed away, having broken up and diſperſed his Army; for in ſuch a manner did he uſe to raiſe and disband his Armies, ſo that ſometimes he would be wandring up and down all alone, and at other times again he would come pouring into the Field at the Head of a puiſſant Army, no leſs than 150000 Fighting-men, ſwelling of a ſudden like a mighty Torrent or Winter-flood.

Now when *Pompey* was going after the Battel to meet and welcom *Metellus*, and when they were near one another, he commanded his Serjeants to bow down their Rods in honour of *Metellus* as his elder Captain and Superiour; but *Metellus* on the other ſide forbad it, and behaved himſelf very obliging to him in all things, not claiming any Prerogative either in reſpect of his Conſulſhip, or Seniority; excepting only that when they emcamped together, the Watch-word was given to the whole Camp by *Metellus*. But generally they had their Camps aſunder, being divided and diſtracted by the Enemy, that was in all ſhapes, and being always in motion, would by a wonderful Artifice appear in divers Places almoſt in the ſame inſtant, drawing them from one ſort of Fight to another in perpetual Skirmiſhes: And at laſt keeping them from foraging, waſting the Country, and getting the Dominion of the Sea, he drove them both out of that part of *Spain*, which was committed to their care, and forc't them for want of Neceſſaries, to retreat into the Governments of others.

Pompey having made uſe of and expended the greateſt part of his own Revenue upon the War, ſent and demanded Moneys of the Senate, adding, That in caſe they did not furniſh him ſpeedily, he ſhould be forced to return into *Italy* with his Army; *Lucullus* being Conſul at that time, (though indeed he was an Enemy to *Pompey*, yet) in contemplation that he himſelf was

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a Candidate for the War againſt *Mithridates*, he procured and haſtned the Supplies, fearing leſt there ſhould be any pretence or occaſion given to *Pompey* of returning home, who of himſelf was no leſs deſirous of leaving *Sertorius*, than ambitious of undertaking the War againſt *Mithridates*, as an Enemy, where the Enterprize in all appearance would prove much more honourable and leſs dangerous. In the mean time *Sertorius* died, being treacherouſly murdered by ſome of his own Party; *Perpenna* ſucceeded the Command, and endeavour'd the ſame Enterpriſes with *Sertorius*, having indeed the ſame Forces, the ſame Ammunition and Means, yet there was ſtill wanting the ſame Wit, Skill, and Conduct, in the uſe and managery of them. *Pompey* therefore marched directly againſt *Perpenna*, and finding him ignorant and perplext in his Affairs, had a Decoy ready for him, and ſo ſent out a Detachment of 10 Companies with Orders to range up and down the Fields, and diſperſe themſelves abroad, as if they were foraging or in queſt of ſome Booty; this Bait took accordingly, for no ſooner had *Perpenna* quarried upon the Prey and had them in Chace, but *Pompey* appeared ſuddenly with all his Army, and joyning Battel, gave him a total Overthrow; ſo that moſt of his Commanders were ſlain in the Field, and he himſelf being brought Priſoner to *Pompey*, was by his Order put to Death: Neither ought *Pompey* to be arraigned of Ungratefulneſs or

Oblivion, in that he had been unmindful of his Tranſactions with *Perpenna* in *Sicily*, (as ſome would charge him) ſince 'tis clear that what he did in this Caſe, was prudently determined upon ſolid Reaſon and deliberate Councel for the ſecurity of his Country: For *Perpenna* having in his cuſtody all *Sertorius* his Papers, ſhewed ſeveral Letters from the greateſt Men in *Rome*, who (affecting a Change and Subverſion of the Government) had invited *Sertorius* into *Italy*; wherefore *Pompey* fearing leſt by theſe he ſhould ſtir and blow up greater Flames of War than thoſe that had been already extinguiſhed, thought it expedient both to take off *Perpenna*, and likewiſe to burn the Letters without reading them.

§. 6. After this *Pompey* tarried and ſpent ſo much time in *Spain*, as was neceſſary for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe greater Tumults in that Province; and as ſoon as he had qualified and allayed the violent Heats of Affairs there, he returned with his Army into *Italy*, where he arrived very luckily in the height of the Servile War; wherefore upon his Arrival, *Craſſus* the General in that War, made all the expedition imaginable to give them Battel, which he did with great Succeſs, having ſlain upon the Place 12300 of thoſe fugitive Slaves: Nor yet was he ſo quick, but that Fortune had reſerved to *Pompey* ſome ſhare of Honour in the Succeſs of this War, for 5000 of them that had eſcaped out of the Battel, fell into his hands; wherefore when he had totally cut them off, he

he wrote to the Senate, *That* Craſſus *had overthrown the Fencers in Battel, but that he had plucked up the War it ſelf by the Roots.* And thus it was commonly reported in *Rome* among all thoſe that had the leaſt Kindneſs for *Pompey*; but for thoſe Actions in *Spain*, together with the Conqueſt of *Sertorius*, no Man ever ſo much as in Jeſt, aſcribed that Honour to any other than *Pompey*; and yet this great Honour and Veneration of the Man was always accompanied with Fears and Jealouſies, that he would not disband his Army, but affecting Monarchy, deſigned clearly to follow the Policies of *Sylla*, and govern by a ſtanding Army; wherefore in the number of all thoſe that ran out to meet him and congratulate his Return, as many went out of Fear as Affection; but after that *Pompey* had removed this Suggeſtion, by declaring before-hand, That he would diſcharge the Army after his Triumph, thoſe that envied him ſtill complain'd that he affected Popularity, courting the common People more than the Nobility, and whereas *Sylla* had taken away the *Tribuneſhip* of the People, he deſigned to gratifie the People in reſtoring that Office; which was very true, for there was not any one thing that the People of *Rome* did ſo wildly doat on, or more paſſionately deſire than the Reſtauration of that Government, inſomuch that *Pompey* thought himſelf extreamly fortunate in this opportunity, deſpairing ever (if he were prevented in this) of meeting with

any other, wherein he might expreſs his Gratitude in compenſation of all thoſe Favours which he had received from the People. Now though a Second Triumph was decreed him, and he was declar'd Conſul, yet all theſe Honours were not ſo great an Evidence of his Power and Glory, as the Aſcendant which he had over *Craſſus*: For he, (the wealthieſt among all the Stateſ-men of his Time, the moſt eloquent and greateſt too, a Man of that Pride that he deſpiſed even *Pompey* himſelf, and all others as beneath him) durſt not appear a Candidate for the Conſulſhip before he had made his Addreſs to *Pompey*; which was done accordingly, and as readily embraced by *Pompey*, who had often ſought an occaſion to oblige him in ſome friendly Office; ſo that he ſolicited for *Craſſus*, and entreated the People heartily, declaring, *That their Favour would be no leſs to him in chooſing* Craſſus *his Colleague, than in making himſelf Conſul:* Yet for all this when they were created Conſuls, they were always at variance and oppoſing one another; now *Craſſus* prevailed moſt in the Senate, and *Pompey*'s Power was no leſs with the People, for that he reſtored to them the Office of *Tribune*, and had ſuffered the Judicature again to be transferred upon the Knights by a Law. But he himſelf afforded them the moſt grateful Spectacle, when he appeared and craved his Diſcharge from the Wars: For it was an ancient Cuſtom among the *Romans*, That the Knights when they had ſerved

ſerved out their legal time in the Wars, ſhould lead their Horſe into the Market-place before the two Cenſors, and having given an account of the Commanders and Generals under whom they ſerved, as alſo of the Places and Actions in their Service, they were diſcharged, every Man with Honour or Diſgrace according to his Deſerts: There were then ſitting upon the Bench two reverend Cenſors, *Gellius* and *Catulus*, with great Gravity taking a view of the *Roman* Knights who were then in Muſter, and under Examination before them; when *Pompey* was ſeen afar off to come into the Market-place, with all the Marks and Enſigns of a Conſul, but himſelf leading his Horſe in his hand: As he drew near, he commanded his Officers to make way, and ſo he led his Horſe to the Bench; the People were all this while in a ſort of Amaze, and all in Silence, and the *Cenſors* themſelves ſhewed him great Reverence, expreſſing a Modeſty together with Joy in their Countenance: Then the Senior *Cenſor* examined him, Pompey *the Great, I demand of thee, whether thou haſt ſerved out all that time in the Wars that is preſcribed by the Law of Arms? Yes,* (replyed *Pompey* with a lovd Voice) *I have ſerved all, and all under my ſelf as General*; the People hearing this gave a great Shout, and made ſuch an Outcry for Joy, that there was no appeaſing it; but the *Cenſors* riſing from their Judgement-ſeat, accompanied him home to gratifie the Multitude, who followed after

after clapping their Hands, and ſhouting with great Signs of Joy.

Pompey's Conſulſhip was now expiring, and yet the Difference with *Craſſus* increaſing, whereupon one *Gaius Aurelius* a Knight, (but one that had declined Buſineſs all his Life-time) ſtood up and addreſſed himſelf in an Oration to the Aſſembly, declaring, That *Jupiter* had appeared to him in a Dream, commanding him to tell the Conſuls, *That they ſhould not leave their Charge of that Government until they were Friends.* After this was ſaid, *Pompey* ſtood ſilent, but *Craſſus* took him by the Hand, and ſpoke in this manner, *I do not think, O ye* Romans, *that I ſhall do any thing mean or diſhonourable, in yielding firſt to* Pompey; *even that* Pompey *whom you were pleaſed to enoble with the Title of Great, when as yet he ſcarce had a Hair in his Face; and granted the Honour of two Triumphs, when as yet he had no Place in the Senate.* Hereupon they were reconciled and laid down their Government. Now *Craſſus* kept to his former manner of Life, pleading Cauſes; but *Pompey* declined his Practice in a great meaſure, taking the Patronage of ſome few Cauſes only, ſo that by degrees he withdrew himſelf totally from the Courts and all Matters of Judgment, coming but ſeldom in publick; and when-ever he did, 'twas with a great Train after him; neither was it eaſie to meet or viſit him without great Attendance; but his delight was to appear guarded with ſuch

ſuch a Retinue, deſigning thereby to advance the Reverence and Majeſty of his Preſence, and preſerve his Dignity (as he ought to do) entire from the Approaches and Converſation of the Multitude: For Men that have riſen and grown great by Arms, are eaſily betrayed into Contempt by a change of Life, when they ſhall betake themſelves to the Long-robe and plead Cauſes, in that they cannot faſhion themſelves to that popular Equality or Familiarity that's common among Citizens, expecting to be eſteemed their Betters in the City, as they were in the Field; whereas on the contrary, the Pride and Folly of theſe Citizens is ſuch, That though they were Inferiours in the Camp, yet they'll contend for Precedence in the City, which is intolerable, and therefore 'tis that when a noble Warrier (crowned with Victories and Triumphs) ſhall turn Advocate and ply the Courts among them, they endeavour preſently by a malicious Pedantry to obſcure his Glory, and depreſs him; whereas if he quits a publick Patronage and retires, they ſhall preſerve his Honour and Authority beyond the reach of Envy; as appeared not long after by the things themſelves.

§. 7. The Power of the Pirats firſt broke out of *Cilicia*, having in truth but a raſh and blind beginning, but was animated and encouraged afterwards in the Wars of *Mithridates*, where they hired themſelves out and became Stipendiaries in the King's Service. Afterwards

wards whilſt the *Romans* were embroyled in their Civil Wars, being engaged againſt one another even before the very Gates of *Rome*; the Seas lay waſt and unguarded, which by degrees enticed and drew them on, not only to ſeize upon and ſpoil the Merchants and Ships upon the Seas, but alſo to lay waſte the Iſlands, and Sea-port Towns: So that now there embarked with theſe Pirats Men of great Wealth and Nobility, and of great Wiſdom too, being incorporated into their Society or Fellowſhip as into a commendable Faculty: They had divers Arſenals, or Piratick Harbours, as likewiſe Watch-towers, and Beacons all along the Sea-coaſt; they had a mighty Fleet well rigged and furniſhed with Galliots of Oars, and as well mann'd too, with all the Flower of Youth, with expert Pilots and Mariners; there were their Ships of ſwift Sayl alſo, and Pinnaces for Cruiſing and Diſcovery; neither was it thus dreadful only, but as gloriouſly ſet out too, ſo that they were more to be envyed for their bravery, than feared for their Force; having the Poops and Decks of their Galliots all guilded, and the Oars plated with Silver, together with their purple Sayls, as if their delight were to glory in their Iniquity: There was nothing but Muſick and Dancing, Banquetting and Revels all along the Shore, ſeveral of their Lieutenants were taken, and their Cities put under Contribution, to the Reproach and Diſhonour of the *Roman* Empire. There were of theſe

theſe *Corſairs* above 1000 Sayl, and they had taken no leſs than 400 Cities; committing Sacriledge upon the Temples of the Gods, and enriching themſelves with the Spoyls of divers, never violated before, ſuch as were thoſe of *Claros*, *Didyme*, and *Samothrace*; and the Temple of *Tellus*, or the Earth in *Hermione*, and that of *Æſculapius* in *Epidaurum*; Thoſe of *Neptune*, in *Iſthmus*, *Tænarus*, and *Calauria*; Thoſe of *Apollo*, in *Actium* and the Iſle of *Leucades*; and thoſe of *Juno*, in *Samos*, *Argos*, and *Leucania*. They offered likewiſe ſtrange Sacrifices upon Mount *Olympus*, and performed certain ſecret Rites or religious Myſteries, whereof that to the Sun (which they called by the Name of *Mithres*) was preſerved down to our Age, having its Original and firſt Inſtitution from them. But beſides theſe Piracies and Inſolencies by Sea, they were yet more injurious to the *Romans* by Land; for they would often go aſhore and rob upon the High-ways; plundring and deſtroying their Villages and Country-houſes near the Sea: And once they ſeized upon two *Roman* Prætors, *Sextilius* and *Bellinus* in their purple Robes, and carried them off together with their Serjeants and Vergers; The Daughter alſo of *Antonius* (a Man that had the Honour of a Triumph) taking a Journey into the Country was ſeized upon, and redeemed afterwards with an exceſſive Ranſom. But this was the moſt ſpiteful and abuſive of all, That when any of the Captives declared himſelf to

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be a *Roman* and told his Name, they ſeemed to be ſurprized, and ſtraightway feigning a Fear, ſmote their Thighs, and fell down at his Feet, humbly beſeeching him to be gracious and forgive them: The credulous Captive ſeeing them ſo humble and ſupplicant, believed them to be in earneſt; for ſome were ſo officious as to put on his Shooes, others helpt him on with his Gown, leſt his Quality ſhould be miſtaken again: After all this Pageantry, when they had thus deluded and mockt him long enough, at laſt caſting out a Ships Ladder, when they were even in the midſt of the Sea, they bid him march off and farewel; if he refuſed, they threw him over-board and drowned him. This Piratick Power having got the Dominion and Soveraignty of all the *Mediterranean*, and perpetually roving up and down, there was left no place for Navigation or Commerce, inſomuch that no Merchant durſt venture out to traffick. The *Romans* therefore finding themſelves to be extreamly ſtraitned in their Markets, and conſidering that if this ſcarcity of Corn ſhould continue, there would be a Dearth and Famine in the Land, determined to ſend out *Pompey* to recover their Seigniory of the Seas from the Pirates: Wherefore *Gabinius* (a great Creature of *Pompey*'s) preferred a Law, whereby there was granted to him, not only the Government of the Seas as Admiral, but even the Monarchy of *Rome* as Soveraign, having an arbitrary and unlimited Power over all

all Men; The ſumm of that Decree gave him the abſolute Power and Authority of all the Seas within the *Streights-mouth* or *Hercules-pillars*; together with the Continent or Mainland, all along for the ſpace of 400 furlongs, or 50 miles from the Sea: Now there were but few Regions in the World under the *Roman* Empire out of that Compaſs, and in that Tract too there were comprehended great Nations and mighty Kings. Moreover by this Decree he had a Power of electing 15 Lieutenants out of the Senate, and of aſſigning to each his Province in charge; Then he might take likewiſe out of the Treaſury, and of the *Publicans* what Moneys he pleas'd, as alſo 200 Sail of Ships, with a Power to preſs and levy what Soldiers and Sea-men he thought fit, together with Galliots of Oars and Mariners: When this Law was read, the common People approved of it exceedingly, but the chiefeſt and moſt powerful of the Senate looked upon it as an exorbitant Power, even beyond the reach of Envy, and now become worthy of their Fears; therefore concluding with themſelves that ſuch an infinite and bountleſs Authority was dangerous, they agreed unanimouſly to oppoſe the Bill, and all were againſt it except *Cæſar*, who gave his Vote for the Law, not ſo much to gratifie *Pompey*, as the People, whoſe Favour he had courted under-hand from the beginning, and hoped thereby to compaſs ſuch a Power for himſelf: The reſt inveighed bitterly againſt *Pompey*,

Pompey, inſomuch as one of the *Conſuls* told him ſharply, *That if he followed the Footſteps of* Romulus, *he would ſcarce avoid his End*, but he was in danger of being torn in pieces by the Multitude for his Speech: Yet when *Catulus* ſtood up to ſpeak againſt the Law, the People in Reverence to him were very ſilent and attentive; He therefore after he had, without the leaſt ſhew of Envy, made large Harangues in honour of *Pompey*, began to adviſe the People in kindneſs to ſpare him, and not to expoſe a Man of his Value to ſuch a Chain of Dangers and Wars; For ſaid he, *Where could you find out another* Pompey, *or whom would you have in caſe you ſhould chance to loſe him?* They all cry'd out with one Voice, *Your ſelf*; wherefore *Catulus* finding all his Rhetorick ineffectual, deſiſted: Then *Roſcius* attempted to ſpeak, but could have no Audience, wherefore he made Signs with his Fingers, intimating, *Not him alone*, but *that there might be a ſecond* Pompey *or Colleague in Authority with him:* Upon this 'tis ſaid, the Multitude being extreamly incens'd, made ſuch an horrid Exclamation, that a Crow flying over the Market-place at that inſtant was ſtruck blind and dropt down among the Rabble; whereby it appears, That the Cauſe of Birds falling down to the ground, is not by any rupture or diviſion of the Air when it has received any ſuch Impreſſion or Force; but purely by the very ſtroak of the Voice, which, being ſhot up by a Multitude with great violence,

violence, raiſes a ſort of Tempeſt and Billows in the Air. The Aſſembly therefore broke up for that day: And when the day was come, wherein the Bill was to paſs by Suffrage into a Decree, *Pompey* went privately into the Country; but hearing that it was paſſed and confirmed, he returned again into the City by night, to avoid the Envy that might ariſe from that Concourſe of People that would meet and congratulate him: The next morning he came abroad and ſacrificed to the Gods, and having Audience at an open Aſſembly, he handled the Matter ſo, as that they enlarged his Power, giving him many things beſides what was already granted, and almoſt doubling the Preparation appointed in the former Decree: For there were compleatly 500 Sayl of Ships fitted out, and he had an Army of 120000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe aſſigned for his Muſter; There were choſen likewiſe for his Lieutenants or Vice-Admirals, 24 Senators that had been Conſuls, Prætors, or Generals of Armies, and to theſe were added two of the general Treaſurers: Now it happened within this time that the Prices of Proviſions were much abated, which gave an occaſion to the joyful People of ſaying, *That the very Name of* Pompey *had e'en ended the War.* However *Pompey* in purſuance of his Charge divided all the Seas, and the whole *Mediterranean* into 13 parts, allotting a Squadron to each, under the Command of his Vice-Admirals; And having thus diſ-

pers'd his Power into all Quarters, and encompaſſed the Pirats every where, they began to fall into his Draggs by whole ſhoals, which he ſeiz'd and brought into his Harbours; As for thoſe that withdrew themſelves betimes, or otherwiſe eſcap'd his general Chace, they all made to *Cilicia*, where they hid themſelves as in their Hives; againſt whom *Pompey* deſign'd to go in Perſon with 60 of his beſt Frigats: But firſt he reſolv'd to ſcour and clear all the Seas thereabout, as that of *Tuſcany*, together with the Coaſts of *Africa*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, and *Sicily*; All which he perform'd in the ſpace of 40 days by his own indefatigable Induſtry, and the Diligence of his Vice-Admirals. Now *Pompey* met with ſome Diverſion in *Rome*, through the Malice and Envy of *Piſo* the Conſul, who had put ſome ſtop to his Affairs, by waſting his Stores and diſcharging his Seamen; whereupon he ſent his Fleet round to *Brunduſium*, himſelf going the next way by Land through *Tuſcany* to *Rome*; which as ſoon as it came to be known by the People, they all flock'd out to meet him upon the way, as if they had not ſent him out but a few days before; But that which chiefly rais'd their Joy, was the ſudden and unexpected change in the Markets, abounding now with exceeding Plenty; ſo that *Piſo* was in great danger to have been depriv'd of his Conſulſhip, *Gabinius* having a Law ready penn'd for that purpoſe; but *Pompey* forbid it, behaving himſelf as in that, ſo in all things elſe

elſe with great Moderation, whereby having brought to paſs and obtain'd all that he wanted or deſir'd, he departed for *Brunduſium*, whence he ſet ſail in purſuit of the Pirats: Now though he was ſtraitned in time, and his haſty Voyage forc'd him to ſail by ſeveral famous Cities without touching, yet he would not paſs by the City of *Athens* unſaluted, but landing there after he had ſacrificed to the Gods, and made an Oration to the People, as he was returning out of the City, he read at the Gates two Monoſticks or ſingle Epigrams writ in his own praiſe.

One within the Gate.

Thy humbler thoughts make thee a God the more.

The other without.

We wiſh'd and ſaw, we honour and adore.

Now becauſe that *Pompey* had ſhew'd himſelf merciful to ſome of that ſwarm of Thieves, that were yet roving in Bodies about the Seas, (having upon their ſupplication ordered a Seizure of their Ships and Perſons only, without any farther Proceſs or Severity;) therefore the reſt of their Camrades in Hopes of Mercy too, made their Eſcape from his other Commanders, and ſurrender'd themſelves with their Wives and Children into his Protection; So that *Pom-*

pey pardon'd all that came in, and the rather becauſe by them he might make a diſcovery of thoſe who fled from his Juſtice, as conſcious that their Crimes were beyond an Act of Indemnity: Whereof the greateſt and chiefeſt part conveyed their Families and Treaſures (with all beſides that were unfit for War) into Caſtles and ſtrong Forts about Mount *Taurus*; but they themſelves having well mann'd their Galleys, imbark'd for *Coraceſium* in *Cilicia*, where they receiv'd *Pompey* and gave him Battel: Here they had a fatal Overthrow, and thereupon they retir'd to their Cities, where they were beſieg'd: At laſt, having diſpatch'd their Heralds to him with a Submiſſion, they deliver'd up to his mercy themſelves, their Towns, Iſlands, and ſtrong Holds, all which they had fortified with Bulwarks and Rampiers, whereby they became impregnable, and almoſt inacceſſible.

Thus was this War ended, and the whole Power of the Pyrates at Sea diſſolv'd every where in the ſpace of three months: Wherein, beſides a great number of other Veſſels, he took 90 Men of War with brazen Beaks; and likewiſe Priſoners of War to the number of no leſs than 20000 Souls.

Touching the diſpoſal of theſe Priſoners, he conſider'd on one hand, that it would be barbarous to deſtroy them all; and yet it might be no leſs dangerous on the other to diſperſe them, for that they might re-unite and make Head

Head again, being numerous, poor, and warlike: Therefore well and wiſely weighing with himſelf, That Man by nature is not a wild or ſavage Creature, neither was he born ſo, but becomes a bruit Beaſt by Practice, having chang'd his Nature by a rude and vicious Habit: And again, on the other ſide, That he is civiliz'd and grows gentle by a change of Place, Converſe, and manner of Life, as Beaſts themſelves that are wild by Nature, become tame and tractable to their Feeders by Houſing and a gentler Uſage; Upon this Conſideration he determin'd to tranſlate theſe Pyrates from Sea to Land, and give them a taſte of the true and innocent courſe of Life, by living in Cities, and manuring the Ground: Some therefore were entertain'd in the ſmall and unpeopl'd Towns of the *Cilicians*, mixing and incorporating with thoſe few Inhabitants there, whereby they obtained an Enlargement of their Territories. Others he planted in the City of the *Solians*, that had been lately laid waſte and drained by *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*: He ſeated likewiſe divers in *Dyme*, a City of *Achaia*, a Place extreamly depopulated, but of a large compaſs of Ground, and as rich a Soil. However, theſe Proceedings could not eſcape the Envy and Cenſure of his Enemies; but for his Practices againſt *Metellus* in *Crete*, thoſe were diſapprov'd of even by the chiefeſt of his Friends: For *Metellus*, (a Relation to him that was Colleague with *Pompey* in *Spain*) was ſent Prætor into

Crete, before this Province of the Seas was deſign'd for *Pompey*; Now *Crete* was the ſecond Fountain of Pyrates next to *Cilicia*, there *Metellus* apprehended divers and put them to Death; Wherefore thoſe that were yet remaining, and beſieg'd, ſent their Supplications to *Pompey*, and invited him into the Iſland as a part of his Province, alledging it to fall within that diſtance of the Sea limited in his Commiſſion, and ſo within the Precincts of his Charge; *Pompey* receiving the Submiſſion, diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Metellus*, commanding him to leave off the War; and another likewiſe to the Cities, wherein he charged them not to yield any Obedience to the Commands of *Metellus*; And after theſe, he ſent *Lucius Octavius* one of his Lieutenants, to be their General, who entring the Beſieg'd Fortifications, and fighting in defence of the Pyrates, render'd *Pompey* not only grievous and hateful, but even ridiculous too, That he ſhould lend his Name as a Guard to a Neſt of Thieves, that knew neither God nor Law, and make his Authority ſerve as a Sanctuary to them, only out of pure Envy and Emulation to *Metellus*: For neither was *Achilles* thought to act the part of a wiſe Man, but rather of a young giddy Fool, mad after Glory, when by Signs he forbid the reſt of the *Græcians* to ſtrike at *Hector*:

Leſt he too late ſhould to the Battel run,
When others had the Honour of it won.

But

But *Pompey* defended and fought to preſerve the common Enemies of the World, only that he might deprive a *Roman* Prætor, after all his Labours, of the Honour of Triumph. Yet for all this, *Metellus* was no ways daunted, neither would he give over the War againſt the Pyrates, but ſtorm'd them in their ſtrong Holds, and having totally ſubdu'd them, he took a juſt Revenge of their Impieties: And for *Octavius*, he was publickly diſgrac'd, and ſent away, loaden with the Scoffs and Reproaches of all the Camp.

§. 8. Now, when 'twas reported in *Rome*, That the War with the Pyrates was at an end, and that *Pompey* was in a dead Vacation, diverting himſelf in Viſits only to the Cities for want of Employment; one *Manilius*, a Tribune of the People, preferr'd a Law, whereby 'twas enacted, That *Pompey* ſhould have all the Forces of *Lucullus*, and the Provinces under his Government, together with *Bithynia*, that was under the Command of *Glabrio*; And that he ſhould forthwith make War upon thoſe two Kings, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, retaining ſtill the ſame Naval Forces and the Soveraignty of the Seas as before: But this was nothing leſs than to conſtitute one abſolute Monarch of all the *Roman* Empire; For the Provinces which ſeem'd to be exempt from his Commiſſion by the former Decree, ſuch as were *Phrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, the *Over Colchis*, and *Armenia*, theſe were all grafted in

by this latter Law, together with all the Army and Forces wherewith *Lucullus* made War upon *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. Now though this were a notorious Injury to *Lucullus*, whereby he was robb'd of the Glory of his Atchievements, (by having a Succeſſor aſſigned him, rather in the Honour of his Triumph, than the Danger of the War;) Yet this was of no great moment in the Eye of the Senate, becauſe it was perſonal only (though they could not but cenſure the People of Injuſtice and Ingratitude to *Lucullus*); But the ſource of all their Grievance flow'd from hence, That the Power of *Pompey* ſhould by Law be eſtabliſh'd in a manifeſt Tyranny; And therefore they exhorted and encourag'd one another privately to bend all their Forces in oppoſition to this Law, and not to caſt away their Liberties and Properties at ſo tame a rate; Yet for all their Reſolutions, when the day came wherein it was to paſs into a Decree, their Hearts fail'd them for fear of the People, and all the reſt were ſilent except *Catulus*, who boldly inveigh'd againſt the Law, and charg'd the People home, but all in vain; for when he found that he had not wrought over one Man among the People, he turn'd and directed his Speech to the Senate in great Paſſion, often crying out and bidding them to *ſeek out ſome Mountain as their Forefathers had done, and fly to the Rocks where they might preſerve their Liberty.* But all his Rhetorick was ineffectual, for the Law paſs'd into a Decree,

as

as 'tis ſaid, by the Suffrages of all the Tribes; And now was *Pompey* even in his abſence made Lord of almoſt all that Power, that *Sylla* made himſelf Maſter of by Conqueſt, when by force of Arms and War he had brought even *Rome* it ſelf under his Dominion: Now when *Pompey* had Advice by Letters of the Decree, 'tis ſaid, That in the preſence of his Friends, who came to Rejoyce, and give him Joy of his Honour, he ſeem'd extreamly diſpleas'd, frowning and ſmiting his Thigh; and at laſt, as one overladen already, and weary of Government, he broke out in great Paſſion, *Good Gods! What an endleſs Train of War is here? How much better might my Lot have fallen among the inglorious Croud, unknown or unregarded! If there ſhall be no end of this Warfare but with that of my Life! If my Fate be ſuch that I muſt always deſpair of thoſe happier moments, wherein I might ſtem this Tide of Envy, and live at peace in a Country Retirement, and the Enjoyments of a dearer Wife!* But all this was look'd upon as Ironical, neither indeed could the beſt of his Friends endure ſuch groſs Hypocriſie, well knowing, that he, whoſe Ambition was ſet on fire by his Malice, (having his Enmity with *Lucullus*, as a Firebrand to kindle that covetous Deſire of Glory and Empire that was implanted in his Nature) could not but embrace the Province with Joy and Triumph; as appear'd not long afterwards by his Actions, which did clearly unmask him: For in the firſt place, he

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ſent out his Edicts or Proclamations into all Quarters, commanding all Soldiers to reſort to his Colours; Then he ſummon'd in all the tributary Kings and Princes that were Subjects within the Precincts of his Charge; and in ſhort, as ſoon as he had enter'd upon his Province, he left nothing unalter'd that had been done and eſtabliſh'd by *Lucullus*; To ſome he remitted their Amercements and Penalties, and depriv'd others of their Rewards: And after this manner did he act in all things, with this Deſign chiefly, that the Admirers of *Lucullus* might know how that all his Power and Authority was now at an end, and he no longer Lord of this Province. But *Lucullus* began to arraign theſe Proceedings, and expoſtulate the Caſe by Friends, whereupon 'twas thought fitting, and agreed, that there ſhould be a Meeting betwixt them, and accordingly they met in the Country of *Galatia:* Now in that they were great and proſperous Generals both in Conduct and Action, they came in State attended with their Vergers and Officers, bearing their Rods before them all wreath'd about with Branches of Laurel: *Lucullus* came through a Country full of green and ſhady Groves, but *Pompey*'s March was through large barren Plains both chill and naked; Therefore the Vergers of *Lucullus*, perceiving that *Pompey*'s Laurels were withered and dry, helped him to ſome of their own, whereby they adorn'd and crown'd his Rods with freſh Laurels: This was thought ſomewhat omi-

ominous, as look'd as if *Pompey* came to take away the Reward and Honour of *Lucullus*'s Victories: *Lucullus* indeed had the priority in the courſe of his Conſulſhip, and of his Age too; but the Dignity of *Pompey* was the greater, in that he had the Honour of two Triumphs. Their firſt Addreſſes in this Interview were made with great Ceremony and Compliſance, magnifying each others Actions, and congratulating their Succeſs: But when they came to the Matter of their Conference or Treaty, there they obſerv'd neither Decency nor Moderation, but fell down-right a railing at each other, *Pompey* upbraiding *Lucullus* of Avarice, and *Lucullus* again retorting Ambition upon *Pompey*, ſo that their Friends could hardly part them. Now *Lucullus* had made a Diſtribution of all the Lands in *Galatia* within his Conqueſt, and gave other Largeſſes to whom he pleas'd; But *Pompey* encamping not far diſtant from him, ſent out his Prohibitions, whereby he forbid that any Man ſhould yield Obedience to *Lucullus*; He likewiſe commanded away all his Soldiers, except only 1600, which he found were likely to be as unſerviceable to him, as they were ill-affected to *Lucullus*, being proud and mutinous. And to theſe Acts *Pompey* added ſome Satyrical Speeches and Invectives againſt him, detracting openly from the Glory of his Actions, and giving out, that the Battels of *Lucullus* were but imaginary, ſuch as are repreſented in Landskips, or at beſt upon the Stage, with

with Kings perſonated in Tragedies and Farces, where there was no more danger than in painted Fire, whereas the real part or brunt of the War againſt a true and well-inſtructed Army was reſerv'd to him, for that *Mithridates* began now to be in earneſt, and had betaken himſelf to his Shields, Swords, and Horſes: *Lucullus* on the other ſide to be even with him in ſpite, replied, That *Pompey* came to fight with the Image and Shadow of War, it being his uſual practice, like a lazy Bird of Prey, to quarry upon Carkaſſes already ſlain, and tear in pieces the reliques of a War; For thus did he entitle and attribute to himſelf the Conqueſt of *Sertorius Lepidus*, and the Accomplices of *Spartacus*; whereas this was the Glory of *Craſſus*, that of *Catulus*, and the firſt was to be aſcrib'd to the Proweſs of *Metellus*: And therefore 'twas no great wonder, that the Glory of the *Pontick* and *Armenian* War, ſhould be uſurp'd by a Man, who by ſuch ſubtil Artifices could inſinuate and work himſelf into the Honour of Triumph for diſperſing a few runagate Slaves.

§. 9. After this *Lucullus* went away; and *Pompey* having plac'd his whole Navy as a Guard upon all thoſe Seas betwixt the Province of *Phœnicia*, and the *Boſphorus*, himſelf march'd againſt *Mithridates*, who had a Battalion of 30000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe, yet he durſt not bid him Battel; but lay ſecurely encamped upon a ſtrong Mountain fortifi'd with Trenches and Rampiers almoſt impregnable, which

which he forſook not long after as a Place deſtitute of Water; Now no ſooner was he decamp'd, but that *Pompey* in the firſt place made himſelf Maſter of that Mountain, and obſerving well the nature and thriving of the Plants there, together with the hollow Beds which he found in ſeveral places, conjectur'd that ſuch a Plot could not be without Springs, and therefore he order'd them to ſink Wells in every corner; whereby there was great plenty of Water throughout all the Camp in a little time; inſomuch that he admir'd how it was poſſible for *Mithridates* to be ignorant of this, during all that time of his Encampment there. After this *Pompey* purſued him to his next Camp, and there drawing a Line round about him, encamp'd himſelf, and work'd up his Trenches with Baſtions and Rampiers, whereby he wall'd up *Mithridates* within his own Camp. But he having endur'd a Siege of 45 days, made his Eſcape privily, and fled away with all the choice of his Army, having firſt diſpatch'd all the ſick and unſerviceable Perſons in his Camp. Not long after *Pompey* overtook him again near the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, where he ſate down and encamped cloſe by him; but fearing leſt he ſhould paſs over the River and give him the Slip there too, he drew up his Army in Battalia againſt him at Midnight: Now, 'tis ſaid, that at that very time *Mithridates* ſaw a Viſion in his Dream that did prognoſticate and foreſhew what ſhould come to paſs; For he

ſeem'd

ſeem'd to be under Sayl in the *Pontick* Sea with a proſperous Gale, and juſt in view of the *Boſphorus*, diſcourſing pleaſantly with the Ships Company, as one over-joy'd for his paſt Danger and preſent Security; when lo! of a ſudden he found himſelf deſerted of all, and floating upon a little broken Plank of the Ship in the mercy of Sea and Wind. Whilſt he was thus labouring under theſe Paſſions and Phantaſms, ſome of his Friends came to his Tent, and awak'd him with the dreadful News of *Pompey*'s Approach, telling him that he was ſo near at hand, that now the Fight muſt be for the Camp it ſelf: Whereupon the Commanders drew up all his Forces in Battle-array; *Pompey* perceiving how ready they were and prepar'd for Defence, began to doubt with himſelf whether he ſhould put it to the hazard of a Fight in the dark, judging it more conſiſtent with Policy to encompaſs them only at preſent, leſt they ſhould fly, and give them Battel the next day, becauſe his Men were far the better Soldiers; But his ancient Commanders were of another opinion, and by great Entreaties and Encouragements wrought upon him, and obtain'd that they might charge them immediately. Neither was the Night ſo very dark, but that (though the Moon was declining, yet) it gave light enough to diſcern a Body: But this rather deluded and put a Blind upon the Eye-ſight of the King's Army, for the *Romans* coming upon them with the Moon on

their Backs, the Moon (being very low, and juſt upon ſetting) caſt the Shadows a long way before the Bodies, and reach'd e'en almoſt to the Enemy: This dazl'd their Eyes ſo, that they (not exactly diſcerning the Diſtance, but imagining them to be near at hand) drew their Darts at the Shadows, without the leaſt Execution upon any one Body; The *Romans* therefore perceiving this, ran in upon them with a great Shout; but the barbarous People all in Amaze, being unable to endure the Charge, were fearfully routed, and put to Flight with a great Slaughter, inſomuch that above 10000 were ſlain there, and the Camp taken; As for *Mithridates* himſelf, he at the beginning of the Onſet with a Body of 800 Horſe charg'd through all the *Roman* Army and made his Eſcape; but immediately all the reſt of that Regiment were diſpers'd and gone, ſome one way, ſome another, and he left only with three Perſons in his Retinue; Among whom was his Concubine or Miſtreſs, *Hypſicratia*, a Girl always of a manly and daring Spirit, (and therefore the King call'd her *Hypſicrates*:) She being attired and mounted like a *Perſian* Chevalier, accompani'd the King in all his Flight, never weary even in the longeſt Journey, nor ever fail'd to attend the King in Perſon, and look after his Horſe too; until they came to *Inora*, a Palace or Caſtle of the King's, well ſtor'd with Gold and Jewels, and the King's chiefeſt Treaſure. From thence *Mithridates* took

took of his richeſt Apparel, and gave it among thoſe that reſorted to him in their Flight; and to every one of his chiefeſt Friends he gave a deadly Poyſon, that they might not fall into the Hands of the Enemy againſt their wills: From thence he deſign'd to have went to *Tigranes* in *Armenia*, but being prohibited there by *Tigranes*, (who had put out a Proclamation with a Reward of 100 Talents to any one that ſhould apprehend him) he paſſed by the Head of the River *Euphrates*, and fled through the Country of *Colchis*.

Now had *Pompey* made an Invaſion into the Country of *Armenia*, upon the Invitation of young *Tigranes*, (for that he was now in Rebellion againſt his Father,) and had given *Pompey* a Meeting about the River *Araxes*: (which River riſes near the Head of *Euphrates*, but turning its courſe and bending towards the Eaſt, falls into the *Caſpian* Sea.) They two therefore march'd together through the Country, taking in all the Cities by the way, and obliging them to Homage and Fealty: But King *Tigranes* (having been haraſſed lately in a tedious War by *Lucullus*, and withal underſtanding that *Pompey* was generous in his Nature, and of a gentle Diſpoſition) put Guards into his royal Palaces, and taking along with him divers of his Friends and Relations, went in Perſon to ſurrender himſelf into the Hands of *Pompey*; He came as far as the Trenches on Horſeback, but there he was met by two of *Pompey*'s Vergers,

Vergers, who commanded him to alight and walk on Foot, for that no Man ever was ſeen on Horſeback within a *Roman* Camp: *Tigranes* ſubmitted to this immediately, and not only ſo, but plucking off his Sword, deliver'd up that too; And laſt of all, as ſoon as he appear'd before *Pompey*, he pull'd off his Turbant or royal Diadem, and attempted to have laid it at his Feet; Nay, what's worſt of all, even he himſelf had fallen proſtrate as an humble Supplicant at his Knees, to the Reproach of Majeſty, had not *Pompey* himſelf prevented it, by taking and placing him next upon his right Hand, and the Son upon his left; There *Pompey* took occaſion to tell him, That as to the reſt of his Loſſes, they were chargeable upon *Lucullus*, for that by *Lucullus* he had been diſpoſſeſs'd of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Cilicia*, *Galatia*, and *Sophene*, but all that he had preſerv'd to himſelf entire till that time, he ſhould peaceably enjoy, paying the ſumm of 6000 Talents as a Fine or Penalty for Injuries done to the *Romans*, and that his Son ſhould have the Kingdom of *Sophene*. *Tigranes* himſelf was well pleas'd with theſe Conditions of Peace, and therefore when the *Romans* in a general Shout ſaluted him King, he ſeem'd to be overjoy'd, and promis'd to every common Soldier half a Mina of Silver, every Centurion or Captain ten Mina's, and to every Collonel or Commander of a thouſand a Talent; But the Son was highly diſpleas'd, inſomuch that when he was

invited to Supper, he reply'd, *That he did not ſtand in need of* Pompey *for that ſort of Honour, for he would find out ſome other* Roman *to ſup with:* Whereupon he was clapp'd up cloſe Priſoner and reſerv'd for the Triumph.

§. 10. Not long after this, *Phraates* King of *Parthia* ſent to *Pompey*, and demanded by his Ambaſſadors, That he ſhould deliver up young *Tigranes* as his Son-in-law; and that the River *Euphrates* ſhould be the Term and Bound of their Empires: To theſe *Pompey* reply'd, That for *Tigranes*, he belong'd more to his own natural Father, than his Father-in-law; and for the Bounds, he would take care that they ſhould be ſet out according to the Rules of Right and Juſtice.

So *Pompey* leaving *Armenia* in the Cuſtody of *Afranius*, went himſelf in Chace of *Mithridates*; whereby he was forc'd of neceſſity to march through ſeveral Nations inhabiting about Mount *Caucaſus*; Of theſe Nations the *Albanians* and *Iberians* were two of the chiefeſt: The *Iberians* ſtretch out as far as the *Moſchian* Mountains, and to the Realm of *Pontus*; The *Albanians* lye more Eaſtwardly, and towards the *Caſpian* Sea; Theſe barbarous People the *Albanians*, at firſt permitted *Pompey* upon his Entreaty to paſs through the Country, but when they found that the Winter had ſtoll'n upon the *Roman* Army whilſt they were quartered in their Country, and withal that they were buſily exercis'd in celebrating the Feſtivals of

of *Saturn*, they muſter'd up an Army of no leſs than 40000 Fighting Men, and ſet upon them, having paſſed over the River *Cyrnus*; (which River riſing from the Mountains of *Iberia*, and receiving the River *Araxes* in its courſe from *Armenia*, diſchargeth it ſelf by 12 diſtinct Mouths or Channels into the *Caſpian* Sea; although ſome others are of opinion, that *Araxes* does not fall into it, but that they flow very near one another, and ſo diſcharge themſelves as Neighbours into the ſame Sea.) 'Tis true, 'twas in the power of *Pompey* to have obſtructed the Enemies Paſſage over the River, but he ſuffered them to paſs over quietly; and then drawing up his Forces and giving Battel, he routed them and ſlew a great number of them in the Field: But the King ſent Ambaſſadors with his Submiſſion, wherefore *Pompey* upon his Supplication pardon'd the Offence, and having enter'd into a League with him, he marched directly againſt the *Iberians*, a Nation no leſs in number than the other, but much more warlike, and withal under a ſolemn Reſolution both of gratifying *Mithridates*, and driving out *Pompey*: Theſe *Iberians* were in no wiſe ſubject to the *Medes* or *Perſians*, and they hapned likewiſe to eſcape the Dominion of the *Macedonians*, in that *Alexander* was ſo quick in his March through *Hyrcania*; but theſe alſo *Pompey* ſubdued in a great and bloody Battel, wherein there were ſlain 9000 upon the Spot, and more than 10000 taken Priſoners.

From thence he went into the Country of *Colchis*, where *Servilius* met him by the River *Phaſis*, having his Fleet (with which he guarded the *Pontick* Sea) riding at Anchor there; Now this purſuit of *Mithridates* ſeem'd to carry great Difficulties in it, for that he had conceal'd himſelf among the Nations that inhabit about the *Boſphorus* and the Lake of *Mæotis*; and beſides, News was brought to *Pompey* that the *Albanians* had revolted again: This made him divert his Courſe, and bend his Forces againſt them with Reſolutions full of Wrath and Revenge, inſomuch that he paſſed back again over the *Cyrnus* with great Difficulty and Danger, for that the barbarous People had fortify'd it a great way down the Banks with Rampiers and Paliſadoes; After this, having a tedious long March to make through a thirſty and rough Country, he order'd 10000 Casks to be fill'd with Water, and ſo advanced towards the Enemy; whom he found drawn up in order of Battel near the River *Abas*, to the number of 60000 Horſe, and 12000 Foot, ill arm'd generally, and many of them cover'd only with the Skins of wild Beaſts: Their General was *Coſis* the King's Brother, who as ſoon as the Battel was begun, ſingled out *Pompey*, and ruſhing in upon him, darted his Javelin into the joynts of his Breaſtplate; which *Pompey* received, and in return, ſtruck him through the Body with his Lance and ſlew him. 'Tis reported, That in this Fight there were ſeveral

Amazons

Amazons that came as Auxiliaries to theſe *Barbarians*, and that they came down from thoſe Mountains that run along by the River *Thermodon*; for that after the Battel when the *Romans* were taking the Spoil and Plunder of the Field, they met with ſeveral Targets and Buskins of the *Amazons*, but there was not the Body of a Woman to be ſeen among all the dead; They inhabit thoſe Parts of Mount *Caucaſus* that look towards the *Hyrcanian* Sea, (not bordering upon the *Albanians*, for that the Territories of the *Gelæ* and the *Leges* lye betwixt:) And with theſe People do they yearly, two months only, accompany and cohabit, Bed and Board near the River *Thermodon*; after that they retire to their own Habitations, and live alone all the reſt of the year. After this Engagement *Pompey* was reſolutely bent with his Forces upon the Country of *Hyrcania* and the *Caſpian* Sea, but was forc'd to retreat after three days March, by reaſon of the venemous Serpents that were infinitely numerous in thoſe Countreys; And ſo he fell into *Armenia the leſs*; Whilſt he was there, the Kings of the *Elymæans* and *Medes* diſpatch'd Ambaſſadors to him, which he accepted of, and made his Returns as amicably by Letter; but for the King of *Parthia* who had made Incurſions upon *Gordyene*, and deſpoyl'd the Subjects of *Tygranes*, he ſent an Army againſt him under the Command of *Afranius*, who put him to the Rout, and follow'd him in Chace as far as *Arbelitis*.

Among all the Concubines of King *Mithridates* that were brought before *Pompey*, he had not the carnal Knowledge of any one, but ſent them all away to their Parents and Relations, for that moſt of them were either the Daughters or Wives of Princes and great Commanders; excepting only *Stratonice*, (who of all the reſt had the greateſt Power and Influence upon him, and to whom he had committed the Cuſtody of his Beſt and richeſt Fortreſs:) She (it ſeems) was the Daughter of a certain Muſitian, an ancient Man, and of no great Fortune; but ſhe happening to ſing one night before *Mithridates* at a Banquet, ſtruck his Fancy ſo, that immediately he took her to Bed with him, whereby he ſent away the old Man much diſſatisfy'd, in that he had taken his Daughter without one kind word to himſelf: But when he roſe in the morning, and ſaw the Tables within richly cover'd with Plate of Gold and Silver, a great Retinue of Servants, Eunuchs and Pages attending him with rich Garments, and withal a Horſe ſtanding before the Door richly capariſon'd, in all things as 'twas uſual with the King's Favourites, he look'd upon it all as a piece of Pageantry, and thinking himſelf mock'd and abus'd in it, attempted to have ſlipp'd out of doors and run away; but the Servants laying hold upon him, and informing him really, that the King had beſtow'd on him the Houſe and Furniture of a rich Nobleman lately deceaſed, and that theſe were but the

firſt

firſt Fruits or ſmall Earneſts of greater Riches and Poſſeſſions that were to come, he was perſwaded at laſt with much difficulty to believe them: Thereupon putting on his purple Robes, and mounting his Horſe, he rode through the City, crying out, *All this is mine*; And to thoſe that laugh'd at him, he ſaid, *There was no ſuch wonder in this, but rather that he did not throw Stones at all he met, he was ſo tranſported with Joy*: Such was the Parentage and Blood of *Stratonice*. Now ſhe deliver'd up this Caſtle into the hands of *Pompey*, and offer'd him many Preſents of great value, whereof he receiv'd only ſuch as he thought might ſerve to adorn the Temples of the Gods, and add to the Splendor of his Triumph; the reſt he left to *Stratonice*'s Diſpoſal, bidding her to pleaſe her ſelf in the enjoyment of them. And in this manner did he deal with the Preſents ſent from the King of *Iberia*, (who preſented him with a Bedſtead, Table, and a Chair of State all beaten Gold, deſiring him to accept of them, but he delivered them all into the Cuſtody of the publick Treaſurers for the uſe of the Commonwealth.

In another Caſtle call'd *Cænon*, or *New-Fort*, *Pompey* ſeiz'd upon ſeveral ſecret Writings of *Mithridates*, which he perus'd with no ſmall delight, in that they diſcover'd in a great meaſure the King's Nature and Inclination; for there were Memoirs whereby it appear'd, That beſides divers others, he had made away his Son

Ariarathes by Poyſon, as alſo *Alcæus* the *Sardian*, for that he had gotten the better of him in an Horſe-race: There were likewiſe ſeveral Judgments upon the Interpretations of Dreams, ſome of his own Viſions and ſome of his Miſtreſſes; and beſides theſe there was a pleaſant Intercourſe of wanton Love-Letters with his Concubine *Monime*: Now *Theophanes* tells us, that there was found likewiſe a ſharp Oration of *Rutilius*, wherein he attempted to exaſperate him even to the ſlaughter of all the *Romans* in *Aſia*; Tho moſt Men juſtly conjecture this to be a malicious Device of *Theophanes*, who hated *Rutilius*, a Man in nothing like himſelf, or perhaps it might be to gratifie *Pompey*, whoſe Father is deſcrib'd by *Rutilius* in his Hiſtory to be the vileſt Man alive.

From thence *Pompey* came to the City of *Amiſus*, where his Ambition led him to ſuch odious Acts, as he himſelf had condemn'd in others before; For whereas he had often and ſharply reproach'd *Lucullus*, in that, while the Enemy was yet in being, he had taken upon him to eſtabliſh Laws, and diſtribute Rewards and Honours, as Conquerors uſe to do only when the War was brought to an end, yet now was he himſelf (while *Mithridates* was Paramount in the Realm of *Boſphorus* at the Head of a puiſſant Army) as if all were ended, juſt doing the ſame thing, regulating the Provinces, and diſtributing Rewards; Many great Commanders and Princes having flock'd to him, together

gether with no leſs than 12 barbarous Kings; inſomuch as to gratifie theſe other Kings, when he wrote to the King of *Parthia*, he would not condeſcend (as others us'd to do) in the Superſcription of his Letter, to give him his Title of King of Kings.

§. 11. Moreover he had a great Deſire and Emulation to take in *Syria*, and to march through *Arabia* to the *Red-Sea*, that he might extend his Conqueſt every way to the great Ocean, that does encompaſs the whole Earth; For in *Africa* he was the firſt *Roman* that advanced his Victories to the Ocean; and again in *Spain* he enlarg'd the *Roman* Empire, extending its Bounds to the *Atlantick* Sea; Then thirdly, in his late purſuit of the *Albanians*, he wanted but little of reaching the *Hyrcanian* Sea: Wherefore he rais'd his Camp, deſigning to bring the *Red-Sea* within the Circuit of his Expedition, eſpecially for that he ſaw how difficult it was to hunt after *Mithridates* with an Army, and that he would prove a worſe Enemy flying than fighting; But yet he declar'd, *That he would leave a ſharper Enemy behind him than himſelf*, to wit, *Famine*, and therefore he appointed a Guard of Ships to lye in wait for the Merchants that ſail'd to the *Boſphorus*, having prohibited all upon pain of Death, that ſhould attempt to carry Proviſions or Merchandizes thither.

Then he ſet forward with the greateſt part of his Army, and in his March he caſually happen'd

happen'd upon ſeveral dead Bodies of the *Romans* uninterr'd, which were of thoſe Soldiers that were unfortunately ſlain with *Triarius* in the Wars againſt *Mithridates*, theſe he buried all ſplendidly and honourably; The neglect whereof 'tis thought, caus'd the firſt Hatred againſt *Lucullus*, and alienated the Affections of the Soldiers from him. *Pompey* having now by his Forces under the Command of *Afranius*, ſubdued the *Arabians* that inhabit about the Mountain *Amanus*, fell himſelf into *Syria*, and finding it deſtitute of any natural and lawful Prince, reduced it into the form of a Province, as an Inheritance of the People of *Rome*. He conquer'd *Judæa*, and alter'd the form of Government there, having taken King *Ariſtobulus* Captive; Some Cities he built anew, and others he ſet at Liberty, chaſtizing thoſe Tyrants that brought them into Bondage. The greateſt time that he ſpent there, was in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, deſiding the Controverſies of Kings and States; and where he himſelf could not be preſent in Perſon, he gave Commiſſion to his Friends and ſent them: Thus when there aroſe a Difference betwixt the *Armenians* and *Parthians* touching the Title of a Country, and the Judgment was referr'd to him, he gave a Power by Commiſſion to three Judges and Arbiters to hear and determine the Controverſie: For the Name of his Power indeed was great; Neither were the Vertues of his Juſtice and Clemency inferiour to that

of

of his Power, whereby he cover'd a multitude of Crimes committed by his Friends and Familiars about him; for although it was not in his Nature to check or chaſtize an Offendor, yet he would demean himſelf ſo to thoſe that addreſſed with Complaints againſt them, that the Party griev'd went always away contented, forgetting the Injuries, and patiently bearing even with their Covetouſneſs and Oppreſſion. Among theſe Friends of his, there was one *Demetrius*, that had the greateſt Power and Influence upon him of any; he was a Bond man infranchiz'd, a Youth of good Underſtanding, but ſomewhat too inſolent in his good Fortune, of whom there goes this Story: *Cato* the Philoſopher (being as yet a very young Man, but of great Judgment and a noble Mind) took a Journey of Pleaſure to *Antioch*, having a great deſire in *Pompey*'s abſence to ſee the City: He therefore, as his Cuſtom was, walked on Foot, and his Friends accompani'd him on Horſeback; But ſeeing before the Gates of the City a Multitude all in white Garments, (the young Men on one ſide of the Road, and the Boys on the other) he was ſomewhat offended at it, imagining that it was officiouſly done in Honour of him, which was more than he requir'd; However he deſir'd his Companions to alight and walk with him: But when they drew near, the Maſter of the Ceremonies in this Proceſſion came out with a Garland and a Rod in his Hand,

and

and met them, enquiring, *Where they had left* Demetrius? *and when he would come*? Whereupon *Cato*'s Companions burſt out into a Laughter, but *Cato* ſaid only, *Alas poor City*! and paſſed by without any other Anſwer: Now 'tis clear that *Pompey* himſelf render'd *Demetrius* leſs odious to others, by enduring his Sawcineſs and Inſolence againſt himſelf: For 'tis reported how that *Pompey* when he had invited his Friends to an Entertainment, would be very ceremonious in attending till they came and were all plac'd, whereas *Demetrius* would rudely ſeat himſelf at the Table with his Head cover'd even to his ears, before any one elſe could ſit down: Moreover before his return into *Italy*, he had purchaſed the pleaſanteſt *Villa* or Country-Seat about *Rome*, with the faireſt Walks and Places for Exerciſe, and the moſt compleat Gardens, call'd by the Name of *Demetrius*, notwithſtanding that *Pompey* his Maſter was contented with a mean and indifferent Habitation till his third Triumph. Afterwards, 'tis true, when he had erected that famous and ſtately Theater for the People of *Rome*, he built (as an Appendix to it) an Houſe for himſelf much more ſplendid than his former, and yet as much beneath the ſtroak of Envy; inſomuch as he that came to be Maſter of that Houſe after *Pompey*, could not but admire at it, and ſeem very inquiſitive, *Where* Pompey *the Great us'd to ſup*? Thus are theſe things reported.

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The King of *Arabia Petræa*, who had hitherto deſpis'd the Power of the *Romans*, now began to think it dreadful, and therefore diſpatch'd Letters to him, wherein he promis'd to be at his Devotion, and do what he would command; However *Pompey* having a deſire to confirm and keep him in the ſame Mind, marched forwards for *Petra*, an Expedition not altogether irreprehenſible in the opinion of many, for by this 'twas generally thought, he did clearly decline the Chaſe of *Mithridates*, whereas they thought themſelves bound to turn their Arms againſt him as their inveterate Enemy, who now had blown up the Coal again, and reinforced his ſhattered Troops with freſh Preparations (as 'twas reported) to lead his Army through *Scythia* and *Pannonia* into *Italy*: *Pompey* on the other ſide, judging it eaſier to break his Forces in Battel, than ſeize his Perſon in Flight, reſolv'd not to tire himſelf out in a vain Purſuit, but rather to ſpend his time in diverting the War upon another Enemy, as a proper Digreſſion in the mean while. But fortune reſolv'd the Doubt; for whilſt he was yet not far from *Petra*, and had pitch'd his Tents and encamp'd for that day, as he was riding and managing his Horſe without the Camp, there came an Expreſs by the flying Poſt out of *Pontus* with good News, as was eaſily diſcernable afar off by the Heads of their Javelins that were crown'd with Branches of Laurel; The Soldiers as ſoon as they ſaw them,

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flock'd immediately to *Pompey*, who notwithſtanding was minded to make an end of his Exerciſe; but when they began to be clamorous and importunate, he alighted from his Horſe, and taking the Letters, went before them into the Camp; Now there being no Tribunal erected there, nor yet any military Hillock, (ſuch as they uſe to make by cutting up thick Turves of Earth and piling them one upon another) they through eagerneſs and impatience, heap'd up a Pile of Pack-Saddles, and *Pompey* ſtanding upon that, told them the News of *Mithridates* his Death, how that he had laid violent hands upon himſelf, upon the Revolt of his Son *Pharnaces*, and that *Pharnaces* had taken all things there into his hands and poſſeſſion, which he did (as his Letters ſpeak) in right of himſelf and the *Romans*: Upon this News, the whole Army expreſſing their Joy (as was fit) fell to their Devotion in ſacrificing to the Gods and Feaſting, as if in the Perſon of *Mithridates* alone there had died many thouſands of their Enemies.

Pompey by this occaſion having brought this War to an end, with much more eaſe than was expected, departed forthwith out of *Arabia*, and paſſing curſorily through the intermediate Provinces, he came at length to the City *Amiſus*; There he receiv'd many Preſents brought from *Pharnaces*, and ſeveral Bodies of the Royal Blood, together with the Corps of *Mithridates* himſelf, which was not eaſie to be known by the

the Face, (for the Chyrurgion that embalm'd him had not dry'd up his Brain) but thoſe who were very curious to ſee him, knew him by the Scars there; *Pompey* himſelf would not endure to ſee him, but to expiate the Wrath of the Gods, he ſent it away to the City of *Sinope*; He admir'd the riches of his Robes, no leſs than the greatneſs and ſplendor of his Armour; The Scabbard of his Sword (that coſt 400 Talents) was ſtollen by *Publius*, and ſold to *Ariarathes*; His *Cidaris* alſo or Crown, a piece of admirable Workmanſhip, *Caius* the Foſter Brother of *Mithidrates*, gave privately to *Fauſtus* the Son of *Sylla*; All which *Pompey* was ignorant of, but afterwards when *Pharnaces* came to underſtand it, he ſeverely puniſh'd thoſe that imbezell'd them.

Pompey now having order'd all things, and eſtabliſhed that Province, he took his Journey homewards in greater Pomp and State than ever; for when he came to *Mitylene*, he gave the City their Freedom upon the Interceſſion of *Theophanes*, and was preſent at certain anniverſary Games or Exerciſes, where the Poets, in a virtuous Contention rehearſe their Works, having at that time no other Theam or Subject than the Actions of *Pompey*; but he was exceedingly pleas'd with the Theater it ſelf, and drew a Model or Platform of it, intending to erect one in *Rome* after the ſame form, but larger, and with more Magnificence: When he came to *Rhodes*, he heard the Diſputes of the

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Sophiſters or Logicians there, and gave to every one of them a Talent; And *Poſidonius* has written the Diſputation which he held before him againſt *Hermagoras* the Rhetorician, wherein he was Opponent upon the Queſtion touching *Univerſale*. At *Athens* alſo he did the like, and ſhew'd his Munificence among the Philoſophers there, as he did likewiſe in beſtowing 50 Talents towards the repairing and beautifying the City: So that now by all theſe Acts he well hoped to return into *Italy* in the greateſt Splendor and Glory of any mortal Man, having likewiſe a paſſionate deſire to be ſeen of his Family, where he thought he was equally deſired: But that God, whoſe Province and Charge it is always to mix ſome Ingredient of Evil even with the greateſt and moſt glorious Goods of Fortune, had privily provided a bitter Potion at home for him, whereby to make his Return more ſorrowful; for *Mutia* during his abſence had diſhonour'd his Bed; Whilſt he was abroad at a diſtance, he gave little heed to the Report, but when he drew nearer to *Italy*, where the Report grew warmer, and that his Thoughts were at leiſure to muſe upon the Crime and Reproach, then he ſent her a Bill of Divorce; but neither then in Writing, nor afterwards in Diſcourſe, did he ever give a Reaſon why he diſcharged her, but the Cauſe is mention'd in *Cicero*'s *Epiſtles*.

Now

Now there were various Rumours ſcattered abroad touching *Pompey*, and were carried to *Rome* before him, ſo that there was a great Tumult and Stir, as if he deſign'd forthwith to march with his Army directly into the City, and eſtabliſh himſelf in a Monarchy; Thereupon *Craſſus* withdrew himſelf, together with his Children and Fortunes out of the City, either that he was really afraid, or that he counterfeited rather, (as was moſt probable) to give Credit to the Calumny, and exaſperate the malice of the People. *Pompey* therefore as ſoon as he enter'd into *Italy*, called a general Muſter of the Army, and having made an Oration ſuitable to the Genius of the Time and his Soldiers, and rewarded them liberally, he commanded them to depart, every Man to his Country and place of Habitation, only with this Memento, That they would not fail to meet again at his Triumph. Thus the Army being disbanded, and the News of it commonly reported, there happened out an admirable Paſſage; For when the Cities ſaw *Pompey* the Great unarm'd, and with a ſmall Train of familiar Friends only, (as if he was returning from a Journey of Pleaſure, not from his Conqueſts) they came pouring in upon him out of pure Affection and Reverence, attending and conducting him to *Rome* with far greater Forces than he disbanded; inſomuch, that if he had deſign'd any Stirs or Innovation in the State, he might have done it without the Aſſiſtance of his Army. Now, be-

cauſe the Law permitted no Man to enter into the City before the Triumph, therefore he ſent to the Senate, entreating them to prorogue the Election of Conſuls, and grant him the favour that with his preſence he might countenance *Piſo*, one of the Candidates at that time; but this was ſharply oppoſs'd by *Cato*, whereby he fail'd of his Deſign; However, *Pompey* could not but admire that liberty and boldneſs of Speech in *Cato*, wherewith he alone above all others durſt openly engage in the maintenance of Law and Juſtice; He therefore had a great deſire to win him over, and purchaſe his Friendſhip at any rate; and to that end, *Cato* having two Neeces, (Daughters of his Siſter) *Pompey* propos'd one in Marriage for himſelf, the other for his Son; But *Cato* ſuſpected the Motion, as a colourable Deſign of corrupting and bribing his Juſtice by Alliance, and therefore would not hearken to it; which was hainouſly reſented by his Wife and Siſter, that he ſhould reject an Affinity with *Pompey* the Great; About that time *Pompey* having a Deſign of ſetting up *Afranius* for the Conſulſhip, gave a Sum of Money among the Tribes for their Voices, ſome whereof was receiv'd even in his own Gardens, inſomuch that when this Practice came to be bruited abroad, *Pompey* was very ill ſpoken of, for that he who had had the Honour of that Government as a juſt Reward of his greater Merits, ſhould now make Merchandize of that very Honour, for one that had

had neither Virtue or Courage to deſerve it; Whereupon *Cato* took occaſion to tell the Ladies, *Now*, ſaid he, *had we contracted an Alliance with* Pompey, *we had been allied to this Diſhonour too*; which when they heard, they could not but acknowledge and ſubſcribe to him, as one of a more piercing Judgment in Matters of Prudence and Morality than themſelves.

The Splendor and Magnificence of *Pompey*'s Triumph, was ſuch, That (though it held the ſpace of two days, yet) they were extreamly ſtraitned in Time, ſo that of what was prepared for that Pageantry, there was as much ſubducted, as would have ſet out and adorn'd another Triumph. But in the firſt place, there were Tables carried, wherein were written the Names and Titles of all thoſe Nations over whom he triumph'd, ſuch as were, The Kingdoms of *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Media*, *Colchis*, *Iberia*, *Albania*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Meſopotamia*, together with *Phœnicia*, and *Paleſtine*, *Judæa*, *Arabia*, and all the Power of the Pyrates ſubdued by Sea and Land: And in theſe Countries there appeared the taking of no leſs than 1000 Caſtles, nor much leſs than 900 Cities, together with 800 Ships of the Pyrates, and the peopling of 39 Towns that lay deſolate and depopulated: Beſides, there was ſet forth in theſe Tables, an account of all the Tributes throughout the *Roman* Empire, and how that before theſe Con-

queſts the Revenue amounted but to 5000 Myriads, whereas by his Acquiſitions 'twas advanced to 8500, and withal that for Advance at preſent, he brought into the common Treaſury of ready Money, Gold and Silver, Plate and Jewels, to the value of 20000 Talents, over and above that which had been diſtributed among the Soldiers, whereof he that had leaſt, had 1500 Drachma's for his ſhare. The Priſoners of War that were led in Triumph, beſides the Arch-Pyrates, were the Son of *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter; as alſo *Zoſime*, the Wife of King *Tigranes* himſelf, and *Ariſtobulus*, King of *Judæa*. The Siſter of King *Mithridates*, and her five Sons; and ſome Ladies of *Scythia*. There were likewiſe the Hoſtages of the *Albanians* and *Iberians*; and of the King of *Comegena*; beſides a vaſt number of Trophies, anſwering directly and deciphering out each particular Battel, in which he was Conqueror, either himſelf in Perſon, or by his Lieutenants. But that that ſeem'd to be his greateſt Glory, and that no other *Roman* ever attain'd to, was this, That he made his third Triumph over the third part of the World; For many among the *Romans* had the Honour of triumphing thrice; but his firſt Triumph, was over *Africa*; his ſecond, over *Europe*; and this laſt, over *Aſia*; ſo that he ſeem'd in theſe three Triumphs to have led the whole World in Chains.

As

§. 13. As for *Pompey*'s Age, thoſe who affect to make the Parallel exact in all things betwixt Him and *Alexander* the Great, would not allow him to be quite 34, whereas in truth at that time he was near 40 : Oh that he had crowned his days and breath'd out his laſt, even then when with *Alexander*'s Age he had his Fortune too! But all the remainder of his Life-time was extreamly unfortunate, wherein his Proſperity became odious, and his Adverſity incurable; For that great Power and Authority which he had gain'd in the City by his greater Merits, even that was made uſe of only in patronizing the Iniquities of others, ſo that by advancing their Fortunes, he detracted from his own Glory, till at laſt he was daſhed in pieces by the force and greatneſs of his own Power : And as the ſtrongeſt Cittadel or Fort in a Town, when it is attack'd and taken by an Enemy, does then afford the ſame Strength to the Foe, as it had done to Friends before ; ſo *Cæſar* being exalted in the State by the Power of *Pompey*, overthrew and ruin'd him by the ſame Force and Arts by which he had trampled down others : And thus it came to paſs.

Lucullus, when he return'd out of *Aſia*, where he had been deſpitefully treated by *Pompey*, met with an honourable Reception from the Senate, and much more when *Pompey* was preſent ; for then they encourag'd him to reaſſume his Authority in the Adminiſtration of the Government, whereas he was now grown cold and

unactive in Buſineſs, having given himſelf over to his ſofter Pleaſures, and the enjoyment of a ſplendid Fortune: Hereupon he began preſently to bear up againſt *Pompey*, and took him up ſharply, whereby he obtain'd thoſe Acts and Decrees of his, which were repealed by *Pompey*, to be re-eſtabliſhed; inſomuch, that by the Aſſiſtance of *Cato*, he had a greater Intereſt in the Senate than *Pompey*: Now *Pompey* having fallen from his Hopes in ſuch an unworthy Repulſe, was forced to fly to the Tribunes of the People for Refuge, and make his Intereſt with the light young Men of the Town; Among whom there was one *Clodius*, (the vileſt and moſt impudent Wretch alive) undertook him, and expos'd him as a Tool to the Rabble; for he had him always at his Elbow, even beneath his Dignity, carrying him up and down among the Throngs in the Market-place, to countenance thoſe Laws and Speeches which he made to cajole the People and ingratiate himſelf; And at laſt, for his Reward, he demanded of *Pompey*, (as if he had not diſgrac'd, but done him a great kindneſs) That he ſhould forſake *Cicero*, his great Friend, and one that had highly deſerv'd of him as an Advocate, in defending his Cauſes and Affairs in the Commonwealth; Which he obtain'd afterwards, for when *Cicero* happen'd to be in ſome Danger, and implored his Aid, he would not ſo much as admit him into his preſence, but ſhutting up his Gates againſt thoſe that came to mediate for him, ſlipt him-

himſelf out at a Back-Door; whereupon *Cicero* fearing the extremity of Judgment, departed privately from *Rome*.

About that time *Cæſar* returning from his Province, hapned upon a politick Device that brought him into great Favour at preſent, and much increaſed his Power for the future, but in the event prov'd extreamly deſtructive both to *Pompey* and the Commonwealth; For now he ſtood Candidate for his firſt Conſulſhip; and therefore well obſerving the Enmity betwixt *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, and finding how that in applying himſelf and joyning with one, he ſhould make the other his Enemy, he endeavoured by all means to reconcile them, a Deſign in appearance very ſpecious, ſavouring of great Honeſty and Civility, but in truth a very ſubtil and treacherous Practice in him; for he well knew, that oppoſite Parties or Factions in a Commonwealth, like Paſſengers in a Boat, ſerve to trim and ballance the unſteady motions of Power there; whereas if they combine and run all over to one ſide, they make a dead unweildy Weight, whereby it overſets and all falls to wreck; and therefore *Cato* wiſely told them, who charg'd all the Calamities of *Rome* upon the Diſagreement betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, That they were in a great Error, in charging all the Crime upon the laſt Cauſe; For 'twas not their Diſcord and Emnity, but their Unanimity and Friendſhip, that gave the firſt and greateſt Wound to the Commonwealth.

Cæſar being thus elected Conſul, began ſtraightways to grow popular, and make an Intereſt with the poor and meaner ſort, by preferring and eſtabliſhing Laws for the planting of Colonies, and for dividing of Lands; whereby he debaſed the Grandeur of his Magiſtracy, and turn'd his Conſulſhip in a manner to a Demarchy, or Headſhip of the Mob; himſelf appearing rather a Tribune of the People than Conſul: Now when *Bibulus* his Colleague oppos'd him, and *Cato* was prepared to ſecond *Bibulus*, and aſſiſt him vigorouſly, *Cæſar* to be even with them, brought *Pompey* into the open Court, and there directing his Speech to him before the Tribunal, demanded his Opinion touching thoſe Laws, who gave his Approbation; *Why then*, (ſaid *Cæſar*) *in caſe any Man ſhould offer violence to theſe Laws, wilt not thou be ready in aſſiſtance to the People: Yes*, (reply'd *Pompey*) *I ſhall always be ready, and againſt thoſe that threaten the Sword, I'le appear with Sword and Buckler:* But nothing ever was either ſaid or done by *Pompey* to that very day, that ſeem'd more inſolent or odious to all Men than that one Saying; Inſomuch that his Friends endeavour'd to palliate the Offence and make an Apology for it, as a word ſlipt out of joynt through Inadvertency; but by his Actions and Practices afterwards, it appear'd plainly, that he was totally devoted to *Cæſar*'s ſervice; For of a ſudden, *Pompey* beyond all men's expectation, married with *Julia* the Daughter of *Cæſar*, who

who had been affianced before, and was to be married within a few days to *Cæpio:* And to appeaſe *Cæpio*'s Wrath, he gave him his own Daughter in Marriage, who had been eſpous'd before to *Fauſtus* the Son of *Sylla:* But *Cæſar* himſelf married *Calpurnia* the Daughter of *Piſo.*

Upon this, *Pompey* made a Gariſon of this City, and filling it with Soldiers, carried all things by Force as he pleas'd; for as *Bibulus* the Conſul was going to Court, accompanied with *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they fell upon him of a ſudden, and brake his Rods, the Enſigns of Government; and ſome Body threw a Cloſe-ſtool of Ordure upon the Head of *Bibulus* himſelf; but the two Tribunes of the People, that went among his Guards before him, were deſperately wounded in the Fray: And thus by theſe means having clear'd the Court of all their Adverſaries, the *Lex Agraria*, or Bill for the diviſion of Lands, was eſtabliſhed and paſſed into an Act: And not only ſo, but even the whole Populacy being thus decoyed and taken with this Bait, became totally at their Devotion, never regarding the Canvaſſes of the adverſe Faction, but paſſing quietly by Suffrage what-ever they propounded: Thus they confirmed all thoſe Acts and Decrees of *Pompey*, which were queſtioned and conteſted by *Lucullus*; and to *Cæſar* they granted the Provinces of *Gallia ciſalpina* and *tranſalpina*, together with *Illyricum* for five years, and likewiſe

wiſe an Army of four entire Legions; Then they elected Conſuls for the year enſuing, *Piſo* the Father-in-Law of *Cæſar*, and *Gabinius*, one of the chiefeſt Paraſites about *Pompey*.

During all theſe Tranſactions, *Bibulus* kept cloſe within doors, nor did he appear publickly in Perſon for the ſpace of eight months together, notwithſtanding he were Conſul, but ſent out Proclamations full of bitter Invectives and Accuſations againſt them both; *Cato* turn'd Enthuſiaſt, and, as if he had been poſſeſſed with a Spirit of Divination, did nothing elſe in the Senate but foretel what Judgments ſhould befal the Commonwealth and *Pompey*. But *Lucullus* pleaded Dotage, and retir'd upon a Writ of Eaſe, as one already grown feeble and ſuperannuate in the Affairs of State, which gave occaſion to that Satyrical ſaying of *Pompey*, *That the Fatigues of Luxury were much more unſeaſonable for an old Man than thoſe of Government*: Which in truth prov'd to be a Reflection upon himſelf, for not long after he himſelf grew Effeminate in the Embraces of a young Wife, courting and careſſing her daily up and down through all the Gardens and Places of Pleaſure in the Country, whereby he neglected all the weighty Affairs of Courts and Councils: Inſomuch, that *Clodius*, who was then Tribune of the People, began to deſpiſe him, and engage in many bold Attempts againſt him; For when he had baniſh'd *Cicero*, and ſent away *Cato* into *Cyprus* under a colourable pretence of War;

War; when *Cæſar* was gone upon his Expedition to *Gaul*, and that he found how the Populacy was devoted to him, as a Man forming all things, and governing according to their pleaſure, he attempted forthwith to unravel and repeal divers of *Pompey*'s Decrees; thereupon he drew *Tigranes* the Captive out of Priſon, and had him about with him as his Companion; He commenced likewiſe Actions and Accuſations againſt ſeveral of *Pompey*'s Friends, deſigning by theſe meaſures to take the extent of his Power: At laſt, upon a time, when *Pompey* came to Court in a certain Cauſe, this ſame *Clodius*, accompanied with a crowd of diſſolute and deſperate Ruffians, and ſtanding up in an eminent Place above the reſt, uttered himſelf in theſe or the like Queſtions; *Who's the licentious General? What Man is that, that is to ſeek for a Man? And who is it that ſcratcheth his Head ſo nicely with one Finger?* The Rabble, upon the Signal of ſhaking his Gown, with a great Shout to every Queſtion, as 'tis uſual among Songſters in the Chorus or Burden of a Song, anſwer'd, *Pompey:* This indeed was no ſmall Affliction to *Pompey*, a Man unaccuſtomed to hear any thing ill of himſelf, and unexperienced altogether in ſuch kind of Rencounters; but he was moſt extreamly grieved, when he came to underſtand that the Senate rejoyced at this dirty Uſage, and imputed it as a juſt Revenge or Puniſhment upon him for his Treachery to *Cicero:* But when it happened

hapned through this Tumult in the Market-place, that it was come even to Blows and Wounds, and that one of *Clodius* his Bondſlaves was apprehended, creeping through the crowd towards *Pompey* with a Sword in his hand, *Pompey* laying hold of this Pretence, (though perhaps otherwiſe apprehenſive of *Clodius* his Inſolence and Reproaches) never would go to any publick Aſſemblies, during all the time he was Tribune, but kept cloſe at home, and paſſed away his time in Conſult with his Friends, by what means he might beſt allay the Diſpleaſure of the Senate and Nobles againſt him; Among other Expedients, *Culleo* adviſed the Divorce of *Julia*, whereby he ſhould meet with an eaſie paſſage from *Cæſar*'s Friendſhip to that of the Senate; this he would not hearken to by any means: Others again adviſed him to call home *Cicero* from Baniſhment, a Man that was always the great Adverſary of *Clodius*, and as great a Favourite of the Senate; to this he was eaſily perſwaded, and therefore he brought *Cicero*'s Brother into the Market-place, attended with a ſtrong Party, to petition for his Return; where, after a warm Diſpute, wherein ſeveral were wounded and ſome ſlain, he got the Victory of *Clodius*: No ſooner was *Cicero* return'd home upon this Decree, but that immediately he reconciled the Senate to *Pompey*; and withal, by his Rhetorick in defence of the Law for Importation of Corn, did again, in effect, make *Pompey* Soveraign Lord of all the

Roman

Roman Empire by Sea and Land; For by that Law he had got within the Verge of his Juriſdiction all Ports, Staples, and Store-houſes; and in ſhort, all the Myſteries and Concerns both of the Merchant and Husbandmen: Which gave occaſion to that malicious Charge of *Clodius*, *That the Law was not made becauſe of the dearth or ſcarcity of Corn, but the dearth or ſcarcity of Corn was made, that they might make a Law, whereby that Power of his, which was now grown feeble and conſumptive, might be reviv'd again, and* Pompey *reinſtated in a new Empire:* Others look'd upon it as a politick Device of *Spinther* the Conſul, whoſe Deſign it was to oblige *Pompey* with a greater Authority, that he himſelf might be ſent in aſſiſtance to King *Ptolomy:* However, this is undoubtedly true, That *Canidius* the Tribune preferr'd a Law to diſpatch *Pompey* in the nature of an Ambaſſador, without an Army, attended only with two Lictors or Vergers, as a Mediator betwixt the King and his Subjects of *Alexandria.* Neither did this Law ſeem ungrateful to *Pompey*, though indeed the Senate caſt it out upon a ſpecious Pretence, That they were unwilling to hazard the Perſon of ſo brave a Man: However, there were found ſeveral Pamphlets ſcattered about the Market-place and Senate-houſe, intimating how grateful it would be to *Ptolomy* to have *Pompey* appointed for his General inſtead of *Spinther*; But *Timagenes* relates it otherwiſe, as if *Ptolomy* went away and left

Egypt

Egypt, not out of neceſſity, but purely upon the perſwaſion of *Theophanes*, who deſigned an Advantage to *Pompey*, laying a Foundation for him of Wealth and a new Command: Yet for all this, the crafty Practices of *Theophanes* could not make this Report ſo credible, but that it was render'd much more incredible by that nobler Genius of *Pompey*, which would never allow of ſuch baſe and diſingenious Arts even in favour of his Ambition.

Thus *Pompey* being appointed chief Provedore, and having within his adminiſtration and management all the Corn-Trade, ſent abroad his Factors and Agents into all Quarters, and he himſelf ſailing into *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Africa*, made up vaſt Stores of Corn. And now being juſt ready to ſet Sail upon his Voyage homeward bound, there aroſe a mighty ſtorm of Wind upon the Sea, which raiſed a Doubt even among the Commanders themſelves, whether it were ſafe to break Ground or no; wherefore *Pompey* himſelf went firſt aboard, and commanded the Mariners to weigh Anchor, declaring with a loud Voice, *That there was a neceſſity for them to ſail, but no neceſſity to live!* So that he by his Spirit and Courage (having met with that Fortune which favours the Bold) made a proſperous Return, whereby his Granaries were ſtor'd, the Markets all filled with Corn, and the Sea with Ships; inſomuch as this great plenty and abundance of Proviſions yielded a ſufficient Supply, not only

to

to the City of *Rome*, but even Foreigners too, diſperſing it ſelf, like a lively Fountain through many Rivulets, into all Quarters of *Italy*.

§. 14. All this time *Cæſar* grew great, and was highly extoll'd for his Wars and Conqueſts in *Gaul*, and when in appearance he ſeem'd fartheſt diſtant from *Rome*, as if he had been intangled in the Affairs of *Belgia*, *Suevia*, and *Britany*, then in truth was he working craftily by ſecret Practices in the midſt of the People, and countermining *Pompey* in his chiefeſt Deſigns: For having his Army always about him as his Body, 'twas not his Deſign to weaken or impair it in a formal War againſt the barbarous Enemy, but by light Skirmiſhes only, no otherwiſe than in Sports of Hunting or Hawking, to exerciſe and harden it, whereby he made it invincible and dreadful to the World: Then for his Gold and Silver, (which was infinite) together with thoſe incredible Spoils, and other Treaſures which he had taken from the Enemy in his Conqueſts, all thoſe he ſent to *Rome* in Preſents, and Bribes, tempting and corrupting the Ædiles, Prætors, and Conſuls, together with their Wives, whereby he purchaſed to himſelf a multitude of Friends; inſomuch, that when he paſſed back again over the *Alpes*, and took up his Winter-quarters in the City of *Luca*, there flocked to him an infinite number of the common People Men and Women, ſtriving who ſhould get firſt to him; and likewiſe 200 Senators at leaſt, among whom were *Pompey* and *Craſſus*;

Craſſus; ſo that there were to be ſeen at once before *Cæſar*'s Gates no leſs than ſixſcore Rods or Maces of Proconſuls and Prætors. As for the reſt of his Addreſſors, he ſent them all away full fraught with Hopes and Money; but for *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, he enter'd into private Covenants and Articles of Agreement with them, That they ſhould ſtand Candidates for the Conſulſhip next year: That *Cæſar* on his part ſhould ſend a good Company of Soldiers to give their Votes at the Election: That as ſoon as they were elected, they ſhould uſe their Intereſt to have the Government of ſome Provinces and Legions aſſigned to themſelves, and that *Cæſar* ſhould have his Charge now in being confirmed to him for five years more: But afterwards, when theſe Deſigns came to be diſcovered and noiſed abroad, the Matter was hainouſly reſented by many Perſons of the greateſt Quality in *Rome*; and therefore *Marcellinus* once in an open Aſſembly of the People, demanded of them both, *Whether they deſigned to ſue for the Conſulſhip or no?* And being urged by the People for their Anſwer, *Pompey* ſpake firſt, and told them, *Perhaps he would ſue for it, perhaps he would not*; But *Craſſus* was ſomewhat more Politick, and ſaid, *That for his part he would be ready to do what ſhould be judg'd moſt agreeable with the Intereſt of the Commonwealth*: However, *Marcellinus* ſtill inveighing againſt *Pompey*, and ſeeming to reflect upon him more bitterly, *Pompey* replied as ſharply,

ſharply, *That this* Marcellinus *was a moſt ungodly Wretch, without either Gratitude or Honour, for that by him he was made an Orator of a Mute, and of a poor Starveling, one glutted even to a Vomit.*

Now, notwithſtanding divers fell off from their Pretences, and forſook their Canvas for the Conſulſhip, yet *Cato* perſuaded and encouraged *Lucius Domitius* not to deſiſt, *For that*, ſaid he, *the Conteſt now is not for Government, but for Liberty againſt Tyrants and Uſurpers.* Wherefore thoſe of *Pompey*'s Party, fearing that inflexible Conſtancy in *Cato*, (whereby he ruled and governed the whole Senate) leſt by that likewiſe he ſhould pervert and draw after him all the well-affected part of the Commonalty, reſolved to withſtand *Domitius* at firſt, and prevent his entrance into the Market-place; To this end therefore they ſent in a Band of armed Men, who, at the firſt Onſet, ſlew the Torch-bearer of *Domitius*, as he was leading the way before him, and immediately put all the reſt to Flight; laſt of all, *Cato* himſelf retired, having receiv'd a Wound upon his right Arm in defence of *Domitius*. Thus by theſe means and practices they obtained the Government; neither indeed did they behave themſelves with more decency throughout all the reſt of their Actions; But in the firſt place, when the People were chooſing *Cato* Prætor, and juſt ready with their Votes for the Poll, *Pompey* broke up the Aſſembly, charging his

Reaſons upon the Augury, as if there had appeared ſomething inauſpicious in the Heavens; and thereupon having corrupted the Tribes, they publickly proclaimed *Antias* and *Vatinius* Prætors: Then in purſuance of their Covenants with *Cæſar*, they publiſhed ſeveral Edicts by *Trebonian* the Tribune, whereby they made an Enlargement of *Cæſar*'s Commiſſion according to Agreement, meaſuring out another five years Charge to his former Province; To *Craſſus* there was appointed *Syria*, and the *Parthian* War; and to *Pompey* himſelf all *Africa*, together with both *Spains*, and four Legions of Soldiers, whereof two he lent to *Cæſar* upon his requeſt, for the Wars in *Gaul*.

Craſſus upon the expiration of his Conſulſhip, departed forthwith into his Province; but *Pompey* ſpent ſome time in *Rome*, upon the opening or dedication of his Theater, where he treated the People with all manner of Games, Shows, and Exerciſes as well warlike as thoſe of the Muſes: There was likewiſe the hunting or baiting of wild Beaſts, and Combats with them, wherein 500 Lions were ſlain; but above all, the Battel of Elephants was a Spectacle full of Horrour and Amazement.

Theſe noble Entertainments brought him in great Eſteem with the People, whereby he was highly admired and belov'd; but on the other ſide he created no leſs Envy to himſelf, in that he committed the Government of his Provinces and Legions into the Hands of Friends as his Lieu-

Lieutenants, whilſt he himſelf was wantonly rambling up and down, and careſſing his Wife throughout all the Delicacies of *Italy*; whether he doated upon her as a real Lover, or whether he could not find in his heart to leave her, who was ſuch a Lover of him, is ſomewhat doubtful; but this is certain, that there was nothing more famous and common in Diſcourſe, than the paſſion of this young Lady for her Husband; not that ſhe was in Love with *Pompey* for the flower of his Age, but becauſe of his aſſured Chaſtity, as knowing no other Woman, but that one he had wedded; Beſides, though in his Carriage he had a majeſtick Gravity, yet his Converſation was not moroſe, but extreamly agreeable, and taking among the Women, unleſs we will arraign the Evidence of *Flora* the Curtezan. Now it happened in a publick Aſſembly, as they were at an Election of the *Ædiles*, that the People came to Blows, and divers about *Pompey* were ſlain, ſo that he, finding himſelf all bloody, order'd a change of Apparel; but the Servants who brought home his Cloaths, making a great Buſtle and Hurry about the Houſe, it chanced that the young Lady (who was then with Child) ſaw his Gown all ſtained with Blood; whereupon ſhe dropt immediately into a Swoun, and was hardly brought to Life again; however, what with her Fright and Paſſion together, ſhe fell in Labour and Miſcarried: Wherefore even thoſe who chiefly cenſured *Pompey* for his Friendſhip

to *Cæſar*, could not reprove him for his Affection to his Lady, who had ſuch a Paſſion for him. Afterwards ſhe was great again, and brought to Bed of a Daughter, but died in Childbed; neither did the Infant out-live her Mother many days: *Pompey* had prepared all things for the Interment of her Corps at *Alba*, but the People ſeized upon it by force, and performed the Solemnities of her Funeral in the Field of *Mars*, rather in Compaſſion to the young Lady, than in Favour either of *Pompey* or *Cæſar*; and yet of theſe two, the People ſeemed at that time to pay *Cæſar* a greater ſhare of Honour in his abſence, than to *Pompey*, though he was preſent.

From hence, the City began to waver, and feel new Commotions; for all things grew tumultuous, and every Body's Diſcourſe tended to Sedition, as ſoon as Death had put an end to that Relation, which hitherto had been a Diſguiſe rather than Reſtraint to the Ambition of theſe Men: Beſides, not long after came an Expreſs from *Parthia* with Intelligence of the Death of *Craſſus* there, whereby another manifeſt Obſtacle of a Civil War was taken away; for they had both an Eye thither, and that awe of him kept them together in a fair Correſpondence all his Life-time; but when Fortune had taken away this Second, whoſe Province it was to revenge the Quarrel of the Conquer'd, you might then ſay with the Comædian,

See,

See, how the Combatants begin!
How they anoint each others Skin,
And chafe their hands in duſt agen.

So inconſiderable a thing is Fortune in reſpect of human Nature; and ſo little Content can it give to a covetous Mind, that an Empire of that mighty Extent and Sway could not ſatisfie the Ambition of two Men, and though they knew and had read,

The Gods, when they divided out 'twixt Three,
This maſſie Univerſe, Heav'n, Hell, and Sea,
Each God ſate down contented on his Throne,
And undiſturb'd each God enjoys his own.

Yet they thought the whole *Roman* Empire not ſufficient to contain them, though they were but Two.

But *Pompey* in a Oration to the People, told them plainly, that he ever came into Office before he expected he ſhould, and that he always left it ſooner than they expected he would; and indeed, the disbanding of all his Armies always witneſſed as much: Yet when he perceived that *Cæſar* would not ſo willingly diſcharge his Forces, he then endeavour'd to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt him by Offices and Commands in the City; neither indeed did he attempt any other Innovation; and yet all this while he would not ſeem to diſtruſt, but ra-

ther to deſpiſe and contemn him; But when he ſaw how they beſtowed the Places of Government quite contrary to his Opinion, becauſe the Citizens were brib'd in their Elections, he let the City be without any Government at all. Hereupon there was mention ſtraightway made, and the News ran currant of a *Dictator*; Now *Lucilius*, a Tribune of the People, was the bold Man that firſt adventur'd to propoſe it, encouraging the People to make choice of *Pompey* for their *Dictator*; but the Tribune was in danger of being turn'd out of his Office, by the oppoſition that *Cato* made againſt it: And for *Pompey*, many of his Friends appear'd and pleaded his excuſe, alledging, that he never was deſirous of that Government, neither would he accept of it. *Cato* therefore making a large Harangue in commendation of *Pompey*, and exhorting him to be careful of good Order in the Commonwealth, he could not for ſhame but yield to it, and ſo *Domitius* and *Meſſala* were elected Conſuls.

Afterwards, when there was another Anarchy or Vacancy in the Government, and the Diſcourſes of a *Dictator* were much hotter than before, thoſe of *Cato*'s Party fearing leſt they ſhould be forc'd to make *Pompey*, thought it policy to keep him from that Arbitrary and Tyrannical Power, by giving him an Office of more legal Authority; Nay, even *Bibulus* himſelf, who was *Pompey*'s Enemy, firſt gave his Vote, that *Pompey* ſhould be created Conſul alone;

alone; alledging, *That by theſe means either the Commonwealth would be freed from its preſent Confuſion, or that its Bondage ſhould be leſſened by ſerving the worthieſt:* This was look'd upon as a very ſtrange Opinion, conſidering the Man that ſpoke it; and therefore *Cato* ſtanding up, every Body expected that he would have oppoſed it; but after Silence made, he told them plainly, *That for his own part he would never have been the Author of that Advice himſelf, but ſince it was propounded by another, his Advice was to follow it*, adding, *That any form of Government was better than none at all; and that in a time ſo full of Diſtraction, he thought no Man fitter to govern than* Pompey. This Counſel was unanimouſly approv'd of, and an Act paſs'd, That *Pompey* ſhould be made ſole Conſul, with this Clauſe, That if he thought it neceſſary to have a Colleague, he might chooſe whom he pleaſed, provided it were not till after two months expired.

§. 15. Thus was *Pompey* created and declar'd ſole Conſul by *Sulpitius*, Regent in this Vacancy; Upon which, he made a very civil Complement to *Cato, with many thanks for the Honour he had done him, and deſiring his Aſſiſtance in the Privy-Council of his Government*; To this, *Cato* reply'd, *That* Pompey *had no reaſon to thank him, for all that he had ſaid, was in favour of the Commonwealth, not of* Pompey; *but that he would be always ready to ſerve him in the quality of a Privy-Counſellor, if he pleaſe*

to require it, if not, yet he would be ſure to ſpeak in publick what he thought was for the Intereſt of the Commonwealth; So juſt was *Cato* in all his Actions.

No ſooner did *Pompey* return into the City, but he married *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, not a Virgin, but Widow, the late Relict of *Publius*, (the Son of *Craſſus*) who died in *Parthia*, and with whom ſhe cohabited from her Virginity: This Lady, beſides the Charms of her Beauty, had many attractive Qualities from her Education, for ſhe was learned enough in moſt Sciences, play'd well upon the Lute, was skill'd in Geometry, and took great pleaſure in hearing Diſcourſes of Philoſophy; To theſe may be added, her Graces in Morality, and in this ſhe was extreamly commendable, that her Humour was free from Peeviſhneſs and Curioſity, Vices very common to Ladies of ſuch liberal Endowments. Her Father alſo was very conſiderable, as well in the Honour of his Family, as that of his own Virtues; however, theſe unequal Marriages were not very pleaſing to ſome ſort of People; for *Cornelia*'s Age was more agreeable with that of *Pompey*'s Son than his own: But the wiſer ſort thought the Concerns of the City quite neglected, when he (to whom alone they had committed their broken Fortunes, and from whom alone, as from their Phyſician, they expected a Cure to theſe Diſtractions) went crown'd with Garlands, and was revelling

in

in his Nuptial Feaſts: Never conſidering, that this Conſulſhip was a publick Calamity, which would never have been given him contrary to the Rules of Law, had his Country been in a flouriſhing State. Yet afterwards he took cognizance of thoſe that got into Offices by Gifts and Bribery, and enacted Laws and Ordinances, ſetting forth the Rules of Judgment by which they ſhould be arraign'd and impleaded. Thus, he regulating all things with Gravity and Juſtice, gave Security, Order, and Silence to their Courts of Judicature, himſelf giving his preſence there with a Band of Soldiers. But the Caſe was alter'd, when his Father-in-Law *Scipio* was accuſed; there he ſent for the 360 Judges to his Houſe, and entreated them to be favourable to him; whereupon his Accuſer, ſeeing *Scipio* come into the Court, accompanied by the Judges themſelves, let fall his Suit: Upon this *Pompey* was very ill ſpoken of, and much worſe in the Caſe of *Plancus*; for whereas he himſelf had made a Law, wherein 'twas enacted, That no Man ſhould ſpeak in praiſe of an Offender, yet notwithſtanding this Prohibition, he came into Court, and ſpoke openly in commendation of *Plancus*, inſomuch that *Cato* (who happened to be one of the Judges at that time) ſtopping his Ears with his Hands, told him, *He could not in Honour hear an Offendor commended contrary to Law*; thereupon *Cato* was refuſed, and ſet aſide from being a Judge before Sentence was given, but

Plancus

Plancus was condemned by the reſt of the Judges to *Pompey*'s Diſhonour: Shortly after *Hypſeus*, a Man of Conſular Dignity, endeavouring to avoid an Impeachment, waited for *Pompey*'s Return from Bath to Supper, and falling down at his Feet, implor'd his Favour, but he diſdainfully paſſed him by, ſaying, *That he did nothing elſe but ſpoil his Supper.* This Partiality was look'd upon as a great Fault in *Pompey*, and highly condemned; however he managed all things elſe diſcreetly, and having put the Government in very good Order, he choſe his Father-in-law to be his Colleague in the Conſulſhip for the laſt five Months: His Provinces alſo were continu'd to him for the term of four years longer, with a Commiſſion to take 1000 Talents yearly out of the Treaſury for the payment of his Army.

This gave occaſion to ſome of *Cæſar*'s Friends to think it reaſonable, that ſome Conſideration ſhould be had of him too, who had done ſuch ſignal Services in War, and fought ſo many bloody Battels for the Honour and Intereſt of the *Roman* Empire, alledging, *That he deſerv'd at leaſt a ſecond Conſulſhip, or to have the Government of his Province continu'd*, whereby he might command and enjoy in Peace what he had obtain'd in War, and that no Succeſſor might reap the fruits of his Labour, and raiſe a fame upon the glory of his Actions. There ariſing ſome Debate about this Matter, *Pompey* took upon him, as it were out of kindneſs to *Cæſar*,

to

to plead his Cauſe, and allay that Hatred of the People that was conceived againſt him, telling them, That he had then receiv'd a Letter from *Cæſar*, wherein he deſired a Succeſſor, and to be diſcharged from the War, but hop'd withal, that they would give him leave to ſtand for the Conſulſhip though in his abſence: But thoſe of *Cato*'s Party ſtoutly withſtood it, ſaying, *That if he expected any Favour from the Citizens, he ought to leave his Army, and come in a private capacity to canvas for it:* Wherefore *Pompey* ſeeming ſo eaſily ſatisfied, in that he made no Reply, gave a greater ſuſpicion of his ſpecious Inclinations towards *Cæſar*, eſpecially when under pretence of his War with *Parthia*, he ſent for his two Legions which he had lent him; however *Cæſar*, though he well knew for what Deſign he wanted them, ſent them home very liberally rewarded.

About that time *Pompey* recover'd of a dangerous Fit of Sickneſs which ſeiz'd him at *Naples*, and there the whole City upon the Perſwaſion of *Praxagoras*, made Sacrifices to the Gods for his Recovery; thoſe of the Neighbouring Towns likewiſe happening to follow their Example, the Humour was carried on throughout all *Italy*; ſo that th[illegible] was not a City either great or ſmall, that did not feaſt and rejoyce for many days together: And the Company of thoſe that came from all Parts to meet him was ſo numerous, that no Place was able to contain them, but the Villages, Sea-port Towns,

Towns, and the very High-ways, were all full of People, feaſting and ſacrificing to the Gods: Nay, many went to meet him with Garlands on their Heads, and Flambeaux in their Hands, caſting Flowers and Noſegays upon him as he went along; ſo that this Progreſs of his, and Reception, was one of the nobleſt and moſt glorious Sights imaginable: And yet 'tis thought that this very thing was not one of the leaſt Cauſes and Occaſions of the Civil War; for *Pompey* judging of the Peoples Affections by their Actions, together with the greatneſs of their Joy, was grown to that height of Pride and Conceit, that (having laid aſide that prudent Conduct and Caution which had hitherto ſecured and crown'd all his Actions with good Succeſs) he entertained a moſt extravagant Confidence of his own, and Contempt of *Cæſar*'s Power; inſomuch that he thought neither Force nor Care neceſſary againſt him, but that he could pull him down much eaſier than he had ſet him up: Beſides this there was *Appius* (under whoſe Command thoſe Legions which *Pompey* lent to *Cæſar*, were returned) coming lately out of *Gaul*, very much vilified *Cæſar*'s Actions there; and gave out ſcandalous Reports in derogation of his Honour, telling *Pompey*, *That he was unacquainted with his own Strength and Reputation, if he made uſe of any other Forces againſt* Cæſar *than his own, for ſuch was the Soldiers hatred to* Cæſar, *and their Love to* Pompey *ſo great, that they would all come over to him*

him upon his firſt Appearance. By theſe Flatteries was *Pompey* ſtrangely pufft up, and his Confidence had wrought him into ſuch a careleſs Security, that he could not chooſe but laugh at thoſe who ſeem'd to fear a War: And when ſome were ſaying, That if *Cæſar* ſhould bend his Forces againſt the City, they could not ſee what Power was able to reſiſt him, he reply'd with a ſcornful Smile, bidding them take no care of that, for, ſaid ye, *When-ere I ſtamp with my Foot in any part of* Italy, *there will riſe up Forces enough in an inſtant both Horſe and Foot.*

§. 16. Now *Cæſar* on the other ſide was more vigorous in his Proceedings, himſelf always at hand hovering about the Frontiers of *Italy*, and ſending ſome of his Soldiers continually into the City to attend all Elections with their Votes; beſides this, he corrupted divers of the Magiſtrates, and brought them over to his Party by Penſions; whereof *Paulus* the Conſul was one, who was brought over by a Bribe of 1500 Talents: and *Curio*, a Tribune of the People, by a diſcharge of all his Debts which he had contracted without number; together with *Mark Anthony*, who out of Friendſhip to *Curio*, became bound with him in the ſame Obligations for them all. And 'tis undoubtedly true, that a Centurion of *Cæſar*'s waiting at the Senate-houſe, and hearing that the Senate refuſed to give him a larger term in the continuance of his Government, clapt his Hand upon

on his Sword, and ſaid, *But this ſhall give it:* And indeed all his Practices and Preparations were in order to this end. Now *Curio*'s Demands and Requeſt in favour of *Cæſar* were much more popular in appearance, for he deſir'd one of theſe two things, either that *Pompey* ſhould put away his Army, or that *Cæſar*'s ſhould not be taken away from him; For if both of them were private Perſons, common Humanity would keep them within the bounds of their Duty; or if they were of equal Authority, they would be a Ballance to each other, and ſit down contented with their Lot: But he that weakens one, does at the ſame time ſtrengthen the other, and ſo doubles that very Strength and Power which he ſtood in fear of before. *Mercellus* the Conſul reply'd nothing to all this, but that *Cæſar was a Thief, and ſhould be proclaimed an Enemy to the State, if he did not disband his Army.* However *Curio* with the Aſſiſtance of *Anthony* and *Piſo* prevail'd, that the Matter in Debate ſhould be put to the Queſtion, and decided by Vote in the Senate: So that it being order'd upon the Queſtion for thoſe to withdraw, who were of opinion, *That* Cæſar *only ſhould lay down his Army, and* Pompey *command*, the Majority withdrew. But when 'twas order'd again for thoſe to withdraw whoſe Vote was, *That both ſhould lay down their Arms, and neither command*, there were but 22 for *Pompey*, all the reſt remained of *Curio*'s ſide: Whereupon he as one proud of his

his Conqueſt, leapt out for Joy among the People, who received him with as great tokens of Joy, clapping their Hands, and crowning him with Garlands and Flowers: *Pompey* was not then preſent in the Senate, becauſe it is not lawful for the General of an Army to come into the City. But *Marcellus* riſing up, ſaid, *That he would not ſit there hearing Speeches, when he ſaw that ten Legions had already paſs'd the* Alpes *in their March toward the City, but that he would ſend a Man of equal Authority againſt them in defence of their Country*: Upon this the City went into Mourning, as in a publick Calamity, and *Marcellus* (accompanied by the Senate) went ſolemnly through the City towards *Pompey*, and ſpoke thus to him, *Pompey, I command thee to appear in defence of thy Country with thoſe Forces thou haſt at preſent in readineſs, and to raiſe more with all ſpeed: Lentulus* the Conſul elect for the year following, ſpoke much to the ſame purpoſe; but *Anthony*, contrary to an Order of Senate, in a publick Aſſembly read a Letter of *Cæſar*'s containing many fair Overtures, at leaſt-wiſe very obliging to the common People, wherein he deſir'd, that both *Pompey* and he quitting their Governments, and diſmiſſing their Armies, ſhould ſubmit to the Judgment of the People, and give an account of their Actions before them; inſomuch that when *Pompey* began to make his Levies, and muſter up his new-rais'd Soldiers, he found himſelf diſappointed in his Expectati-

Expectations: Some few indeed came in, but thoſe very unwillingly; others would not anſwer to their Names, and the generality cry'd out for Peace. *Lentulus*, notwithſtanding he was now enter'd upon his Conſulſhip, would not aſſemble the Senate; but *Cicero*, who was lately return'd from *Cilicia*, labour'd for a Reconciliation, propoſing, That *Cæſar* ſhould leave his Province of *Gaul* and Army, reſerving two Legions only, together with the Government of *Illyricum*, and to be had in nomination for a ſecond Conſulſhip: *Pompey* diſliking this motion, *Cæſar*'s Friends were contented that he ſhould quit one of his Legions too; but *Lentulus* ſtill oppoſing, and *Cato* crying out, *That* Pompey *did ill to be deceived again*, the Reconciliation did not take effect.

In the mean time News was brought that *Cæſar* had taken *Ariminum*, a great City in *Italy*, and was marching directly towards *Rome* with all his Forces; but this latter was altogether falſe, for he had no more with him at that time than 300 Horſe and 5000 Foot, and would not tarry for the Body of his Army, which lay beyond the *Alpes*, chooſing rather by Surprize to fall in of a ſudden upon his Enemies, (while they were in Confuſion, and did not expect him) than to give them time to make Preparations for War. For when he came to the Bank of *Rubicon*, (a River that made the bounds of his own Province towards *Italy*) there he made a Halt, pauſing a little, and

and conſidering with himſelf the greatneſs of that Enterprize which he had undertaken; then at laſt, (like Men that are throwing themſelves headlong from ſome Precipice into a vaſt Abyſs) having blinded and withdrawn his mind from the thoughts of Danger, he tranſported his Army, ſaying this only to thoſe that were preſent with a loud voice in the Greek Language, Ἀνερρίφθω κύβος; that is, *Let the Die be caſt.* No ſooner was the News arriv'd, but there was an Uproar throughout all the City, and a Conſternation in the People even to aſtoniſhment, ſuch as never was known in *Rome* before; all the Senate ran immediately to *Pompey*, and the Magiſtrates follow'd: Now when *Tullus* made enquiry touching his Legions and Forces, *Pompey* ſeem'd to pauſe a little, and anſwer'd with ſome heſitation, *That he had thoſe two Legions ready that* Cæſar *ſent back, and for his new rais'd Forces, he believ'd they would ſhortly make up a Battalion of* 30000 *Men*; but *Tullus* reply'd with a loud Voice, *O* Pompey, *thou haſt deceiv'd us!* and preſently gave his Advice to diſpatch Ambaſſadors to *Cæſar*. *Favonius*, (who was no ill Man, otherwiſe than in his petulant and abuſive way of Talking, which he ſeem'd to affect, in imitation of *Cato*'s freedom of Speech) he bid *Pompey ſtamp upon the ground, and call forth the Forces he had promis'd.* But *Pompey* very patiently bore with all this unſeaſonable Raillery; ſo that *Cato* putting him in mind of what he had foretold from the ve-

ry beginning touching *Cæſar*, he made this Anſwer only, *That* Cato *indeed had ſpoke more like a Prophet, but he had acted more like a Friend.* *Cato* then adviſed them to chooſe *Pompey* General with abſolute Power and Authority, ſaying, *That the ſame Men who do great Evils, know beſt how to cure them.* He therefore went his way forthwith into *Sicily*, the Province that was allotted him; and all the reſt of the Senators likewiſe departed every one to his reſpective Government.

§. 17. Thus all *Italy* in a manner being up in Arms, it ſeem'd very doubtful what was beſt to be done: For they that were without, came from all Parts flocking into the City; and they that were within, ſeeing the Confuſion and Diſorder ſo great there, went out and forſook it as faſt; They that were willing to obey were found too weak for Service, and the Diſobedient were found too ſtrong to be govern'd by the Magiſtrates: Nay, it was ſo far from being poſſible to allay their Fears, that they would not ſuffer *Pompey* to follow his own Judgment, but every Man would have him act according to his particular Fancy, whether it proceeded from Doubt, Fear, Grief, or any meaner Paſſion; whereby they became ſo diſordered in their apprehenſion of things, that even in the ſame day they were often forced to make uſe of quite contrary Counſels: Then again, 'twas altogether as impoſſible to have any good intelligence of his Enemies, for what each

each Man heard by chance upon a flying Rumour, he would report for truth, and take it hainouſly of *Pompey* if he did not believe it.

Pompey at length ſeeing ſuch a Confuſion in *Rome*, determin'd with himſelf to put an end to their Clamours by his Departure, and therefore commanding all the Senate to follow him, and declaring, *That whoſoever tarried behind, ſhould be judg'd a Confederate of* Cæſar's; about the dusk of the Evening, he went out and left the City; the Conſuls alſo follow'd after in a Hurry, without offering any Sacrifice to the Gods, as is uſual before a War. But above all, *Pompey* himſelf was extreamly fortunate, that even in the midſt of all theſe Calamities, he had the Love and Good-will of the People; for though many condemned the War, yet no Man hated the General; inſomuch as there were more to be found of thoſe that went out of *Rome*, for that they would not forſake *Pompey*, than of thoſe that fled for love of their Liberty.

Some few days after *Pompey* was gone out, *Cæſar* came into the City, and made himſelf Maſter of it, treating all the reſt with a great deal of Courteſie, and appeaſing their Fears, all except *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes; but when he refuſed to let him take any money out of the common Treaſury, *Cæſar* threatned him with death, adding a ſharper Sentence to his Threats, *That it was far eaſier for him to do it than ſay it*: By this means removing *Metellus*,

and taking what moneys were of uſe for his occaſions, he ſet forwards in purſuit of *Pompey*, endeavouring with all ſpeed to drive him out of *Italy* before his Army, that was in *Spain*, could joyn with him.

But *Pompey* arriving at *Brunduſium*, and having provided a Fleet of Ships there, the two Conſuls imbarked immediately, and with them there were ſhipt off 30 Cohorts or Regiments of Foot bound before him for *Dyrrachium*: He ſent likewiſe his Father-in-law *Scipio*, and *Cneus* his Son into *Syria*, to provide and fit out a Fleet there; himſelf in the mean time having barred up the Gates, and fortified the Works of the City, placed his lighteſt Soldiers as Guards upon the Walls; and giving expreſs Orders that the Citizens ſhould keep within door, he caſt up divers Trenches and Rampiers (which he fortify'd with Paliſadoes or ſharp-pointed Piles) throughout all the Streets of the City, except only thoſe two that lead down to the Seaſide or Haven.

Thus in three days ſpace having with eaſe put all the reſt of his Army on Ship-board, he ſuddenly gave the Signal to thoſe that guarded the Walls, who as nimbly repairing to the Ships, were receiv'd and tranſported: *Cæſar*, when he perceived the Walls unguarded, imagining with himſelf that they were fled, made haſte after, but in the heat of the purſuit was very nigh falling upon the Stakes and Trenches; But the *Brunduſians* diſcovering the danger to him,

him, and ſhewing him the way, he wheeled about, and fetching a compaſs round the City, made towards the Haven, where he found all the Fleet under Sayl, excepting only two Veſſels that had but a few Soldiers aboard.

Some are of opinion, that this Departure of *Pompey*'s is to be ranged among the beſt of his Stratagems, but *Cæſar* himſelf could not but admire that he (who was ingarriſon'd in a City well fortify'd, who was in expectation of his Forces from *Spain*, and was Maſter of the Sea beſides) ſhould ever leave and depart out of *Italy*: *Cicero* likewiſe blam'd him, in that he follow'd the Conduct of *Themiſtocles*, rather than of *Pericles*, whereas the ſtate of his Affairs was more agreeable to the Circumſtances of the latter, than thoſe of the former: However it appear'd plainly, and *Cæſar* ſhew'd it by his Actions, that he was in great fear of the Times; for when he had taken *Numerius*, a Friend of *Pompey*'s, priſoner, he ſent him as an Ambaſſador to *Brunduſium*, with offers of Peace and Reconciliation upon equal terms; but *Numerius* ſail'd away with *Pompey*: And now *Cæſar* being Maſter of all *Italy* in 60 days, without a drop of Blood ſhed, had a great deſire forthwith to follow *Pompey*; but being deſtitute of Shipping, he was forc'd to divert his courſe, and march into *Spain*, deſigning to joyn thoſe Forces of *Pompey* there to his own.

In the mean time *Pompey* had rais'd a mighty Army both by Sea and Land; As for his Na-

vy, 'twas altogether invincible, for there were 500 Men of War, beſides an infinite company of Galliots, Foiſts, and Pinaces: Then for his Land-Forces, the Cavalry made up a Body of 7000 Horſe, the very flower of *Rome* and *Italy*, Men of Honour, Wealth, and Courage; but the Infantry was a mixture of raw and unexperienc'd Soldiers, and therefore he exerciſed and train'd them up daily near the City *Beræa*, (where he had quarter'd and lodg'd his Army) himſelf no ways ſlothful, but performing all his Exerciſes as if he had been in the flower of his Youth: This exemplary Conduct raiſed the Spirits of his Soldiers extreamly, for it was no ſmall Encouragement for them to ſee *Pompey* the Great, 60 years of Age wanting two, one while trailing a Pike, and handling his Arms among the Foot in all his poſtures; then again mounted among the Horſe, drawing out his Sword with eaſe in full career, and ſheathing it up as eaſily; And in darting the Javelin, there he ſhew'd not only his skill and dexterity in hitting the Mark, but his ſtrength and activity in throwing it ſo far, that few of the youngeſt went beyond him.

Several Kings and Princes of other Nations came thither to him, but there was a glorious appearance of *Roman* Magiſtrates, and ſo numerous, that they made up a compleat Senate; *Labienus* forſook his old Friend *Cæſar*, (whom he had ſerv'd throughout all his Wars in *Gaul*) and came over to *Pompey*; and *Brutus*, Son to that

that *Brutus* that was put to death in *Galatia*, a Man of great Spirit, and one that to that day had never ſo much as ſaluted or ſpoke to *Pompey*, (looking upon him as the Murderer of his Father) came then and ſubmitted himſelf to him as the defender of their Liberty: *Cicero* likewiſe, (though he wrote and adviſ'd otherwiſe, yet) was aſham'd not to be accounted in the number of thoſe that would hazard their Lives and Fortunes for the ſafeguard of their Country: And laſt of all there came to him even into *Macedonia*, *Tidius Sextius*, a Man extreamly old, and lame of one Leg; others indeed mock'd and laugh'd at the ſpectacle, but *Pompey* as ſoon as he ſaw him, roſe and ran to meet him, eſteeming it no ſmall aſſurance of their Good-will, when Men of ſuch Age and Infirmities ſhould rather chooſe to be with him in danger, than in ſafety at home. Afterwards in a Councel of War there paſſed a Decree, which was pronounced by *Cato* as Preſident, *That no* Roman *Citizen ſhould be put to death but in Battel, and that they ſhould not ſack or plunder any City that was ſubject to the* Roman *Empire:* By theſe means *Pompey*'s Party grew into greater Reputation, inſomuch that they who were no ways at all concern'd in the War, (either becauſe they dwelt afar off, or were thought incapable by reaſon of their Infirmities) were yet in their opinions of his ſide, and did in all their Diſcourſes even fight for his Cauſe, calling it the good or juſt Cauſe,

and eſteeming thoſe as Enemies to the Gods and Men, that wiſhed not Victory to *Pompey*.

§. 18. Neither was *Pompey*'s Clemency ſuch, but that *Cæſar* likewiſe ſhew'd himſelf as merciful a Conqueror; for when he had taken and overthrown all *Pompey*'s Forces in *Spain*, he gave them Quarter, leaving the Commanders at their liberty, and taking the common Soldiers into his own Pay: Then repaſſing the *Alpes*, and making a running March through *Italy*, he came to *Brunduſium* about the Winter Solſtice, and croſſing the Sea there, landed at the Port of *Oricum*: Now *Cæſar* having *Jubius* (an intimate Friend of *Pompey*'s) with him as his Priſoner, diſpatch'd him to *Pompey* in an Embaſſage, entreating, *That they meeting together in a Conference, ſhould diſband both their Armies within three days, and renewing their former Friendſhip with ſolemn Oaths, ſhould return together into* Italy. *Pompey* look'd upon this again as ſome new Stratagem or Device, and therefore marching down in all haſte towards the Sea-coaſt, poſſeſſed himſelf of all Forts and Places of Strength (fit to encamp in, and ſecure his Land-Forces) as likewiſe of all Ports and Harbours commodious to receive any that came by Sea, ſo that what Wind ſoever blew, it muſt needs in ſome way or other be favourable to him, bringing in either Proviſion, Men, or Money: But *Cæſar* on the contrary was ſo diſtreſſed both by Sea and Land, that he was forc'd to deſire Battel, daily

daily provoking the Enemy, and aſſailing them in their very Forts; and in theſe light Skirmiſhes for the moſt part had the better, only once he was dangerouſly overthrown, and likely to have loſt his whole Army; For *Pompey* having valiantly re-inforced the Battel, made a deſperate Charge upon him, even to a total Rout of all his Army, and the Slaughter of 2000 upon the Place; but either he was not able to force their Camp, or he was afraid to fall in pel mel together with them: Inſomuch as *Cæſar* told ſome of his Friends, *How that day had given an abſolute Conqueſt to the Enemy, if they had had but a Man that knew how to conquer.* *Pompey*'s Soldiers were ſo mightily encourag'd by this Victory, that they would needs have it put to the deciſion of a Battel; but *Pompey* himſelf (though he wrote to foreign Kings, Princes, and States in Confederacy with him as a Conqueror, yet) was afraid to hazard the Succeſs of a Battel, chooſing rather by Delays, and diſtreſs of Proviſions, to tire out thoſe who had never yet been conquer'd by force of Arms, but had always, when they fought in a body, been accuſtom'd to Victory: Beſides the Infirmities of their Age, which now made them quickly weary of thoſe other Hardſhips of War, (ſuch as were long Marches, and frequent Decampings, making of Trenches, and building of Fortifications) made them willing to fight and venture a Battel with all ſpeed.

Pompey

Pompey had all along hitherto by his Perſwaſions pretty well quieted his Soldiers; but after this laſt Engagement, when *Cæſar* for want of Proviſions was forc'd to raiſe his Camp, and had paſſed through *Athamania* into *Theſſaly*, it was impoſſible to curb or allay the heat of their Spirits any longer; For all crying out with a general Voice, *That* Cæſar *is fled*; ſome were for purſuing and preſſing upon him; others for returning into *Italy*; ſome there were that ſent their Friends and Servants before hand to *Rome*, to hire Houſes near the *Forum* or Market-place, whereby they might be in a readineſs to ſue for Offices and Places in the Government: But ſeveral were ſo vain as to ſail for *Lesbos*, in a Compliment to *Cornelia*, with this joyful News, *That the War was brought to an end*; (for *Pompey* had privately convey'd her thither from the Tumults in *Rome*.) Hereupon a Councel of War was call'd, and the Matter being under debate, *Afranius* was of opinion, *That* Italy *ſhould firſt be regain'd, for that it was the grand Prize and Crown of all the War*; and withal they who were Maſters of that, would quickly have at their Devotion all the Provinces of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Spain*, and *Gaul*; but what was of greateſt weight and moment, 'twas his own native Country that lay near, reaching out her Hand for his Help; and certainly it could not be conſiſtent with *Pompey*'s Honour to leave her thus expos'd to all Indignities, and in Bondage under Slaves,

Slaves and the Flatteries of a Tyrant. But *Pompey* himſelf on the contrary, thought it neither honourable, to fly a ſecond time before *Cæſar*, and be purſued, when Fortune had given him the Advantage of a Purſuit; nor indeed lawful before the Gods to forſake *Scipio*, and divers other Men of Conſular Dignity diſpers'd throughout *Greece* and *Theſſaly*, who muſt neceſſarily fall into *Cæſar*'s Hands, together with all their Wealth and greater Forces: Then as to his Care for the City of *Rome*, that would moſt eminently appear, by removing the Scene of War to a greater diſtance, whereby ſhe being every way inſenſible of thoſe Calamities that attend a War, might in Peace expect the Return of the Conqueror.

With this determination *Pompey* march'd forwards in purſuit of *Cæſar*, firmly reſolv'd with himſelf not to give him Battel, but rather to beſiege and diſtreſs him, by keeping cloſe at his heels, ſtraitning his Quarters, and cutting off all neceſſary Reliefs: Now there were other Reaſons that made him continue this Reſolution, but eſpecially a Combination among the *Roman* Knights that came to his Ear, wherein they deſign'd, as ſoon as *Cæſar* was overthrown, to humble him too; and therefore ſome report, it was for this Reaſon that *Pompey* never employ'd *Cato* in any Matter of conſequence during the whole War; yet now when he purſued *Cæſar*, he left him to guard his Baggage by Sea, fearing, if *Cæſar* ſhould be taken off, leſt,

by

by *Cato*'s means he likewiſe not long after ſhould be forc'd to lay down his Commiſſion.

Whilſt he was thus ſlowly attending the Motions of the Enemy, his Friends began to charge upon him many Reproaches and Imputations, as if he did not uſe this Stratagem to deceive *Cæſar*, but his Country and the Senate, that he might always continue in Authority, and never ceaſe to keep thoſe for his Guards and Servants, who themſelves were worthy to govern the World; beſides that ſcoffing way of *Domitius Ænobarbus*, continually calling him *Agamemnon*, and *King of Kings*, render'd him very odious: And *Favonius* his unſeaſonable Rallery did him no leſs injury, than thoſe that took upon them a greater liberty of Speech, when in Drollery he cry'd out, *My Maſters! you muſt not expect to gather any Figs in* Tuſculan *this year.* But *Lucius Afranius* (who had lain under an imputation of Treachery in betraying the Army in *Spain*) when he perceiv'd that *Pompey* did induſtriouſly decline an Engagement, declar'd openly, *That he could not but admire, why thoſe who were ſo ready to accuſe him, did not go themſelves and fight that Merchant of their Provinces.*

With theſe and many ſuch like Speeches they wrought upon *Pompey*, (a Man of that Honour and Modeſty, that he could not bear a Reproach, neither would he diſoblige his Friends) and forc'd him to break his Meaſures,

ſo

ſo that he forſook his own prudent Reſolution, only to follow their vain Hopes and Deſires: Now if ſuch an unſteady Conduct is blameable in the Pilot of a Ship, how much more in an Emperor, or the ſoveraign Commander of ſuch an Army, and ſo many Nations; but he (though he had often commended thoſe Phyſicians who did not comply with the humorous Appetites of their Patients, yet) himſelf could not but yield to the diſeaſed part of his Army, rather than he would uſe any ſeverity in the Cure; and indeed who would not judge it Inſanity, and want of a Cure in thoſe Men, who went up and down the Camp, ſuing already for the Conſulſhip and Office of Prætor? Nay *Spinther*, *Domitius*, and *Scipio*, made Friends, rais'd Factions, and even quarrell'd among themſelves, who ſhould ſucceed *Cæſar* in the Dignity of his High-Prieſthood, eſteeming all as lightly, as if they were to engage only with *Tygranes* King of *Armenia*, or ſome petty *Nabathæan* King, not with that *Cæſar* and his Army that had ſtorm'd a 1000 Towns, and ſubdued more than 300 ſeveral Nations; that had fought innumerable Battels with the *Germans* and *Gauls*, and always carried the Victory; that had taken a Million of Men Priſoners, and ſlain as many upon the Spot in pitcht Battels.

§. 19. But as ſoon as they came to the Fields of *Pharſalia*, they grew very tumultuous, ſo that they forced him by their Preſſures and Importunities

tunities to call a Councel of War, where *Labienus* General of the Horſe ſtood up, and firſt took the Sacrament, ſwearing, *That he would not return out of the Battel, until he had ſeen the Backs of his Enemies*; and all the reſt took the ſame Oath. That night *Pompey* dream'd, that as he went into the Theater, the People receiv'd him with great Applauſe, and that he himſelf adorn'd the Temple of *Venus* the Conquereſs with many Spoyls: This Viſion partly encouraged, and partly diſheartned him, fearing leſt that Splendor and Ornament to *Venus* ſhould be made with Spoyls taken from himſelf by *Cæſar*, who deriv'd his Family from that Goddeſs; beſides there was a certain panick Fear run through the Camp, with ſuch a noiſe that it awaked him out of his Sleep: And about the time of renewing the Watch towards morning, there appear'd a great Light over *Cæſar*'s Camp, whilſt they were all at reſt, and from thence a Ball of flaming Fire was carried into *Pompey*'s Camp, which *Cæſar* himſelf ſaid, he ſaw as he was walking his Rounds.

Now *Cæſar* having deſigned to raiſe his Camp before break of day, whilſt the Soldiers were buſie in pulling down their Tents, and ſending away their Cattel and Servants before them with all their Bag and Baggage, there came in Scouts who brought word, that they ſaw ſeveral Arms carried to and fro in the Enemies Camp, and heard a noiſe and running

ning up and down, as of Men preparing for Battel: Not long after there came in other Scouts with farther Intelligence, that the firſt Ranks were already ſet in Battel-array. Thereupon *Cæſar* when he had told them, *That the wiſh'd-for day was come at laſt, wherein they ſhould fight with Men, not with Hunger and Famine*, he preſently gave Orders for the red Colours to be ſet up before his Tent, for that was uſually the Signal of Battel among the *Romans*: As ſoon as the Soldiers ſaw that, they left their Tents, and with great Shouts of Joy ran to their Arms; The Officers likewiſe on their parts drawing up their Squadrons in order of Battel, every Man fell into his proper Rank without any trouble or noiſe, as quietly and orderly as if they had been in a Dance: *Pompey* himſelf led up the right Wing of his Army againſt *Anthony*, and appointed his Father-in-law *Scipio* in the middle againſt *Lucius Albinus*. The left Wing was commanded by *Lucius Domitius*, and re-enforced with ſeveral Regiments of Horſe; for the whole Cavalry almoſt was plac'd there to diſtreſs *Cæſar*, and cut off the 10*th* Legion, which was accounted the ſtouteſt in all the Army, and in which *Cæſar* himſelf always fought in Perſon. *Cæſar* obſerving the left Wing of the Enemy to be lin'd and guarded with ſuch a mighty Guard of Horſe, and fearing the Gallantry of that Battalion, he ſent for a Detachment of 6 Regiments out of the Forlorn, and plac'd them in the Rear

of the 10*th* Legion, commanding them not to ſtir, leſt they ſhould be diſcover'd by the Enemy; but withal as ſoon as the Enemies Horſe had made a Charge, and began to preſs upon them, that they ſhould make up with all ſpeed to the Front through the foremoſt Ranks, and not throw their Javelins at a diſtance, (as 'tis uſual among your valiant Warriers, that they may come to a cloſe Fight with their Swords the ſooner) but that they ſhould dart them upwards into the Eyes, and Face of the Enemy; telling them, *That thoſe fine young Dancers would never endure the Steel ſhining in their Eyes, but would fly to ſave their handſom Faces.* This was *Cæſar*'s Device at that time: But while he was thus inſtructing his Soldiers, *Pompey* on Horſeback was viewing the Order of both Battalia's; and when he ſaw how well the Enemy kept their Ranks, expecting quietly the Signal of Battel; and on the contrary how impatient and unſteady his own Men were, waving up and down in great Diſorder for want of Experience, was very much afraid that their Ranks would be broken upon the firſt Onſet; and therefore he gave out ſtrict Orders, that the Vanguard ſhould make a ſtand, and keeping cloſe in their Ranks ſhould receive the Enemies Charge. But *Cæſar* did very much condemn this Command, becauſe to forbid a Charge, does not only take off from the ſtrength and force of the Blow, which is otherwiſe made with a ſpring upon an Incurſion,

ſion, but it does likewiſe abate and blunt the edge of that Spirit and Fury which the Aſſailants carry with them, (and which is improv'd by Shouts and Running on) ſo that at laſt they become cold, unactive, and diſheartned.

Cæſar's Army conſiſted of 22000, and *Pompey's* of ſomewhat above twice as many: Now when the Signal of Battel was given on both ſides, and the Trumpets began to ſound a Charge, the generality of thoſe preſent minded their own Buſineſs, and the Matters that belong'd to themſelves, only ſome few of the *Roman* Nobility, together with certain *Grecians* there preſent, (as Spectators, without the Battel, ſeeing the Armies ready to joyn) could not but conſider in themſelves to what a paſs the Ambition and Emulation of theſe two had brought the *Roman* Empire; for the Weapons being of kin, and the Bands brethren, under the ſame common Banners, together with the flower and ſtrength of the ſame City, claſhing and falling foul upon one another even to the deſtruction of both, gave a clear demonſtration of human Nature, how ſenſleſs and void of Reaſon it is when 'tis blinded with Paſſion: For if they had been deſirous only to Rule, and enjoy in Peace what they had conquer'd in War, the greateſt and beſt part of the World was ſubject to them both by Sea and Land; but if there was yet a thirſt in their Ambition, that muſt ſtill be fed with new Trophies and Triumphs; the *Parthian* and *German* Wars would

yield Matter enough to ſatisfie the moſt covetous of Honour: Nay, *Scythia* was yet unconquer'd, and the *Indians* too, where their Ambition might be colour'd over with the ſpecious pretence of civilizing thoſe barbarous Nations; and what *Scythian* Horſe, *Parthian* Arrows, and *Indian* Riches, could be able to reſiſt 70000 *Roman* Soldiers, well appointed in Arms, under the Command of two ſuch Generals as *Pompey* and *Cæſar*? whoſe Names they had heard of before that of the *Romans*, and whoſe Proweſs, by their Conqueſts of wild, ſavage, and bruitiſh Nations, was ſpread farther than the Fame of the *Romans* themſelves: But now they having laid aſide the ſence of their Honour, and with that their Piety too, not ſparing their own Country, were engag'd in a Civil War, and daſhing one another in pieces, who had both been accounted invincible till that day; and for the Alliance contracted betwixt them, the Charms of *Julia*, and that Marriage, thoſe were look'd upon as Tricks of State, (only to palliate ſome ſiniſter Deſign or Confederacy betwixt them) rather than Pledges of any real Friendſhip.

§. 20. Now therefore as ſoon as the Plains of *Pharſalia* were covered with Men, Horſe and Armour, and that the Signal of Battel was given on either ſide, *Caius Craſtinus*, a Centurion, (who commanded a Troop conſiſting of 120 Men) was the firſt that advanc'd out of *Cæſar*'s Army, to give the Charge, and acquit himſelf of

of a ſolemn Engagement, that he had made to *Cæſar*: For *Cæſar*, as he was going out of his Tent in the morning, ſaw *Craſtinus*, where after ſome Diſcourſe, he ask'd, *What his opinion was touching the event of that Battel?* To which, he ſtretching out his right Hand, reply'd aloud, *Thine is the Victory, oh* Cæſar, *thou ſhalt conquer glorioufly, and I my ſelf this day will be the Subject of thy praiſe either alive or dead:* In purſuance of this Promiſe he broke out of his Rank, and being follow'd by many more, charg'd into the midſt of his Enemies; there they came preſently to a cloſe Fight with their Swords, and made a great Slaughter: But as *Craſtinus* was ſtill preſſing forward, and breaking the Ranks of the Vanguard, a certain Soldier ran him in at the Mouth, ſo that the point of the Sword came out behind at his Neck; wherefore *Craſtinus* being thus ſlain, the Fight became doubtful, and continued equal on that part of the Battel.

Pompey had not yet brought on the right Wing, but ſtay'd and view'd about, expecting what Execution his Cavalry would do in the left; now they had already drawn out their Squadrons in form, deſigning to encompaſs *Cæſar*, and force thoſe few Horſe, which he had plac'd in the Front, to give back upon the Battalion of Foot: But *Cæſar* on the other ſide having given the Signal, his Horſe retreated back a little, and gave way to thoſe 6 Auxiliary Regiments, (being 3000 in number) which

had been poſted in the Rear, as an Ambuſh or Reſerve, to prevent encompaſſing; theſe ran out, and fiercely charg'd the Enemy upon the Flank; but when they came up to the Horſe, there they darted their Javelins upwards, according to their Inſtructions, and hit the young Gentlemen full in their Faces: Now theſe Gallants (as they were altogether unskilful in any manner of Fight, ſo leaſt of all expecting or underſtanding ſuch a kind as this) had not Courage enough to endure the Blows upon their Faces, but turning their Backs, and covering their Eyes with their Hands, were ſhamefully put to Flight: Theſe being thus routed and put to flight, *Cæſar*'s Men did not follow the Chace, but turn'd their Forces back upon the Foot, and attack'd them on all parts of that Wing which lay naked and unguarded by the Horſe, whereby they were preſently ſurrounded and environ'd on every ſide; ſo that now being attack'd in the Flank by theſe, and charg'd in the Front by the 10th Legion, they were not able to abide the Charge, or make any longer Reſiſtance, eſpecially when they ſaw themſelves out-witted in their own Stratagem, and circumvented in that Ambuſh, by which they deſign'd to have inveſted the Enemy: Thus theſe being likewiſe routed and put to flight, when *Pompey* ſaw it, and by the Duſt flying in the Air, conjectur'd the ſame Fate of his Horſe too, it were very hard to expreſs his thoughts at that time, but he look'd more like one diſtracted

ſtracted and beſides himſelf, than one that ſhould have call'd to mind that he was *Pompey the Great*; and therefore he retired ſlowly towards his Camp, without ſpeaking a word to any Man, behaving himſelf exactly according to the deſcription in theſe Verſes,

When Jove *from Heav'n ſtrook* Ajax *with a fear,*
Ajax *the Bold, he ſtood aſtoniſh'd there,*
And trembling gaz'd about without a Shield or Spear.

In this ſtate and condition he went into his own Tent, and ſate him down ſpeechleſs ſtill, until ſome of the Enemies fell in together with his Men that were flying into the Camp, and then he let fall only this one word, *What? into the very Camp?* and ſaid no more, but roſe up, and putting on a Garment ſuitable to his preſent Fortune, departed ſecretly.

By this time the reſt of the Army was put to flight, and there was a great Slaughter in the Camp among the Servants, and thoſe that guarded the Tents; but of the Soldiers themſelves there were not above 6000 ſlain, as 'tis reported by *Aſinius Pollio*, who was himſelf a Voluntier in this Fight of *Cæſar*'s Party. When *Cæſar*'s Soldiers had taken the Camp, they ſaw clearly the Folly and Vanity of the Enemy; for all their Tents and Pavilions were richly adorn'd with Garlands of Myrtle, painted Carpets and Hangings, their Couches ſtrew'd with

Flowers, and their Tables ſet full of Bowls and Glaſſes, and thoſe even crown'd with Wine; nay, their fooliſh Hopes had puff'd them up with ſuch vain Confidence, that their whole Preparation and Furniture was of People going to feaſt and ſacrifice, rather than of Men well arm'd and appointed for the Battel.

When *Pompey* had got a little way from the Camp, he diſmounted and forſook his Horſe, having but a ſmall Retinue with him, and finding that no man purſu'd him, walk'd on ſoftly afoot, taken up altogether with thoughts, ſuch as probably might poſſeſs any man of his Quality and Circumſtances, a man that for the ſpace of 34 years together, had been accuſtomed to Conqueſt and Victory, and was then, at laſt in his old Age, beginning to know the Calamities of War in Slaughter and Flight: And it was no ſmall Affliction to conſider, that he had loſt in one hour all that Glory and Power, which he had been getting in ſo many Wars, and bloody Battels; and that he who but a little before was guarded with ſuch an Army of Foot, ſo many Regiments of Horſe, and ſuch a mighty Fleet, was now flying in ſo mean a condition, and with ſuch a ſlender Retinue, that his very Enemies who ſought him could not know him. Thus, when he had paſſed by the City of *Ariſſa*, and came into the Fields of *Tempe*, he being very thirſty, kneel'd down and drank out of the River; then riſing up again, he paſſed through thoſe Valleys, until he came

came to the Sea-ſide, and there he betook himſelf to a poor Fiſherman's Cottage, where he lodg'd all the remainder of the night: The next morning about break of day he went into a little Boat upon the River, and taking his Freemen along with him, diſmiſſed the reſt of his Servants, adviſing them to go boldly to *Cæſar* and not be afraid: As he was rowing up and down near the Shore, he chanc'd to ſpy a great Ship of Burden riding at Anchor, and juſt ready to ſet Sail; the Maſter whereof was call'd by the Name of *Petitius*, a *Roman* Citizen, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with *Pompey*, yet he knew him very well by ſight: Now it happened that this *Petitius* dream'd the night before that he ſaw *Pompey*, not like the Man he had often ſeen him, but in a deſpicable condition, and diſconſolate, and in that poſture was diſcourſing with him: He was then telling his Dream to the Paſſengers, (as men commonly do that are at leiſure, and eſpecially Dreams of that conſequence) when of a ſudden one of the Mariners told him, he ſaw a little Boat with Oars putting off from Shore, and that ſome of the Men there ſhook their Garments, and held out their Hands, with Signs to take them in: Thereupon *Petitius* ſtanding up, knew him immediately, ſeeing him in the ſame diſguiſe as he appear'd in his Dream, and ſmiting his Hand on his Head, order'd the Mariners to let down the Ships Boat, he himſelf lending his Hand, and calling

him by the Name of *Pompey*; in that he was already aſſur'd of his Change, and the change of his Fortune, by that of his Garb: So that without any farther Entreaty or Diſcourſe, he took him into his Ship, together with ſuch of his Company as he thought fit, and hois'd Sail: There were with him the two *Lentuli*, and *Favonius*; and a little after they ſpy'd King *Deiotarus*, making up towards them from aſhore, ſo they ſtayed and took him in along with them: At Supper time, the Maſter of the Ship having made ready ſuch Proviſions as he had aboard, *Pompey*, for want of his Servants, began to waſh himſelf, which when *Favonius* perceiv'd, he ran to him, waſh'd and anointed him; and always after continu'd to wait upon, and attend him in all things, as Servants do their Maſters, even to the waſhing of his Feet, and providing of his Supper. Inſomuch that one there preſent, obſerving that free and unaffected Courteſie in his Services, broke out into theſe words,

Lord! in the noble and the fair,
How graceful all things do appear!

Pompey ſailing by the City of *Amphipolis*, coaſted over from thence to *Mitylene*, with a deſign to take in *Cornelia* and his Son; as ſoon as he arriv'd at the Port in that Iſland, he diſpatch'd a Meſſenger into the City, with News very different from *Cornelia*'s Expectation; for ſhe,

ſhe, by all the former Meſſages and Letters ſent to pleaſe her, had been put in hopes that the War was ended at *Dyrrachium*, and that there was nothing more remaining for *Pompey*, but the Chace of *Cæſar:* The Meſſenger finding her in the ſame Hopes ſtill, was not able to ſalute or ſpeak to her, but declaring the greatneſs of her Misfortune by his tears rather than by his words, deſir'd her to make haſte if ſhe would ſee *Pompey*, with one Ship only, and that none of his own: The young Lady hearing this, fell down all along in a Swoon, and continu'd ſo a long time ſenſleſs and ſpeechleſs; ſhe was ſcarce well recover'd of her Senſes again, but being conſcious to her ſelf that this was no time for Lamentation and Tears, ſhe ſtarted up and ran through the City towards the Sea-ſide, where *Pompey* meeting and embracing her in his Arms, (as ſhe was juſt fainting away and falling into a Swoon) ſhe vented her paſſion in this manner: *This is the effect of my Fortune, dear Sir, not of yours, that I ſee you thus dejected and reduc'd to one poor Veſſel, who before your Marriage with the unfortunate* Cornelia, *was wont to ride Admiral of theſe Seas with a Fleet of* 500 *Sail; Why therefore ſhould you come to ſee me, or why not rather have left her to a ſeverer Fate, who has been the Cauſe and Author of all your Misfortunes? How happy a Woman had I been, if I had breath'd out my laſt, before that fatal News from* Parthia *of the death of* Publius, *to whom I was wedded in my Virginity? And how prudent,*

dent, if I had follow'd his Deſtiny, as I deſign'd? But I was reſerv'd for a greater Miſchief, even the ruine of Pompey the Great. Thus, they ſay, *Cornelia* ſpoke to him, and this was *Pompey*'s Reply: *Dear* Cornelia, *Thou haſt hitherto known only one kind Fortune, which perhaps has deceiv'd thee in this, that ſhe has been conſtant to me beyond her uſual cuſtom; but it behoves us, who are Mortals born, to bear with theſe Afflictions, and try our Fortune once again; neither ought we to deſpond, and reſt hopeleſs, for that it is as poſſible to retrieve our former Happineſs from this unlucky ſtate, as it was to fall from that, into this preſent Calamity.* Thereupon ſhe ſent for her Goods and Servants out of the City; The Citizens alſo of *Mitylene* came out to ſalute and invite *Pompey* into the City; but he refuſed, adviſing them to be obedient to the Conqueror, and fear not, for that *Cæſar* was a Man of great Goodneſs and Clemency: Then turning to *Cratippus* the Philoſopher, (who came among the reſt out of the City to viſit him) he began to repine, and argue ſomewhat with him touching the Diſpenſations of Providence; but *Cratippus* very modeſtly declin'd the Diſpute, putting him in better Hopes only, leſt by oppoſing, he might ſeem too ſharp or unſeaſonable: For when *Pompey* had put him a certain Queſtion touching Providence, and demonſtrated how neceſſary it was, that the Commonwealth ſhould be turn'd into a Monarchy, becauſe of their ill Government in the State;

he

he return'd the Queſtion, *But how, oh* Pompey! *and by what token or aſſurance may we be induc'd to believe, that if the Victory had been thine, thou wouldſt have us'd thy Fortune better than* Cæſar? But Providence is a point of Divinity belonging to the Gods, and ought to be let alone to act after its own method.

§. 21. Thus *Pompey* having taken his Wife and Friends aboard, ſet ſail, making no Port, nor touching any where, but when he was neceſſitated to take in Proviſions, or freſh Water: The firſt Place he arriv'd at was *Attalia*, a City in *Pamphylia*, and whilſt he was there, there came ſome Gallies thither to him out of *Cilicia*, together with a few Bands of Soldiers, and there he had almoſt 60 Senators with him again: Then hearing that his Navy was ſafe too, and that *Cato* had rallied a conſiderable Body of Soldiers after their Overthrow, and paſs'd with them over into *Africa*, he began to complain and blame himſelf and his Friends too, in that they had forc'd him to engage by Land, without making uſe of his other Forces, (in which he was undoubtedly the ſtronger) and had not kept near enough to his Fleet, that failing by Land, he might have re-enforced his Troops from the Sea, and preſently drawn out a Power equal and able enough to encounter the Enemy; ſo that in truth, neither did *Pompey* during all the War commit a greater Overſight, nor *Cæſar* uſe a more ſubtil Stratagem, than by drawing the Fight ſo far off from their Naval Forces. Now

Now *Pompey* being at preſent conſtrain'd to attempt and act ſomewhat according to his ſmall Ability, he diſpatch'd his Agents as Ambaſſadors to ſome of the neighbouring Cities, and himſelf ſail'd about in Perſon to others, requiring their Aid in Money and Soldiers to victual and man out his Ships; however, fearing leſt the ſudden Approach of the Enemy might prevent his Preparations, he began to conſider what Place would yield him the ſafeſt Refuge and Retreat at preſent: Thereupon a Conſult being held, it was generally agreed upon, That no Province of the *Romans* was ſecure enough; and touching foreign Kingdoms, he himſelf was of Opinion, that *Parthia* muſt needs be the fitteſt both to receive and defend them in their preſent Diſtreſs, as well as to aid and furniſh them with the greateſt Forces: Others of the Council were for going into *Africa*, and to King *Juba*; but *Theophanes* the *Lesbian* thought it madneſs to leave *Ægypt*, (that was but a Voyage of three days ſailing) and forſake *Ptolomie*, (who was juſt come of Age, and highly oblig'd to him for that Friendſhip and Favour which he had lately ſhewn to his Father) only to put himſelf under the *Parthian*, and truſt the moſt treacherous Nation in the World: Or what is worſe, to ſubject himſelf to the Tyranny of *Arſaces* the King of *Parthia*, and make him his Lord, (a Power which he was not able to compaſs in the Life-time of *Craſſus*) rather than try the Clemency of a generous *Roman*, and

and one that had been his Father-in-Law, to whom if he would but yield to be Second, he might aſſure himſelf to be the firſt and chief over all the reſt: Beſides, he thought it would be great Cruelty to expoſe a young Lady, deſcended from the noble Family of the *Scipio's*, among ſuch a barbarous People, who govern by their Luſts, and meaſure their Greatneſs by their Power to commit Affronts and Inſolencies; from whom, though ſhe ſuffer no Diſhonour, yet it would be thought ſhe did, being in the Hands of thoſe who had the power to do it: This Argument alone, they ſay, was ſo perſuaſive, as to divert his Courſe, that was deſign'd towards *Euphrates*, if it were ſo indeed that any Council of *Pompey's*, and not his own Fate, made him take this other way. As ſoon therefore as 'twas reſolv'd upon, that he ſhould fly into *Ægypt*, he ſetting ſail from *Cyprus*, in a Galley of *Seleucia*, together with *Cornelia*, (and the reſt of his Company, ſome in Long-boats, and others in Ships of Burden ſailing by) paſs'd over Sea without danger. But when he underſtood that King *Ptolomie* was ſate down with his Army in the City of *Pelūſium*, making War againſt his Siſter, he ſteer'd his Courſe that way, and ſent a Meſſenger before to acquaint the King with his Arrival, and humbly crave his Protection: *Ptolomie* himſelf was a very young Man; and therefore *Pothinus*, the principal Miniſter of State, (having the ſole Adminiſtration of all Affairs in the Government) call'd a Council

Council of the chiefeſt Men at Court, (thoſe being the greateſt whom he pleas'd to make ſo) and commanded them every Man to deliver his Opinion touching the Reception of *Pompey*: Now 'twas a horrid thing to conſider, that the Fate of *Pompey* the Great ſhould be determin'd by ſuch a Crew, as *Pothinus* an Eunuch, *Theodotus* of *Chios*, a mercenary Rhetorician, that taught Oratory, as a Schoolmaſter, for Reward, and *Achillas* an *Ægyptian*; for theſe, with others of his Bed-Chamber, and ſome of thoſe who had a ſhare in his Education, were the chief and leading Men in the Council; *Pompey* (who thought it diſhonourable for him to owe his Safety to *Cæſar*) riding at Anchor a great way diſtant from Shore, was forc'd to wait the Reſult of this honourable Council: It ſeems they were different in their Opinions; Some were for ſending the Man away, and others again for calling and receiving him; but *Theodotus*, to ſhew the power of his Eloquence and Rhetorick, undertook to demonſtrate, that neither the one nor the other was ſafe in that Juncture of Affairs; for if they entertain'd him, they would be ſure to make *Cæſar* their Enemy, and *Pompey* their Maſter; or if they diſmiſs'd him, they might render themſelves hereafter obnoxious to *Pompey*, for that inhoſpitable Expulſion, and to *Cæſar*, for the Eſcape; ſo that the moſt expedient Advice would be to ſend and take away his Life, for by that means they would ingratiate themſelves with the

the one, and have no reaſon to fear the other; adding, as 'tis reported, with a Smile, *That a dead Man cannot bite.* This Advice being approv'd of, they committed the execution of it to *Achillas*: He therefore taking with him as his Accomplices, one *Septimius*, a Man that had formerly commanded a Brigade under *Pompey*, and *Salvius*, another Centurion, with three or four Officers more, made up towards *Pompey*'s Galley; in the mean time, all the chiefeſt of thoſe who accompany'd *Pompey* in this Voyage, were come into his Ship to ſee the event of their Embaſſy: But when they ſaw the manner of their Reception, that in appearance it was neither Princely, nor Honourable, nor indeed any ways anſwerable to the Hopes of *Theophanes*, or their Expectation, (for there came but a few Men in a Fiſherman's Boat to meet them) they began to ſuſpect the meanneſs of their Entertainment, and gave warning to *Pompey* that he ſhould turn back, whilſt he was out of their reach, and launch out into the main Sea: By this time, the *Ægyptian* Boat drew near, and *Septimius* ſtanding up firſt, ſaluted *Pompey* in the Latin Tongue, by the Title of *Imperator*, or General; Then *Achillas* ſaluting him in the Greek Language, deſir'd him to come aboard his Veſſel, telling him, that the Sea was very ſhallow towards the Shore, and that a Galley of that Burden could not avoid ſtriking

ing upon ſome Shelve, or Quick-ſand: At the ſame time they ſaw ſeveral of the King's Gallies well mann'd, and all the Shore cover'd with Soldiers; ſo that if they had chang'd their minds, it ſeem'd impoſſible for them to eſcape; and beſides, their Diſtruſt would have giv'n the Aſſaſſinates a colourable pretence for their Cruelty. *Pompey* therefore taking his leave of *Cornelia*, who lamented his Death before-hand, bid two Centurions, (*Philip*, one of his Free-Men, and a Slave, called *Seynes*) go aboard of the *Ægyptian*'s Boat before him; and as ſome of the Ships Crew belonging to *Achillas*, were reaching out their Hands to help him, he turn'd about towards his Wife and Son, and repeated thoſe Iambicks of *Sophocles*,

He that once falls into a Tyrants power,
Becomes a Slave, though he were Free before.

Theſe were the laſt words he ſpoke to his Friends, and ſo he went aboard. When *Pompey* perceiv'd, that notwithſtanding there was a conſiderable diſtance betwixt his Galley and the Shore, and yet none of the Ships Company had ſpoke a kind word to him all the way, he look'd earneſtly upon *Septimius*, and ſpoke to him; *Methinks I ſhould know thee*, Friend, *Have not we been formerly Fellow-Soldiers, and ſerv'd together in the Wars?*

But

But he only nodded with his Head, making no Reply at all, nor ſhewing any other manner of Civility: Since therefore they continued ſilent, *Pompey* took a little Book in his Hand, (wherein was written a Greek Oration, which he intended for King *Ptolemy*) and began to read it; Afterwards, when they drew near to the Shore, *Cornelia*, (together with the reſt of her Friends in the Galley) was very impatient to ſee the Event, and began to take Courage at laſt, when ſhe ſaw ſeveral of the Court coming to meet him, imagining that it might be for a more honourable Reception; But in the mean time, as *Pompey* took *Philip* by the hand, to riſe up more eaſily, *Septimius* came firſt of all behind with his Sword, and run him thorow; next after him likewiſe, *Salvius*, and *Achillas*, drew out their Swords. Wherefore *Pompey* taking up his Gown with both Hands, hid his Face, and neither ſaying nor doing any thing unworthy of himſelf, (only groaning a little) manfully endur'd the Wounds they gave him; and ſo ended his Life, in the Fifty ninth year of his Age, the very next day after the day of his Birth. *Cornelia*, with her Company from the Gallies, ſeeing him murder'd, gave ſuch a Shriek, that it was heard to the Shore, and weighing Anchor with all ſpeed, they hoiſted Sail, and fled: The Wind ſerv'd them favourably from aſhore, and aſſiſted their Flight

with a brisk Gale, whereby they preſently got the main Sea, ſo that the *Ægyptians*, failing of their aim, deſiſted from purſuing them. But they cut off *Pompey*'s Head, and threw the reſt of his Body over-board, leaving it naked upon the Shore, to be view'd by any that had the curioſity to ſee ſuch a miſerable Spectacle: *Philip* ſtay'd by and watch'd his Corps, till they had glutted their Eyes in viewing it, and then waſhing it with Sea-water, and having nothing elſe, he wrapt it up in one of his own Shirts for a Winding-ſheet; then ſeeking up and down about the Sands, at laſt he found ſome rotten Planks of a little Fiſher-Boat, not much, but yet enough to make up a Funeral Pile for a naked Body, and that not quite entire: As *Philip* was buſie in gathering and putting theſe old Planks together, an old *Roman* Citizen, who from his Youth had ſerv'd in the Wars under *Pompey*, came to him and demanded, *Who he was that was preparing the Funerals of* Pompey *the Great?* And *Philip* making Anſwer, *That he was his Freeman*; *Nay*, ſaid he, *but thou ſhalt not have this Honour alone, let even me too I prithee have my ſhare in ſuch a pious Office, that I may not altogether repent me of this Pilgrimage in a ſtrange Land, but that in compenſation of all my Misfortunes, I may obtain this Happineſs at laſt, even with mine own Hands to touch the Body of* Pompey, *and pay my De-*

Devotion at the Obſequies of the greateſt General among the Romans: And in this manner were the Funerals of *Pompey* perform'd. The next day *Lucius Lentulus*, not knowing what had paſs'd, came ſailing from *Cyprus* along the Shore of that Coaſt, and ſeeing a Funeral Pile, and *Philip* (whom he did not know at firſt) ſtanding by, ask'd him, *Who it was that was dead and buried there?* But pauſing a little with himſelf, and fetching a deep Sigh, *Perhaps*, ſaid he, *even thou O* Pompey *the Great!* and ſo going aſhore, he was preſently apprehended and ſlain; This was the unfortunate End of *Pompey* the Great.

Not long after, *Cæſar* coming into *Ægypt*, (that was then in very great Troubles) ſhew'd a great abhorrence of the Perſon that preſented him with *Pompey*'s Head, turning away from him as a moſt deteſtable Aſſaſſinate; but when he receiv'd his Seal, (whereon was engraven a Lion holding a Sword in his Paw) he burſt out into Tears. *Achillas* and *Pothinus* he put to death; and King *Ptolemy* himſelf, being overthrown in Battel upon the Banks of *Nilus*, fled away in diſguiſe, and was never heard of afterwards: *Theodotus* the Rhetorician, flying out of *Ægypt*, eſcap'd the Hands of *Cæſar*'s Juſtice, but liv'd a Vagabond in Baniſhment, wandring up and down, deſpis'd and hated of all Men, till at laſt, *Marcus Brutus*, (after he had kill'd

Cæsar) finding him in his Province of *Asia*, put him to death, having first made him suffer the most exquisite Torments he could invent. The Ashes of *Pompey* were carried to his Wife *Cornelia*, who buried them in a Vault at his Country-house, near the City of *Alba*.

THE

THE PARALLEL OF POMPEY WITH AGESILAUS.

THUS having drawn out the Hiſtory or Lives of *Ageſilaus* and *Pompey*, the next thing is to compare them, and in order to the Parallel wherein they agree, we'll take a curſory View, and touch upon ſome few Paſſages that make the difference, ſhewing wherein they chiefly diſagree; which are theſe: In the firſt place, *Pompey* attain'd to all his Greatneſs and Glory by the juſt meaſures of his own Integrity, and ſo was advanc'd by himſelf; having often and deſperately engag'd together with *Sylla*, in deliver-

ring *Italy* from the Uſurpation of Tyrants: But *Ageſilaus* appears to have uſurp'd a Kingdom, not without offence to the Laws, both of Gods and Men; Of theſe, by giving Judgment of Baſtardy againſt *Leotychides*, the natural and lawful Son of his Brother, as appear'd by undoubted Evidence; Of thoſe, by putting a falſe Gloſs upon the Oracle of the Gods, and eluding the Prophecy in the point of Lameneſs. Secondly, *Pompey* had a perpetual Veneration for *Sylla* all his Lifetime, and expreſs'd as much after his Death, by making an honourable Interment of his Corps in deſpight of *Lepidus*, and giving his Daughter in Marriage to his Son *Fauſtus*: But *Ageſilaus*, upon a ſlight pretence, caſt off *Lyſander* with Reproach and Diſhonour. So that in point of Gratitude, *Sylla* receiv'd in return from *Pompey* no leſs than he gave him, whereas *Lyſander* made *Ageſilaus* King of *Sparta*, and General of all *Greece*. Thirdly, Thoſe Tranſgreſſions of *Pompey* againſt the State and Laws, were occaſion'd chiefly by his Relations, (for that moſt of his Errors had ſome Affinity, as well as himſelf, to *Cæſar* and *Scipio*, they being both his Fathers-in-Law:) But *Ageſilaus*, to gratifie the Amours or Luſt of his Son, ſav'd the Life of *Sphodria* by Violence, when he deſerv'd Death for thoſe Injuries he had done to the *Athenians*; and 'tis manifeſt, that he was openly and cordially an Abettor to *Phœbida*,

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(in the breach of the League with the *Thebans*) barely for the Iniquity of the Act it ſelf. In ſhort, what Miſchief ſoever might be charg'd upon *Pompey*, as done through Modeſty or Inadvertency againſt the *Roman* Government, the very ſame were committed by *Ageſilaus* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, out of Obſtinacy and Malice, he himſelf being the Incendiary of the *Bœotian* War: And if by chance there was any thing common in the Offences of theſe two, that of *Pompey* was unexpected to the *Romans*; whereas *Ageſilaus* would not ſuffer the *Lacedæmonians* to avoid what they foreſaw and heard muſt attend a lame or decrepit Kingdom; For had *Leotychides* been chargeable Ten thouſand times as foreign and ſpurious, yet the Race of the *Eurytiontidæ* was ſtill in being, and there could never have been wanting one deſcended from that Line, to furniſh *Sparta* with a natural and lawful King, and one that was entire in his Limbs too, had not *Lyſander* darkned and diſguis'd the true ſence of the Oracle in favour of *Ageſilaus*.

But as for State-affairs, never was there ſuch a politick piece of Sophiſtry, as was deviſed by *Ageſilaus*, in that great Perplexity of the People touching the Τρέσαντες, (or thoſe who had cowardly deſerted their Colours at the Battel of *Leuctra*, whereby they became obnoxious to the Law) when after that unhappy Defeat, he Decreed, *That the Laws*

ſhould ſleep for that day: Neither indeed have we the fellow of it in all *Pompey*'s Story; but on the contrary, *Pompey* for a Friend thought it no Sin to break thoſe very Laws which he himſelf had made, ſhewing at once both the force of Friendſhip, and the greatneſs of his Power: Whereas *Ageſilaus*, finding that he muſt of neceſſity have diſſolv'd the Laws, to preſerve the Lives of his Citizens, devis'd this Expedient, whereby the Laws might not hurt them, though they were not diſſolv'd. Then I muſt needs commend this as an incomparable Act of civil Virtue and Obedience in *Ageſilaus*, That immediately upon the receipt of the *Scytala*, (or Scrowl of Parchment, with a Countermand from the *Ephori*) he left the Wars in *Aſia*, and return'd into his Country; for that he did not act generally, as *Pompey* did, (in thoſe things by which he made himſelf Great) for the intereſt and benefit of the Commonwealth; who for his Countrys ſake laid aſide as great Authority and Honour, as ever any Man had before or ſince, except *Alexander* the Great: But now for ſome other Head.

And if we'll take a view of *Pompey* in his military Expeditions, and Exploits of War, in the number of his Trophies, and the greatneſs of his Armies which he commanded, together with the multitude of Battels in which he triumph'd as a Conqueror, I am perſuaded even *Xenophon* himſelf would not put the

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Victories of *Ageſilaus* in Balance with his, though he has this Privilege allow'd him, (as a ſingular Reward for all his other Virtues) that he may write and ſpeak in favour of his Hero, what-e'er he pleaſes. Methinks too there is a great deal of difference betwixt theſe Men, in their Clemency and Moderation towards their Enemies; For whilſt *Ageſilaus* was attempting the Conqueſt of *Thebes*, and Deſtruction of *Meſſene*, (this being the entire Lot of his own * Country, and that the Metropolis of *Bæotia*) he had almoſt loſt *Sparta* it ſelf, but did really loſe the Government of *Greece*; whereas *Pompey* gave Cities to thoſe of the Pyrates, who were willing to change their manner of Life; And when 'twas in his power to have led *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, in Triumph, he choſe rather to make him a Confederate of the *Romans*, ſaying, *That he preferr'd an eternal Honour before the Glories of one day.* But if the Preheminence, in that which chiefly relates to the Office of a General, (conſiſting of a ſteady reſolution upon the wiſeſt Acts and Counſels of War) might be given to a Commander of the beſt Conduct, the *Lacedæmonian* would not a little exceed the *Roman* in that; for *Ageſilaus* never deſerted his City, though it was beſieg'd by an Army

* Sicily.

of 70000 Men, when there were very few Soldiers within to defend it, and thoſe had been baffled too but a little before at the Battel of *Leuctra*: But *Pompey* (when *Cæſar* with a Body only of 5300 Men, had taken but one Town in *Italy*) departed timorouſly out of *Rome*, either through Cowardiſe, when there were ſo few, or at leaſt through a vain Imagination, that there were more; and having convey'd away his Wife and Children, he left all the reſt of the Citizens defenceleſs, and fled; whereas he ought either to have conquer'd in Fight for the defence of his Country, or yielded upon terms to the Conqueror, for he was his Fellow-Citizen, and Ally'd to him: But now to that ſame Man, (to whom he deny'd an Enlargement in the term of his Government, and thought it intolerable to grant another Conſulſhip) even to him he gave a Power, (by letting him take the City) to tell *Metellus* the Tribune, together with all the reſt, *That they were his Priſoners.* That therefore, which is chiefly the Office of a General, to put the Enemy upon a neceſſity of Fight, when he finds himſelf the ſtronger, and to avoid it when he is the weaker; that Property being ſingular in *Ageſilaus*, he always kept himſelf invincible: And this was *Cæſar*'s Talent too, that when he was the weaker, he could at any time by fencing with *Pompey*, decline the Danger; and when he was the ſtronger, he

forc'd

forc'd him to Battel by Land, even to the hazard of all, whereby he became Maſter of the Treaſury, Stores, and the Sea too, which were all in his Enemies Hands, and by which he had his conſtant Supplies without fighting. Now that which is alledg'd as an Apology in vindication of *Pompey*, is the greateſt Crime in ſo great a General; for 'tis true, for a young Commander by Tumults and Noiſe to be wrought into a Fear and Eaſineſs, whereby he may forſake the ſafeſt Counſels, is neither ſtrange, nor altogether unpardonable; But for *Pompey* the Great, whoſe Camp the *Romans* call'd their Country, and his Tent the Senate, ſtyling the Conſuls, Prætors, and all other Magiſtrates, (that had taken upon them the Adminiſtration of the Government at *Rome*) by no better Title than that of Rebels and Traitors; for him, I ſay, whom they well knew, never to have been under the Command of any but himſelf, (having nobly finiſh'd his courſe of Warfare under himſelf, as ſole General in all the Wars he made) who could excuſe him, that upon ſo ſmall a Provocation, (as the Scoffs of *Favonius* and *Domitius*, and leſt he ſhould bear the Nick-name of *Agamemnon*) ſhould be wrought upon, and even forc'd to hazard the whole Empire and Liberty of *Rome* upon the caſt of a Dye? In him, I ſay, 'twas intolerable, who, if he had ſo much regarded a preſent Infamy, ſhould have guarded the City at

firſt

firſt with his Arms, and fought valiantly in defence of *Rome*, not have left it as he did, colouring his Flight over with the Stratagem of *Themiſtocles*; and yet after all this, to imagine that there could be any Reproach in a wary Delay before the Battel in *Theſſaly*, was as inexcuſable: For neither did God appoint the *Pharſalian* Fields, to be the Stage and Theater upon which they ſhould contend for the Empire of *Rome*, neither was he ſummon'd thither by any Herald upon Challenge, with intimation, that he muſt either undergo the Combat, or ſurrender the Crown to another; But there were many other Fields, thouſands of Cities, and even the whole Earth, that he might have had by the Advantage of his Fleet, and Forces at Sea, if he would but have follow'd the Examples of *Maximus*, *Marius*, *Lucullus*, and even *Ageſilaus* himſelf; who endur'd no leſs Tumults within the City of *Sparta*, when the *Thebans* provok'd him to Battel for the reſidue of his Country; He endur'd likewiſe many Calumnies and Accuſations in *Ægypt*, through the Imprudence of the King there, entreating his patience conſtantly; but following always what he had determin'd in his own Judgment upon mature Advice, he did by that means, not only preſerve the *Ægyptians* againſt their wills, not only keep *Sparta* conſtantly upon its Legs, even in thoſe deſperate Convulſions, but ſet up Trophies likewiſe in the City a-

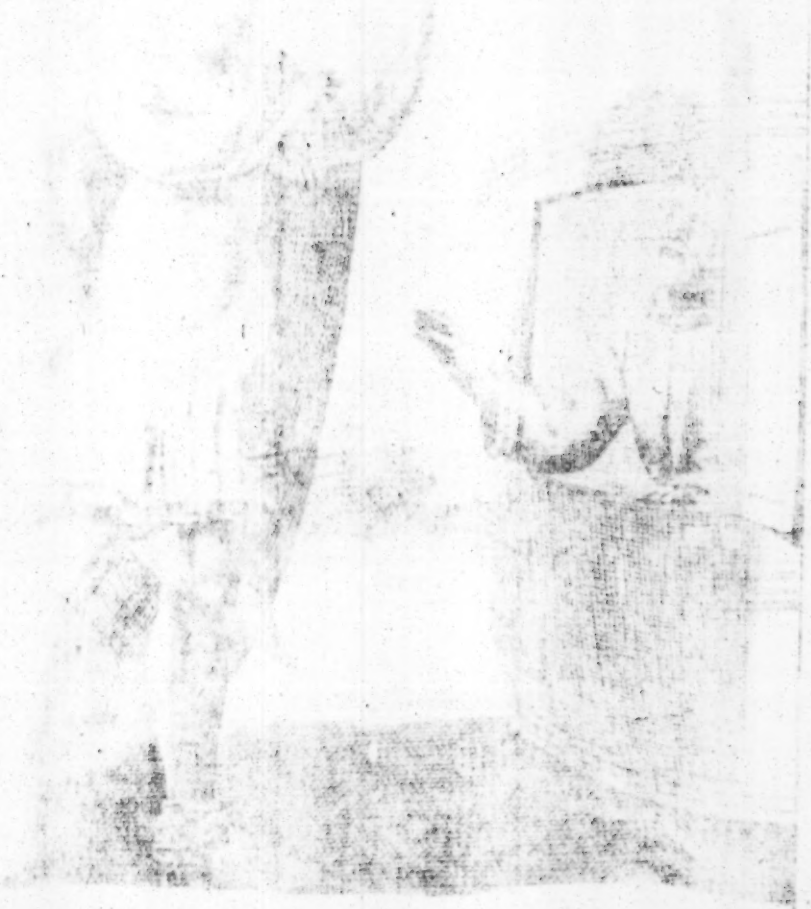
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gainſt the *Thebans*, giving them afterwards an occaſion of Victory, in that he did not at that time lead them out, as they would have forc'd him, to their deſtruction; inſomuch, that at laſt, *Ageſilaus* was highly commended, even of thoſe who provok'd their own Ruin, after they found he had ſav'd their Lives againſt their wills: Whereas *Pompey*, (whoſe Errors had always ſome other Authors) found thoſe to be his Accuſers, upon whom he had plac'd his chiefeſt confidence; and ſome ſay, that he was deceiv'd by his Father-in-Law *Scipio*, for that he, (deſigning to conceal and keep to himſelf the greateſt part of that Treaſure, which he had brought out of *Aſia*) did preſs *Pompey* to Battel, upon this pretence, that there would be a want of Money; however, admitting this to be true, yet ſuch a General ought not to have been ſo eaſily deluded, and led into an Error, even to the hazard of all the greateſt Concerns in the Commonwealth: And thus we have taken a View of each, by comparing them together in their Conduct, and Actions in War. As to their Voyages into *Ægypt*: One ſteer'd his Courſe thither out of neceſſity in Flight; the other neither honourably, nor of neceſſity, but as a mercenary Soldier, having liſted himſelf into the Service of a barbarous Nation for Pay, that he might be able to wage War upon the *Græcians*: Laſtly, That which we charge upon the *Ægyptians* in the Name of

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Pompey, the *Ægyptians* return again in an Accuſation againſt *Ageſilaus*; For one was barbarouſly betray'd and murder'd by thoſe whom he truſted: The other betray'd his Truſt, and deſerted them, having upon his Revolt gone over to the Enemy, (that was now making War upon *Ægypt*) notwithſtanding he came at firſt as an Auxiliary to the *Ægyptians*.

THE



B M

ALEXANDER.



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THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER the Great.

Tranſlated out of the Greek by Mr. Evelyn.

IT being my purpoſe to write the Lives of *Alexander* and *Cæſar*, by whom *Pompey* was deſtroyed, the multitude of their great Actions affords me ſo large a Field, that I were to blame if I ſhould not by way of Apology acquaint my Reader that I have choſen rather to epitomize the moſt celebrated parts of their Story, than to inſiſt at large on every particular Circumſtance of it; eſpecially when I conſider my Deſign is not to write Hiſtories but Lives. Neither do the moſt glorious Exploits

ploits always furniſh us with the cleareſt diſcoveries of Vertue, or Vice in Men; ſometimes a Matter of leſs moment, an Expreſſion, or a Jeſt, informs us better of their Manners, and Inclinations, than the moſt famous Sieges, the greateſt Encampments, or the bloudieſt Battels whatſoever. Therefore as thoſe who draw by the Life, are more exact in the Lines, and Features of the Face, from which we may often collect the Diſpoſition of the Perſon, than in the other Parts of the Body: So I ſhall endeavour by penetrating into, and deſcribing the ſecret Receſſes, and Images of the Soul, to expreſs the Lives of Men, and leave their more ſhining Actions and Atchievements to be treated of by others.

It is agreed on by all Hands, that on the Father's ſide *Alexander* deſcended from *Hercules* by *Caranus*, and from *Æacus* by *Neoptolemus* on the Mothers ſide. His Father *Philip* being in *Samothrace* when he was young, fell in Love there with *Olympias*, with whom he was initiated in the religious Ceremonies of the Country, and her Father and Mother being both dead, ſoon after with the conſent of her Brother *Arimbas* married her. The night before the conſummation of the Marriage, ſhe dream'd that a Thunderbolt fell upon her Belly, which kindled a great Fire, whoſe divided Flames diſpers'd themſelves all about, and then were extinguiſh'd. And *Philip* ſome time after he was married, dream'd that he ſeal'd up his

Wives

Wives Belly with a Seal, whoſe impreſſion as he fanſied, was the Figure of a Lion. Some interpreted this as a warning to *Philip* to look narrowly to his Wife; but *Ariſtander* of *Telmeſſus* conſidering how unuſual it was to ſeal up any thing that was empty, aſſured him the meaning of his Dream was, that the Queen was with Child of a Boy, who would one day prove as ſtout and couragious as a Lion. Not long after a Dragon was obſerv'd to lie cloſe by *Olympias* while ſhe ſlept; upon which *Philip*'s Affection to her ſenſibly abated: For whether he fear'd her as an Inchantreſs, or thought ſhe had commerce with ſome God, and ſo look'd on himſelf as unequal to ſuch a Rival, he was ever after leſs fond of her Converſation. Others ſay, that the Women of this Country having always been extreamly addicted to perform the Enthuſiaſtick Ceremonies of *Orpheus* and *Bacchus*, (upon which account they were called * *Clodones*, and *Mimallones*) did in many things imitate the *Edonian* and *Thracian* Women about Mount *Hæmus*, from whom the word Θρησκεία ſeems to be deriv'd, ſignifying ſuperfluous and over-curious Sacrifices: And that *Olympias* zealouſly affecting theſe Fanatical and Enthuſiaſtick Inſpirations, to perform them with more barbarick Dread, was wont in the Dances proper to theſe Ceremonies, to have great tame Serpents about

* *Furious and warlike.*

her, which ſometimes creeping out of the Ivy, and the Myſtick Fans, ſometimes winding themſelves about the ſacred Spears, and the Womens Chaplets, made a dreadful Spectacle to thoſe who beheld them.

Philip after this Viſion ſent *Chæron* of *Megalopolis* to conſult the Oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, by which he was commanded to ſacrifice to, and moſt reſpectfully adore *Jupiter Hammon* above all other Gods; and was told he ſhould one day loſe that Eye with which he preſumed to peep through the Chink of the Door, when he ſaw the God in the form of a Serpent ſo familiar with his Wife. *Eratoſthenes* ſays, that *Olympias* when ſhe brought *Alexander* on his way to the Army in his firſt Expedition, told him the Secret of his Birth, and exhorted him to behave himſelf with Courage ſuitable to his divine Extraction. Others again affirm, that ſhe wholly declin'd this Vanity, and was wont to ſay, *Will* Alexander *never leave making* Juno *jealous of me*?

Alexander was born the *6th* of *June*, (which month the *Macedonians* call *Lous*) the ſame day that the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus* was burn'd; upon which occaſion *Hegeſias* of *Magneſia* has an expreſſion ſo mean and cold, as might have ſerv'd to have extinguiſh'd the Flames: *Diana*, ſays he, *deſerv'd to have her Temple burnt, for leaving the care of it to play the Midwife at the Birth of* Alexander. All the Prieſts and Soothſayers who hapned to be then at *Epheſus*, looking

ing upon the Ruine of this Temple to be the forerunner of ſome other Calamity, ran about the Town, beating their Faces, and crying, *that day had brought forth ſomething that would prove fatal and deſtructive to all* Aſia.

Preſently after *Philip* had taken *Poſidæa*, he receiv'd theſe three Meſſages on the ſame day: That *Parmenio* had overthrown the *Illyrians* in a great Battel; that his Race-horſe had won the Courſe at the *Olympick* Games; and that his Wife was brought to bed of *Alexander*; with which being extreamly pleas'd, as an addition to his Satisfaction the Diviners aſſur'd him, that a Son whoſe Birth was accompanied with three ſuch Succeſſes, could not fail of being invincible.

The Statues that moſt reſembled *Alexander*, were thoſe of *Lyſippus*, by whom alone this Prince would ſuffer his Image to be made; and theſe chiefly did moſt of his Succeſſors and Friends afterwards imitate; the Artiſt having expreſs'd the inclination of his Head a little on one ſide towards his left Shoulder, and his * melting Eye with incomparable exactneſs. But *Apelles*, who drew him with Thunderbolts in his Hand, made his Complexion browner and darker than it was naturally, for he was fair, having a mixture of ruddineſs chiefly in his Face, and upon his Breaſt. *Ariſtoxenus* in his

* ὑγρότης.

Memoirs tells us, that an admirable Scent proceeded from his Skin, and that his Breath and Body all over was ſo fragrant, as to perfume the Cloaths which he wore next him; the cauſe of which might probably be the hot and aduſt Temperament of his Body: For ſweet Smells, as *Theophraſtus* conjectures, are produced by the concoction of moiſt Humours by Heat, which is the reaſon that thoſe Parts of the World which are drieſt and moiſt burnt up, afford Spices of the beſt kind, and in the greateſt quantity; for the heat of the Sun exhauſts the ſuperfluous moiſture, which generates Putrefaction in Bodies. And this hot Conſtitution it may be, rendred *Alexander* ſo addicted to drinking, and ſo cholerick.

His Temperance as to the Pleaſures of the Body, was apparent in him in his very Childhood, being with much difficulty incited to them, and always uſing them with great moderation: Though in other things he was extreamly eager and vehement. In his love of Glory, and the purſuit of it, he ſhew'd a ſolidity of Judgment and Magnanimity far above his Age; for he neither ſought nor valued it upon every ſlight occaſion, as his Father *Philip* did, (who affected to ſhew his Eloquence almoſt to a degree of Pedantry, and took care to have the Victories of his Racing Chariots at the *Olympick* Games engraven on his Coin:) but when he was asked by ſome about him, whether he would run a Race in the *Olympick* Games, for he

he was very ſwift-footed? he anſwer'd, *He would, if he might have Kings to run with him.* He often appointed Prizes, in which not only Tragedians and Muſicians, Pipers and Harpers, but Rapſodiſts alſo ſtrove to outvye one another: And delighted in all manner of Hunting, and Cudgel-playing, but never gave any encouragement either to playing at Fiſty-cuffs, or that * Sport in which all Weapons were to be made uſe of. While he was yet very young, he entertain'd the Ambaſſadors from the King of *Perſia*, in the abſence of his Father, and falling into Converſation with them, gain'd ſo much upon them by his Affability, and the Queſtions he ask'd them, which were far from being childiſh, or trifling: (for he enquir'd of them the length of the Ways, the Paſſages into *Aſia*, the Character of their King, how he carried himſelf to his Enemies, and what Forces he was able to bring into the Field:) that they were ſtruck with admiration of him, and look'd upon the Diligence and ſo much fam'd Conduct of *Philip*, to be nothing in compariſon of the forwardneſs and great Spirit, that appeared ſo early in his Son. Whenſoever he heard *Philip* had taken any Town of importance, or won any ſignal Victory, inſtead of rejoycing at it, he would in a deploring manner tell his Companions, that *his Father would anticipate every*

* παγκράτιον.

thing, and leave him and them no opportunities of performing great and illuſtrious Actions. For being more addicted to Vertue and Glory, than either to Pleaſure or Riches, he eſteemed all that he ſhould receive from his Father, as a diminution and prevention of his own future Atchievements; and would have choſen rather to ſucceed to a Kingdom involv'd in Troubles and Wars, which would have afforded him frequent exerciſe of his Valour, and a large Field of Honour, than to one already flouriſhing and ſettled, where he muſt lead an unactive Life, and be as it were buried in the ſordid enjoyments of Wealth and Luxury.

The care of his Education (as it much imported) was committed to a great many *Præceptors* and Tutors, over whom *Leonidas*, a a near Kinſman of *Olympias*, a Man of an auſtere temper, preſided: He declining the Title of *Præceptor*, though a Charge of ſufficient Honour and Reputation, becauſe of his Dignity and Relation, was called *Alexander's* Foſter-father and Governour. But he who took upon him the place and Name of his Pedagogue, was *Lyſimachus* the *Acarnanian*, who though he had nothing of worth to recommend him, but his luck to call himſelf *Phœnix*, *Alexander Achilles*, and *Philip Peleus*, was therefore well enough eſteem'd and rank'd in the next degree after *Leonidas*.

Philonicus the *Theſſalian* brought the Horſe *Bucephalus* to *Philip*, offering to ſell him for

13 Ta-

13 Talents; but when they went into the Field to try him, they found him ſo very vicious and unmanageable, that he ſtood up on end when they endeavoured to back him, and would not ſo much as endure the voice of any of *Philip*'s Attendants: Upon whoſe diſlike, as they were leading him away as wholly uſeleſs and untractable, *Alexander* who ſtood by, would not let them, ſaying, *What an excellent Horſe do they loſe, for want of addreſs and boldneſs to manage him?* *Philip* at firſt took no notice of what he ſaid; but when he heard him repeat the ſame thing, and ſaw he was troubled to have the Horſe ſent away; *Do you reproach*, ſaid he to him, *thoſe who are elder than your ſelf, as if you knew more, and were better able to manage him than they?* *Yes*, replied he, *with this Horſe I could deal better than any body elſe.* *And if you do not*, ſaid *Philip*, *what will you forfeit for your Raſhneſs?* *By Jove*, anſwer'd *Alexander*, *the whole price of the Horſe.* At this the whole Company fell a laughing; but as ſoon as the Agreement was made between them about the Money, he preſently ran to the Horſe, and taking hold of the Bridle, turn'd him directly towards the Sun, having it ſeems obſerv'd he was diſturb'd at, and afraid of the motion of his own Shadow: Then letting him go forward a little, ſtill keeping the Reins in his Hand, and ſtroking him gently, when he found him begin to be very briſk and fiery, he let fall his upper Garment ſoftly, and

with one nimble Leap ſecurely mounted him, and when he was ſeated, by little and little ſtraitned the Bridle, and curb'd him without either ſtriking or ſpuring him. Afterwards when he perceiv'd his dangerous fury and heat was abated, but yet not without great impatience to run, he let him go at full ſpeed, not only encouraging him with a commanding Voice, but preſſing him forward alſo with his Heel. All who were preſent beheld this Action at firſt with ſilent aſtoniſhment, and inward concern: Till ſeeing him turn at the end of his Career, and come back rejoycing and triumphing for what he had perform'd, they all burſt out into acclamations of Applauſe; and his Father weeping for joy, kiſs'd him as he came down from his Horſe, and in his Tranſport ſaid, *O my Son, look thee out a Kingdom equal to, and worthy of thy great Soul, for* Macedonia *is too little for thee.*

After this, conſidering him to be of a Temper eaſie to be led to his Duty by Reaſon, but by no means to be compell'd, he always endeavour'd to perſwade, rather than to command or force him to any thing; and now looking upon the inſtitution and accompliſhment of his Youth, to be of greater difficulty and importance, than to be wholly truſted to thoſe Maſters who only taught him Muſick, and other ſuperficial and vulgar Sciences, and ſo require, as *Sophocles* ſays,

The Bridle, and the Rudder too.

He ſent for *Ariſtotle*, the moſt knowing and celebrated Philoſopher of his time, and rewarded him with a Munificence proportionable to, and becoming the care he took to inſtruct his Son. For he repeopled his native City *Stagira*, which he had cauſed to be demoliſhed a little before, reſtor'd all the Citizens who were in Exile or Slavery, to their Habitations, and aſſign'd them * *Nymphæum* for their Studies and Exerciſes, near the Town of *Mieza*, where to this very day they ſhew you *Ariſtotle*'s ſtone Seats, and the ſhady Walks which he was wont to frequent. It appears that *Alexander* receiv'd not only the Rules of Morality and Policy from him, but that more abſtruſe and ſolid part of Learning which is ſeldom communicated to the Vulgar. For when he was in *Aſia*, and heard *Ariſtotle* had publiſh'd ſome Treatiſes of that kind, he wrote to him with great freedom in the behalf of Philoſophy in this manner: Alexander *to* Ariſtotle *greeting. You have not done well to ſet forth your Books of ſelect Knowledge, for what is there now that I can ſurmount others in, if thoſe things which I have been particularly inſtructed in, be laid open to all? For my part I aſſure you, I had rather*

* *A Colledge.*

excel

excel others in the knowledge of what is excellent in its kind, than in the extent of my Power and Dominion. Farewel. *Ariſtotle*, to appeaſe and comply with this noble Ambition of *Alexander*, anſwer'd him, that thoſe Treatiſes which were his Metaphyſicks, were indeed publiſh'd, but not plainly expos'd to every bodies Capacity. For to ſay truth, they are written in ſuch a ſtyle, that they are only an uſeful and inſtructive Syſtem to thoſe, who have been already long converſant in that ſort of Learning. Doubtleſs it was to *Ariſtotle*'s Precepts that he owed the inclination he had not barely to the Theory, but likewiſe to the Practice of Phyſick: For when any of his Friends were ſick, he would often preſcribe them their courſe of Diet, and Medicines proper to their Diſeaſe, as we may find in his *Epiſtles*. He was naturally a great lover of all kind of Learning, and mightily addicted to Reading; and *Oneſicritus* informs us, that he conſtantly laid *Homer*'s *Iliads* corrected by *Ariſtotle* with his Dagger, under his Pillow, declaring that he eſteemed them an exact Inſtitution, and perfect Store-houſe, of all military Vertue and Knowledge. When he was in the upper *Aſia*, being deſtitute of other Books, he order'd *Harpalus* to ſend him ſome, who furniſh'd him with *Philiſtus* his Hiſtory, a great many of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Æſchylus* his Tragedies, and ſome Dithyrambick Hymns compoſed by *Teleſtes* and *Philoxenus*. For a while he lov'd and cheriſh'd *A-*

riſtotle

riſtotle no leſs, as he was wont to ſay himſelf, than if he had been his Father, giving this Reaſon for it, that as he receiv'd his Being from the one, ſo the other had taught him to live well. But afterwards having ſome miſtruſt of him, yet not ſo far as to do him any Prejudice, his Familiarity and friendly Kindneſs to him abated ſo much, as to make it evident he was very indifferent to him. However his violent Thirſt after, and Reſpect for Learning, which were born, and ſtill grew up with him, never decay'd, as appears by his veneration of *Anaxarchus*, by the preſent of 50 Talents which he ſent to *Xenocrates*, and his particular Care and Eſteem of *Dandamis* and *Calanus*.

While *Philip* made War againſt the *Byzantines*, he left *Alexander*, then 16 years old, his Lieutenant in *Macedonia*, committing the charge of his Great Seal to him, who not to ſit idle, reduc'd the rebellious *Medarans*, and having taken their chief Town by Storm, drove out the barbarous Inhabitants, and planting a Colony of ſeveral Nations in their room, call'd the Place after his own Name *Alexandropolis*. At the Battel of *Chæronæa*, which his Father fought againſt the *Græcians*, he is ſaid to have been the firſt Man that charg'd the *Thebans* ſacred Band. And even in my remembrance there ſtood an old Oak near the River *Cephiſus*, which the Country People call'd *Alexander's Oak*, becauſe his Tent was pitch'd under it. And not far off are to be ſeen the

Graves

Graves of the *Macedonians*, who fell in that Battel. This early Bravery made *Philip* ſo fond of him, that nothing pleas'd him more, than to hear his Subjects call *Alexander* their King, while they allow'd himſelf no other Title than that of their General.

But the Diſorders of his Family, chiefly cauſed by his new Marriages, and extravagant Loves, (the whole Kingdom being ſoon in a manner imbroil'd by the Women) rais'd many Quarrels, and great Breaches between them, which the ill Nature of *Olympias*, a Woman of a jealous and implacable Temper, ſtill made wider by exaſperating *Alexander* againſt his Father. Among the reſt, this Accident contributed moſt to their falling out. At the Wedding of *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* in his Dotage had married, ſhe being much too young for him, her Uncle *Attalus* in his Drink, deſir'd the *Macedonians* would implore the Gods to give them a lawful Succeſſor to the Kingdom by his Neece. This netled *Alexander* ſo, that throwing one of the Cups at his Head, *You Villain*, ſaid he, *what am I then, a Baſtard?* Then *Philip* taking *Attalus* his part, roſe up and would have ran his Son through; but by good fortune for them both, either his over-hatty Rage, or the Wine he had drank, made his Foot ſlip, ſo that he fell down on the Floor. At which *Alexander* moſt reproachfully inſulted over him: *See there*, ſaid he, *The Man, who made ſuch preparations to paſs out of* Europe *into* Aſia, *overturn'd*

turn'd in paſſing from one Seat to another: After this inſolent Debauch, he and his Mother *Olympias* went from Court, and when he had plac'd her in *Epirus*, he himſelf retir'd into *Illyria.*

About this time *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, an old Friend of the Family, who had the freedom to ſay any thing among them without offence, coming to viſit *Philip*, after the firſt Complements and Embraces were over, *Philip* asked him, *Whether the* Græcians *liv'd in Amity with one another? It ill becomes you*, replied *Demaratus*, *to enquire after the State of* Greece, *who have involv'd your own Houſe in ſo many Diſſentions and Calamities.* He was ſo convinc'd by this ſeaſonable Reproach, that he immediately ſent for his Son home, and at laſt by *Demaratus* his Mediation prevail'd with him to return. But this Reconciliation laſted not long; for when *Pexodorus* Viceroy of *Caria*, ſent *Ariſtocritus* to treat a Match between his eldeſt Daughter, and *Philip*'s Son *Aridæus*, hoping by this Alliance to ſecure his Aſſiſtance upon occaſion; *Alexander*'s Mother and ſome who pretended to be his Friends, preſently fill'd his Head with Tales and Calumnies, as if *Philip* by this ſplendid Alliance, and conſiderable Negotiation, intended to ſettle the Kingdom upon *Aridæus.* To prevent this, he diſpatches one *Theſſalus* a Player into *Caria*, to diſpoſe *Pexodorus* to ſlight *Aridæus*, both as illegitimate, and a Fool, and rather to accept of himſelf for his Son-in-law. This Propoſition was much more

more agreeable to *Pexodorus* than the former. But *Philip* as ſoon as ever he was made acquainted with this Tranſaction, went directly to his Son's Apartment, accompanied only by *Philotas*, one of his moſt intimate Friends, the Son of *Parmenio*, and there reprov'd him ſeverely, and reproach'd him bitterly, that he ſhould be ſo degenerate, and unworthy of the Crown he was to leave him, as to deſire the Alliance of a mean *Carian*, who was at beſt but the Vaſſal of a barbarous Prince. Nor did this ſatisfie his Reſentment, for he wrote to the *Corinthians*, to ſend *Theſſalus* to him in Chains, and baniſh'd *Harpalus*, *Nearchus*, *Phrygius*, and *Ptolomy*, his Sons Confidents and Favourites, whom *Alexander* afterwards recall'd, and rais'd to great Honour and Preferment.

Not long after this, a Youth nam'd *Pauſanias*, being forcibly abuſed, not without the knowledge and conſent of *Attalus* and *Cleopatra*: When he found he could get no Reparation for his Diſgrace at *Philip*'s hands, watch'd his opportunity and murther'd him. The guilt of which Fact fell partly upon *Olympias*, who is ſaid to have encourag'd and exaſperated the enrag'd Youth to Revenge; and partly upon *Alexander* himſelf, who when *Pauſanias* came, and complain'd to him of the Injury he had receiv'd, repeated theſe Verſes to him out of *Euripides* his *Medea*, where in her Fury ſhe ſays ——

She'll

She'll ſee that her Revenge be ſatisfied (Bride.
On Husband, Wife, and him who gave the

However he took care to find out, and puniſh the Accomplices of the Conſpiracy ſeverely, and was very angry with *Olympias*, for treating *Cleopatra* too inhumanely in his abſence.

Alexander was but 20 years old when his Father was murther'd, and ſucceeded to a Crown beſet on all ſides with many Dangers, and powerful Enemies. For not only the barbarous Nations that border'd on *Macedonia*, were impatient of being govern'd by any but their own native Princes; but *Philip* likewiſe, though he had been victorious over the *Græcians*, yet for want of time to finiſh his Conqueſts, and ſettle his Affairs, had left all things in great Hurry and Confuſion. Wherefore ſome would have perſwaded *Alexander*, to have given over all thoughts of containing the *Græcians* in their Duty by force of Arms, and rather to apply himſelf to reduce the neighbouring Nations by gentle means, and prevent Innovations in their very beginning. But he rejected this Counſel as weak and timorous, and look'd upon it to be more Prudence to ſecure himſelf by Reſolution and Magnanimity, than by ſeeming to truckle to any, encourage all to trample on him: In purſuit of this opinion, he kept the *Barbarians* quiet, by making a ſudden Incurſion into their Country, as far as the River *Iſter*, where he gave

gave *Syrmus* King of the *Triballians*, a conſiderable Overthrow. And hearing the *Thebans* were ready to revolt, and held correſpondence with the *Athenians*, willing to ſhew himſelf a Man, He immediately March'd through the Straights of *Thermopylæ*, ſaying, *That to Demoſthenes who had called him a Child while he was in* Illyria, *and the Country of the* Triballians, *a Youth while he was in* Theſſaly, *He would appear a Man before the Walls of* Athens.

When he came to *Thebes*, to ſhew how willing he was to accept of their Repentance for what was paſt, he only demanded of them *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the Authors of the Rebellion, and proclaim'd a general Pardon to thoſe who would come over to him. But when the *Thebans* on the other ſide, not only requir'd *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be deliver'd into their hands, but alſo publickly invited all who would aſſert the Liberty of *Greece*, into an Aſſociation with them, he preſently applied himſelf to make them feel the laſt Extremities of War. The *Thebans* indeed defended themſelves with Alacrity and Courage more than by their Strength, being much out-numbred by their Enemies. But when the *Macedonian* Garriſon ſallied out upon them from the Cittadel, they were ſo hemm'd in on all ſides, that many of them fell in the Battel. The City it ſelf being taken by Storm, was ſack'd and ras'd, on purpoſe that ſo ſevere an Example might terrifie the reſt of *Greece* into obedience. However,

to

to colour his Vengeance, he gave out he was forc'd to be ſo extreamly rigorous, by the preſſing Complaints and Accuſations of his Confederates the *Phocians* and *Platæans*. So that except the Prieſts, and ſome few who had heretofore entertain'd the *Macedonians* kindly at their Houſes, the Family of the Poet *Pindar*, and thoſe who were known to have oppos'd the Rebellion, all the reſt to the number of 30000, were publickly ſold for Slaves; and it is computed, that upwards of 6000 were put to the Sword. Among the other Calamities that befel this miſerable City, it happen'd that ſome *Thracian* Soldiers having plunder'd and demoliſh'd the Houſe of an Illuſtrious Matron named *Timoclea*, their Captain after he had lain with her by force, to ſatisfie his Avarice as well as Luſt, ask'd her, if ſhe knew of any Money conceal'd; to which ſhe readily anſwer'd, She did, and bid him follow her into a Garden, where ſhe ſhewed him a Well, into which ſhe told him, upon the taking of the City, ſhe had thrown what ſhe had of moſt value. The greedy *Thracian* preſently ſtooping down to view the place, where he thought the Treaſure lay, ſhe came behind him, and puſh'd him into the Well, and then flung great Stones in upon him, till ſhe had kill'd him. After which, when the Soldiers led her away bound to *Alexandria*, her very Meen and Gate ſhew'd her to be a Woman of Quality, and of a Mind no leſs elevated, not betraying the leaſt

ſign of Fear or Aſtoniſhment. And when the King ask'd her, Who ſhe was, *I am*, ſaid ſhe, *the Siſter of* Theagenes, *who fought the Battel of* Chæronea *with your Father* Philip, *and fell there for the Liberty of* Greece. *Alexander* was ſo ſurpriz'd both at what ſhe had done, and what ſhe ſaid, that he could not chuſe but give her and her Children their Freedom to go whither they pleaſed.

After this he receiv'd the *Athenians* into Favour, although they had ſhew'd themſelves ſo much concern'd at the Calamity of *Thebes*, that they omitted the Celebration of their Feſtivals, and entertain'd thoſe who eſcap'd, with all poſſible Humanity. Whether in this he follow'd the nature of Lions, his Rage being already ſatisfied, or that after an Example of horrid Cruelty, he had a mind to appear merciful, it happen'd well for the *Athenians*: For he not only forgave them all paſt Offences, but commanded them to look to their Affairs with Caution and Vigilance, upon this Conſideration that if he ſhould miſcarry in his Expedition, they were like to be the Arbiters of *Greece*. Certain it is, that he often repented of his Severity to the *Thebans*, and his Remorſe had ſuch influence on his Temper, as to make him ever after leſs rigorous to all others. He imputed alſo the murther of *Clitus* which he committed in his Wine, and the baſe unwillingneſs of the *Macedonians* to follow him againſt the *Indians*, (by which his Enterprize and Glory was left

left imperfect) to the Wrath and Vengeance of *Bacchus* the Protector of *Thebes.* And it was obſerv'd, that whatſoever any *Theban*, who had the good fortune to ſurvive this Victory, ask'd of him, he was ſure to grant, without the leaſt difficulty.

Soon after the *Græcians* being aſſembled in the Strait of *Peloponneſus*, declar'd their Reſolution of joyning with *Alexander* in the War againſt the *Perſians*, and made choice of him for their General. While he ſtaid here, many publick Miniſters and Philoſophers came from all Parts to viſit him, and congratulated his Election: But contrary to his Expectation, *Diogenes* of *Synope*, who then dwelt at *Corinth*, thought ſo little of him, that inſtead of coming to complement him, he never ſo much as ſtirr'd out of the *Cranium* or Suburbs, where *Alexander* found him lying along in the Sun. When he ſaw ſo much company near him, he rais'd himſelf a little, and vouchſaf'd to look upon *Alexander*, and when he kindly ask'd him, whether he wanted any thing? *Yes*, ſaid he, *I would have you ſtand from between me and the Sun.* *Alexander* was ſo affected at this Anſwer, and ſurpriz'd at the Greatneſs of the Man's Soul, who had taken ſo little notice of him, that as he went away, he told his Followers who were laughing at the Moroſeneſs of the Philoſopher, *That if he were not* Alexander, *he would rather chuſe to be* Diogenes *than any other Man.*

Then he went to *Delphos*, to conſult *Apollo* concerning the Succeſs of the War he had undertaken, and happening to come at a time that was eſteem'd unlucky and improper to give any Anſwers from the Oracle, he ſent Meſſengers to deſire the Prieſteſs to do her Office; but ſhe refuſing under pretence of a Law to the contrary, he went up himſelf, and drew her by force into the Temple, where tir'd and overcome with Struggling, *My Son*, ſaid ſhe, *thou art Invincible*. *Alexander* taking hold of what ſhe ſpoke, declar'd he had receiv'd ſuch an Anſwer as he wiſh'd for, and that it was needleſs to conſult the God any further. Among other Prodigies that proceeded the March of his Army, the Image of *Orpheus* at *Libethra*, made of Cypreſs-wood, was ſeen to ſweat in great abundance, to the diſcouragement of many. But *Ariſtander* told him, that far from preſaging any Ill to him, it ſignifi'd he ſhould perform things ſo important and glorious, as would make the Poets and Muſicians of future Ages labour and ſweat to deſcribe and celebrate them.

His Army by their Computation who reckon moderately, conſiſted of 30000 Foot, and 5000 Horſe, and thoſe who make the moſt of it, ſpeak but of 34000 Foot, and 4000 Horſe. *Ariſtobulus* ſays, he had not a Fund of above 70 Talents for their Pay, nor more than 30 days Proviſion, if we may believe *Duris*; and *Oneſicritus* tells us, he was 200 Talents in Debt.

However

However narrow and diſproportionable the beginnings of ſo vaſt an Undertaking might ſeem to be, yet he would not imbark his Army, till he had inform'd himſelf particularly, what Eſtates his Friends had to enable them to follow him, and ſupplied what they wanted, by giving good Farms to ſome, a Village to one, and the Revenue of ſome Borough or Port-town to another. So that at laſt he had waſted or engag'd almoſt all the Crown-lands, which giving *Perdiceas* an occaſion to ask him, *What he would leave himſelf?* he replied, *Nothing but the Hopes of future Conqueſts. You will not then*, ſaid Perdiceas, *take it ill if we ſhare with you in thoſe Hopes only, and refuſed to accept of the Eſtate he had aſſign'd him.* Some others of his Friends did the like, but to thoſe who willingly receiv'd, or deſir'd aſſiſtance of him, he liberally granted it, as far as his Patrimony in *Macedonia* would reach, which was all ſpent in theſe Donations.

With ſuch vigorous Reſolutions, and his Mind thus diſpos'd, he paſs'd the *Helleſpont*, and at *Troy* ſacrific'd to *Minerva*, and honour'd the Memory of the Heroes who were buried there, with ſolemn Funeral Libations: Eſpecially *Achilles*, whoſe Grave-ſtone he anointed, and with his Friends, as the ancient Cuſtom was, ran naked about his Sepulchre, and crown'd it with Garlands, withal declaring, how happy he eſteem'd him, and in having while he liv'd, ſo faithful a Friend as *Patroclus*, and

when he was dead, ſo famous a Poet as *Homer* to immortalize his Actions. While he was viewing the reſt of the Antiquities and Curioſities of the Place, being told he might ſee *Paris* his Harp, if he pleas'd, he ſaid, *He thought it not worth looking on, but he ſhould be glad to ſee that of* Achilles, *with which he had celebrated the Glory and renown'd Actions of ſo many brave Men.*

In the mean time *Darius* his Captains having martial'd great Forces, were incamp'd on the further Bank of the River *Granicus*, it was neceſſary to fight as it were in the Gate of *Aſia* for an entrance into it: The depth of the River, with the unevenneſs and difficult aſcent of the oppoſite Bank, which was to be gain'd by main force, was apprehended by ſome; and others were ſo ſuperſtitious, as to think it an improper time to engage, becauſe it was unuſual for the Kings of *Macedonia* to march with their Forces in the Month of *June*. But *Alexander* broke through theſe Scruples, telling them, they ſhould call it a ſecond *May*. And when *Parmenio* advis'd him not to attempt any thing that day, becauſe it was late, he told him, *That he ſhould diſgrace the* Helleſpont, *ſhould he fear the* Granicus. And ſo without more ſaying, he immediately took the River with 13 Troops of Horſe, and advanc'd againſt whole Showers of Darts thrown from the other ſide, which was cover'd with multitudes of the Enemy, notwithſtanding the diſadvantage of the Ground,

and

and the rapidity of the Stream; ſo that this Action ſeem'd to have more of Rage and Madneſs in it, than of prudent Conduct. However he perſiſted obſtinately to gain the Foord, and at laſt with much ado climbing up the Banks, which were very ſlippery by reaſon of the Mud, he was fain to mingle among the thickeſt of the Enemy, and fight Hand to Hand for a while, before he could bring his Men, who were endeavouring ſtill to paſs, into any Order. They preſs'd upon him with loud and warlike Outcries, and charging him cloſely with their Horſe, after they had broken and ſpent their Javelins, they fell to it with their Swords. And *Alexander* being remarkable for his Buckler, and a large Plume of excellent white Feathers on his Helmet, was attack'd on all ſides, yet eſcap'd wounding, though his Cuiraſs was pierc'd by a Javelin in a faulty place. And *Rheſaces*, and *Spithridates*, two *Perſian* Commanders, falling upon him at once, he avoided one of them, and ſtruck at *Rheſaces*, who had a good Cuiraſs on with ſuch force, that his Javelin breaking in his Hand, he was glad to betake himſelf to his Sword. While they were thus engag'd, *Spithridates* came up on one ſide of him, and raiſing himſelf upon his Horſe, gave him ſuch a Blow with his Battel-ax on the Helmet, that he cut off the Creſt of it, with one ſide of his Plume, and made ſuch a Gaſh, that the edge of his Weapon touch'd the very Hair of his Head. But as he was a-

bout to repeat his Stroke, Great *Clitus* prevented him, by running him through the Body with his Spear. At the ſame time *Alexander* diſpatch'd *Rheſaces* with his Sword. While the Horſe were thus dangerouſly engag'd, the *Macedonian* Phalanx paſs'd the River, and the Foot on each ſide advanc'd to fight. But the Enemy hardly ſuſtaining the firſt onſet, ſoon gave ground and fled, all but the mercenary *Græcians*, who making a ſtand upon a riſing ground, deſir'd quarter, which *Alexander*, guided rather by Paſſion than Judgment, refuſed to grant, and charging them himſelf firſt, had his Horſe (not *Bucephalus* but another) kill'd under him. And this obſtinacy of his to cut off theſe experienc'd deſperate Men, coſt him the lives of more of his own Soldiers, than all the Battel before, beſides thoſe who were wounded. The *Perſians* loſt in this Battel twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand five hundred Horſe: On *Alexander*'s ſide, *Ariſtobulus* ſays there were not wanting above four and thirty, of which nine were Foot, to whoſe memory he cauſed ſo many Statues of Braſs of *Lyſippus* his hand to be erected: And that the *Græcians* might participate the fruits of his Victory, he ſhar'd the Booty among them. Particularly to the *Athenians* he ſent three hundred Bucklers, and upon all the reſt of the Spoils he ordered this glorious Inſcription to be ſet: *Alexander the Son of* Philip, *and all the* Græcians, *except the* Lacedæmonians, *won theſe from the* Barbarians

who

who inhabit Aſia. All the Plate and Purple Garments, and whatever elſe of any value he took from the *Perſians*, except a very ſmall quantity he reſerv'd for himſelf, he ſent as a Preſent to his Mother.

This Battel preſently made a great change of Affairs to *Alexander*'s advantage: For *Sardis* it ſelf, the chief Seat of the *Barbarians* power in the Maritime Provinces, and many other conſiderable places were ſurrendred to him; only *Halicarnaſſus* and *Miletus* ſtood out, which he ſoon took in by force, together with the Territory about them. After which he was a little unſettled in his opinion how to proceed: Sometimes he thought it beſt to find out *Darius* as ſoon as he could, and put all to the hazard of a Battel; another while he looked upon it as a more prudent courſe, to make an entire conqueſt of the Sea-coaſt, and not to ſeek the Enemy till he was ſtrengthned, by the addition of the Wealth and Forces of thoſe Provinces. While he was thus deliberating what to do, it hapned that a Fountain near the City of *Xanthus* in *Lycia*, of its own accord ſwell'd over its Banks, and threw up a Copper Plate upon the ſhore, in which was engraven in ancient Characters, *That the time would come, when the* Perſian *Empire ſhould be deſtroyed by the* Græcians. Incouraged by this Accident, he proceeded to reduce the Maritime Parts of *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia*, and paſſed his Army along the Sea-coaſts of *Pamphylia* with ſuch expediti-

on,

on that many Hiſtorians have deſcrib'd, and extoll'd it with that height of admiration, as if it were no leſs than a Miracle, and an extraordinary effect of Divine Favour, that the Waves which were wont to come rowling in from the Main, and hardly ever leave ſo much as the Beach under the ſteep, broken Cliffs at any time uncover'd, ſhould on a ſudden retire to afford him Paſſage. *Menander*, in one of his Comedies, alludes to this wonderful Event, when he ſays,

How this reſembles Alexander's *high (here.*
Exploits? This Fellow of his own accord is
Ask him to wade the Sea, and he'll reply,
Ev'n that to him does paſſable appear.

Alexander himſelf in his Epiſtles, mentions nothing unuſual in this at all, but ſays he went from *Phaſelis*, and marched through the *Straits* which they call the *Ladders*. At *Phaſelis* he ſtaid ſome time, and finding the Statue of *Theodectes* who was then dead, erected in the Market-place, after he had ſupp'd, having drank pretty plentifully, he went and danc'd about it, and Crown'd it with Garlands as it were in ſport, honouring the memory of his Friend, whoſe converſation he had formerly enjoyed, when he was *Ariſtotle*'s Scholar.

Then he ſubdued the *Piſidians* who made head againſt him, and conquered the *Phrygians*, at whoſe Chief City *Gordium* (which is ſaid to be

be the Seat of the ancient *Midas*) he ſaw the famous Chariot faſtned with Cords made of the rind of the *Cornel Tree*, which whoſoever ſhould untie, the Inhabitants had a conſtant Tradition, that for him was reſerv'd the Empire of the World. Moſt are of opinion, that *Alexander* finding himſelf unable to untie the knot, becauſe the ends of it were ſecretly folded up within it, cut it aſunder with his Sword: But *Ariſtobulus* tells us it was eaſie for him to undo it, by only pulling the Pin out of the Beam which faſtned the yoak to it, and afterwards drawing out the yoak it ſelf. From hence he advanced into *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, both which Countries he ſoon reduc'd to his obedience, and then hearing of the death of *Memnon*, the beſt Commander *Darius* had upon the Sea Coaſts, who, if he had lived, might have put a great ſtop to the progreſs of his Arms, he was the rather induc'd to carry the War into the upper Provinces of *Aſia*.

Darius was by this time upon his march from *Suſa*, very confident, not only in the number of his Men, which amounted to ſix hundred thouſand, but likewiſe in a dream which the Magicians interpreted rather in flattery to him, than with any probability of truth. He dream'd that he ſaw the *Macedonian Phalanx* all on fire, and *Alexander* waiting on him clad in the ſame Robe which he uſed to wear when he was *Aſgandes* to the late King; after which going into the Temple of *Belus*, he va-

niſh'd

niſh'd out of his ſight. By this dream it was manifeſt in my opinion, that the Gods deſign'd to ſhew him the illuſtrious Actions the *Macedonians* were to perform, and that as he from an *Aſgandes* had arriv'd at the Crown, ſo *Alexander* ſhould come to be Maſter of *Aſia*, and not long ſurviving his Conqueſts, conclude his Life with great Glory and Reputation. *Darius* his confidence increas'd the more, becauſe *Alexander* ſpent ſo much time in *Cilicia*, which he imputed to his cowardice: But it was ſickneſs that detain'd him there, which ſome ſay he contracted by taking too much pains, others by Bathing in the River *Cydnus*, whoſe waters were exceeding cold. However it hapned, none of his Phyſicians would venture to give him any Remedies, they thought his caſe ſo deſperate, and were ſo afraid of the cenſure and ill will of the *Macedonians*, if they ſhould fail in the Cure; till *Philip* the *Acarnanian* conſidering his extreme danger, and confiding in his friendſhip, reſolved to try the utmoſt efforts of his Art, and rather hazard his own Credit and Life, than ſuffer him to periſh for want of Phyſick, which he confidently adminiſtred to him, encouraging him to take it boldly, if he deſired a ſpeedy recovery, in order to proſecute the War. At this very time *Parmenio* wrote to *Alexander* from the Camp, bidding him have a care of *Philip*, as one who was brib'd by *Darius* to kill him, with great ſums of Mony, and a promiſe of his Daughter

in

in Marriage. When he had perus'd the Letter, he put it under his Pillow, without ſhewing it ſo much as to any of his moſt intimate Friends, and when *Philip* came in with the Potion, he took it with great chearfulneſs and aſſurance, withal giving him the Letter to read. This was an encounter well worth being preſent at, to ſee *Alexander* take the draught, and *Philip* read the Letter at the ſame time, looking earneſtly upon one another, but with different ſentiments; for *Alexander*'s looks were cheerful and open, a demonſtration of his kindneſs to, and confidence in his Phyſician, while the others were full of ſurpriſe at the accuſation, appealing to the Gods to witneſs his Innocence, ſometimes lifting up his hands to Heaven, and then throwing himſelf down by the Bed ſide, and beſeeching *Alexander* to lay aſide all fear, and rely on his fidelity. The Medicine at firſt wrought ſo ſtrongly with him, that it overcame his Spirits, and brought him ſo low that he loſt his Speech, and falling into a ſwoon, had ſcarce any ſenſe or pulſe left; but ſoon after by *Philip*'s means, his health and ſtrength returned, and he ſhewed himſelf in publick to the *Macedonians*, who were in continual fear and dejection till they ſaw him abroad again.

There was at this time in *Darius* his Army a *Macedonian* Fugitive, named *Amyntas*, one who was pretty well acquainted with *Alexander*'s Temper. This Man when he ſaw *Darius* intended to fall upon the Enemy in the *Straits*

of

of an incloſed Country, advis'd him rather to keep where he was, it being the advantage of a numerous Army to have Field room enough, when it engages with a leſſer Force. *Darius* inſtead of taking his Counſel, told him he was afraid the Enemy would endeavour to run away, and ſo *Alexander* would eſcape out of his hands. *That Fear*, replied *Amyntas*, *is needleſs, for aſſure your ſelf that far from avoiding you, he will make all the ſpeed he can to meet you, and is now queſtionleſs on his March towards you.* But *Amyntas* his counſel was to no purpoſe, for *Darius* immediately decamping, marched into *Cilicia*, at the ſame time that *Alexander* advanced into *Syria* to meet him, but miſſing one another in the Night, they both came back again. *Alexander* mightily pleaſed with the Accident, made all the haſt he could to fight in the *Straits*, and *Darius* to recover his former ground, and draw his Army out of ſo diſadvantageous a place. For now he began to perceive his error in engaging too far into a Country, which by reaſon of the Sea, the Mountains, and the River *Pindarus* running through the midſt of it, would neceſſitate him to divide his Forces, render his Horſe almoſt unſerviceable, and only cover and ſupply the weakneſs of the Enemy. Fortune was not kinder to *Alexander* in the ſituation of the place, than he was careful to improve it to his advantage: For being much inferior in numbers, to prevent being incloſed, he ſtretched his

his Right Wing much further out than the Left Wing of his Enemies, and Fighting there himſelf in the very foremoſt Ranks, put the *Barbarians* to flight. In this Battel he was wounded in the Thigh by *Darius* (as *Chares* ſays) with whom he fought hand to hand. But in the account which he gave *Antipater* of the Battel, though indeed he owns he was run through the Thigh with a Sword, though not dangerouſly, yet he takes no notice who it was that wounded him.

Nothing was wanting to complete this glorious Victory, which he gained at the expence of above an hundred and ten thouſand of his Enemies lives, but the taking the Perſon of *Darius*, who eſcaped very narrowly by flight. However having taken his Chariot, and his Bow, he returned from purſuing him, and found his own Men buſie in pillaging the *Barbarians* Camp, which, (though to disburthen themſelves, they had left moſt of their Baggage at *Damaſcus*,) was exceeding rich. But *Darius* his Tent, in which were a great deal of noble Furniture, and vaſt quantities of Gold and Silver, they reſerv'd for *Alexander* himſelf, who after he had put off his Arms, went to bath himſelf, ſaying, *Let us now cleanſe and refreſh our ſelves after the toils of War, in* Darius *his Bath. Not ſo*, replied one of his followers, *but in* Alexander's *rather, for the Goods of the Vanquiſh'd are, and always ought to be reputed the Conquerors.* Here, when he beheld the

Bathing

Bathing Veſſels, the Water-Pots, Vials, and Oyntment Boxes all of Gold, curiouſly wrought, and ſmelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquiſitely perfumed, and from thence paſſed into another Apartment, large and well pitched, where the Bed, the Table, and the Entertainment were perfectly magnificent, he turned to thoſe about him, and in a kind of tranſport told them, *This is to be a King indeed.* But as he was going to Supper, word was brought him that *Darius* his Mother, and Wfe, and two unmarried Daughters, being taken among the reſt of the Priſoners, upon the ſight of his Chariot and Bow, were all in tears and ſorrow, imagining him to be dead. After a little pauſe, more touched with their affliction than with his own ſucceſs, he ſent *Leonatus* to them, to let them know *Darius* was not dead, and that they need not apprehend any ill uſage from *Alexander*, who made War upon him only for Dominion; and that they ſhould find themſelves as well provided for, as ever they were in *Darius* his moſt flouriſhing condition, when his Empire was entire. This kind meſſage could not but be very welcom to the Captive Ladies, eſpecially being made good by Actions no leſs humane and generous: For he gave them leave to bury whom they pleaſed of the *Perſians*, and to make uſe of what garments and furniture they thought fit out of the Booty. He diminiſhed nothing of their Equipage, or of the reſpect for-

formerly paid them, and allowed larger Penſions for their maintenance, than ever they had before. But the braveſt and moſt Royal part of their uſage, was, that he treated theſe Illuſtrious Priſoners according to their Vertue and their Quality, not ſuffering them to hear, or receive, or ſo much as to apprehend any thing that was indecent, or to the prejudice of their Honour. So that they ſeemed rather lodg'd in ſome Temple, or holy Virgin Cloyſter, where they enjoyed their Privacy ſacred and uninterrupted; than in the Camp of an Enemy. Not that he wanted temptation, for *Darius* his Wife was accounted the beautifulleſt Princeſs then living, as her Husband the handſomeſt and propereſt Man of his time, and the Daughters were no leſs charming than their Parents: But *Alexander* eſteeming it more glorious to govern himſelf than to conquer his Enemies, touch'd none of them, nor any other Woman before Marriage, except *Barſina*, *Memnon*'s Widow, who was taken Priſoner at *Damaſcus*. She was very knowing in the *Græcian* Learning, of a ſweet temper, and by her Father *Artabazus*, Royally deſcended. Which good qualities added to the ſollicitations, and incouragement of *Parmenio* (as *Ariſtobulus* tells us) made him the more willing to enjoy ſo agreeable and illuſtrious a Woman. Of the reſt of the *Perſian* Captives, tho' handſom and well proportion'd enough, he took no farther notice than to ſay merrily, *that they were great Eye-ſores.*

His Temperance and Chaſtity ſo much ſurmounted the effects of their Charms, that they mov'd him no more than ſo many liveleſs Statues. And when *Philoxenus*, his Lieutenant on the Sea-coaſt, wrote to him to know if he would buy two very fine Boys, which one *Theodorus* a *Tarentine* had to ſell: He was ſo offended, that he often expoſtulated with his Friends, what baſeneſs *Philoxenus* had ever obſerv'd in him, that he ſhould preſume to make him ſuch a reproachful offer? And immediately wrote him a very ſharp Letter, commanding him to diſmiſs *Theodorus*, and his vile Merchandiſe with diſgrace. Nor was he leſs ſevere to *Agnon*, who ſent him word he would buy a pretty *Corinthian* Youth nam'd *Crobylus*, to preſent him with. And hearing that *Damon* and *Timotheus*, two of *Parmenio*'s Soldiers, had abus'd the Wives of ſome Strangers who were in his Pay, he wrote to *Parmenio*, charging him ſtrictly, if he found them guilty to put them to Death, as Beaſts that were good for nothing but to corrupt and ruine Mankind. In the ſame Letter he added, *that he had not ſo much as ſeen, or deſir'd to ſee the Wife of* Darius, *no, nor ſuffer 'd any body to ſpeak of her Beauty before him.* He was wont to ſay, *that Sleep, and the Act of Generation, chiefly made him ſenſible that he was mortal*; withal affirming, that Wearineſs and Pleaſure proceeded both from the ſame Frailty and Imbecillity of humane Nature.

In

In his Diet he was moſt temperate as appears, omitting many other Circumſtances, by what he ſaid to *Ada*, whom he adopted to be his Mother, and afterwards created Queen of *Caria*. For when ſhe out of Kindneſs ſent him every day many curious Diſhes, and Sweet-meats, and would have furniſh'd him with ſuch Cooks and Paſtry-men as were excellent in their kind: He told her, *He wanted none of them, his Præceptor* Leonidas *having already given him the beſt, which were Night-marches to prepare him for his Dinner, and moderate Dinners to create an Appetite for Supper. And added, that he us'd to open and ſearch the Furniture of his Chamber, and his Wardrobe, to ſee if his Mother had left him any thing that was nice or ſuperfluous.* He was much leſs addicted to Wine than was generally believ'd; that which gave People occaſion to think ſo of him, was, that when he had nothing elſe to do, he lov'd to ſit long, and diſcourſe, rather than drink, and tell long Stories between every Glaſs. For when his Affairs call'd upon him, he would not be detain'd as other Generals often were, either by Wine, or Sleep, Nuptial Solemnities, Spectacles, or any other Diverſion whatſoever: A convincing Argument of which is, that in the ſhort time he liv'd, he accompliſh'd ſo many and ſo great Actions. When he was free from Employment, after he was up, and had ſacrific'd to the Gods, he us'd to ſit down to Dinner, and then ſpend the reſt of the day either in Hunting, or wri-

ting Memoirs, or compoſing Differences among his Soldiers, or Reading. In Marches that requir'd no great haſt, he would practiſe Shooting as he went along, or to mount a Chariot, and alight from it in full ſpeed. Sometimes for Sports ſake, his Journals tell us, he would go a Fox-hunting, and Fowling, and when he came home, after he had bath'd, and was anointed, he would call for his Bakers, and chief Cooks, to know if they had got his Supper ready in good order. He never car'd to ſup till it was pretty late, and was wonderful circumſpect at Meals, that every one who ſate with him ſhould be ſerv'd alike. His talkative Humour as I noted before, made him delight to ſit long at Table, and then, though otherwiſe no Princes Converſation was ever ſo agreeable, he would fall into ſuch a vein of Oſtentation, and Souldierly Bragging, as gave his Flatterers a great advantage to ride him, and made his beſt Friends and Servants very uneaſie. For though they thought it too baſe to ſtrive who ſhould flatter him moſt, yet they found it hazardous not to do it; ſo that between the Shame and the Danger, they were in a great ſtrait how to behave themſelves. After ſuch an Entertainment, he was wont to bathe, and then perhaps he would ſleep till Noon, and ſometimes all day long. He was ſo very temperate in his Diet, that when any excellent Fiſh or Fruits were ſent him, he would diſtribute them among his Friends, and hardly reſerve

ſerve any for his own eating. His Table however was always magnificent, the Expence of it ſtill increaſing with his good Fortune, till it amounted to 10000 Drachmas a day, to which Sum he limited it, and beyond this he would ſuffer none to lay out in an Entertainment, though he himſelf were the Gueſt.

After the Battel of *Iſſus*, he ſent to *Damaſcus* to ſeize upon the Money and Baggage, the Wives and Children of the *Perſians*, of which the *Theſſalian* Horſemen had the greateſt ſhare; for he had taken particular notice of their Gallantry in the Fight, and ſent them thither on purpoſe to make their Reward ſuitable to their Courage: Not but that the reſt of the Army had ſo conſiderable a part of the Booty, as was ſufficient to make the Fortune of every private Soldier. This firſt gave the *Macedonians* ſuch a taſte of the *Perſian* Wealth, Women, and manner of Living, that they purſued and trac'd it with the ſame eagerneſs and ardour that Hounds do when they are upon a Scent. *Alexander* before he proceeded any farther, thought it neceſſary to aſſure himſelf of the Sea-coaſt. Thoſe who govern'd in *Cyprus*, put that Iſland into his poſſeſſion, and all *Phœnicia* except *Tyre* was ſurrendred to him without a Stroke. During the Siege of this City, which with Mounts of Earth caſt up, and battering Engines, and 200 Galleys by Sea, was carried on with all imaginable Vigour for 7 Months together, he chanc'd to dream that he ſaw *Her-*

cules upon the Walls, reaching out his Hand, and calling to him. And many of the *Tyrians* in their Sleep, fancied that *Apollo* told them he was diſpleas'd with their Actions, and was about to leave them, and go over to *Alexander*. Upon which, as if the God were a Fugitive, they took him in the Fact, chaining his Statue, and nailing it to the Pedeſtal, withal reproaching him, that he was an *Alexandriſt*, or a Favourer of *Alexander*'s Party. Another time *Alexander* dream'd, he ſaw a Satyr mocking him at a diſtance, and when he endeavour'd to catch him, he ſtill eſcap'd from him, till at laſt with much perſeverance, and running about after him, he got him into his Power. The Soothſayers making two words of *Satyros*, aſſur'd him, that in all probability *Tyre* was as good as his own. The Inhabitants at this time ſhew the Fountain near which *Alexander* ſlept, when he fanſied the Satyr appear'd to him.

While the Body of the Army lay before *Tyre*, he made a ſhort Excurſion againſt the *Arabians*, who inhabit Mount *Antilibanus*, in which he hazarded his Life extreamly, to bring off his Maſter *Lyſimachus*, who would needs go along with him, bragging he was neither older, nor inferior in Courage to *Phœnix Achilles*, his Tutor, whoſe Name he affected to bear. For when quitting their Horſes, they march'd up the Hill on foot, the reſt of the Soldiers out-went them a great deal, ſo that

Night

Night drawing on, and the Enemy near, *Alexander* was fain to ſtay behind ſo long, to encourage and help up the lagging, tir'd, old Man, that before he was aware, he was gotten a great way from his Army with a ſlender Attendance, and forc'd to paſs an extream cold Night in the dark, and in a very ill place. Till ſeeing a great many ſcatter'd Fires of the Enemy at ſome diſtance, and truſting to his Agility of Body, and conſtant Indefatigableneſs, with which he was wont to relieve and ſupport the *Macedonians* in their Diſtreſs, he ran ſtrait to one of the neareſt Fires, and with his Dagger diſpatching two of the *Barbarians* that ſate by it, ſnatch'd up a lighted Brand, and return'd with it to his own Men, who immediately made a great Fire, which ſo terrified the Enemy, that moſt of them fled, and thoſe that aſſaulted them were ſoon routed, by which means they lodg'd ſecurely the reſt of the Night. Thus *Chares* gives an account of this Action.

But to return to the Siege, it had this Iſſue: *Alexander* that he might refreſh his Army, haraſs'd with many former Encounters, drew out a ſmall Party, rather to keep the Enemy upon Duty, than with any proſpect of much Advantage. It happen'd at this time, that *Ariſtander* after he had ſacrific'd, upon view of the Intrails, affirm'd confidently to thoſe who ſtood by, that the City ſhould be certainly taken that very Month, which made them laugh at, and

mock him exceedingly, becauſe that was the laſt day of it. But the King taking notice of his Perplexity, and always favouring predictions, commanded they ſhould not account that the 30, but the third day of the expiring Month, and ordering the Trumpets to ſound, attack'd the Walls with more Fury than he at firſt intended. The briskneſs of the Aſſault ſo inflam'd the reſt of his Forces who were left in the Camp, that they could not hold from advancing to ſecond it, which they perform'd with ſo much Vigour, that the *Tyrians* retir'd, and the Town was carried that very day. The next Place he ſate down before was *Gaza*, the Metropolis of *Syria*, where this Accident befel him. A great Fowl flying over him, let a Clod of Earth fall upon his Shoulder, and then ſetling upon one of the battering Engines, was ſuddenly intangled and caught in the Nets compoſed of Sinews, which protected the Ropes with which the Machine was manag'd. This fell out exactly according to *Ariſtander*'s prediction, which was, that *Alexander* ſhould be wounded, and the City reduc'd.

From hence he ſent great part of the ſpoils to *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and the reſt of his Friends, not omitting his *Præceptor Leonidas*, on whom he beſtowed five hundred Talents worth of Frankincenſe, and an hundred of Myrrh; prompted to it by the remembrance of his forward hopes of him, when he was but a Child. For *Leonidas*, it ſeems, ſtanding by him

him one day while he was ſacrificing, and ſeeing him take both his hands full of Gums to throw into the fire, told him it became him to be more ſparing in his Offerings then, and not be ſo profuſe till he was Maſter of the Countries, where thoſe ſweet Gums and Spices were produc'd. Upon this account, *Alexander* wrote him word, he had ſent him a large quantity of Myrrh and Frankincenſe, that for the future he might not be ſo niggardly to the Gods. Among the Treaſures and other Booty that was taken from *Darius*, there was a very curious little Box, which being preſented to *Alexander* for a great rarety, he ask'd thoſe about him what they thought fitteſt to be laid up in it; and when they had delivered their opinions, he told them he eſteemed nothing ſo worthy to be preſerv'd in it as *Homer*'s Iliads. This paſſage is atteſted by many credible Authors, and if what thoſe of *Alexandria*, relying upon the credit of *Heraclides*, tell us be true, *Homer* was neither an idle, nor an unprofitable companion to him in his expedition. For when he was Maſter of *Ægypt*, deſigning to ſettle a Colony of *Græcians* there, he reſolv'd to build a large and populous City, and give it his own Name. In order to which, after he had meaſur'd and ſtak'd out the ground, with the advice of the beſt Workmen, he chanc'd one night in his ſleep to ſee a wonderful Viſion; A grey-headed Old Man, of a venerable Aſpect, appear'd to ſtand by him, and pronounce theſe Verſes.

Girt

Girt with the ſurging Main, there lies an Iſle,
Not far from Ægypt, *which they* Pharos *ſtyle.*

Alexander upon this immediately roſe up and went to *Pharos*, which at that time was an Iſland lying a little above the *Canobique* Mouth of the River *Nilus*, tho' it be now joyn'd to the Continent by a ſtreight Cauſey. As ſoon as he ſaw the commodious ſituation of the place, it being a long neck of Land of a proportionable breadth, having a great Lake on one ſide, and the Sea on the other; at the end of it making a ſpacious Harbour, he ſaid, *Homer*, beſides his other Excellencies, was a very good Architect, and ordered the Plot of a City to be drawn anſwerable to the place. To do which, for want of Chalk, the Soil being black, they ſet out their Lines with Flower, taking in a pretty large compaſs of ground in a circular Figure; the inſide of whoſe circumference was equally terminated by Right Lines like the edges of a Cloak. While he was pleaſing himſelf with his deſign, on a ſudden an infinite number of great Birds of ſeveral kinds, riſing like a black Cloud out of the River, and the Lake, devoured all the Flower that was uſed in ſetting out the Lines; at which Omen, *Alexander* was much troubled, till the *Augur*'s incouraging him again by telling him it was a ſign the City he was about to build, would not only abound in all things within it ſelf,

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but alſo be the Nurſe of many Nations; he commanded the Workmen to proceed, while he went to viſit the Temple of *Jupiter Hammon.*

This was a long, painful, and dangerous Journey in two reſpects: Firſt, If their Proviſion of Water ſhould fail in ſo wide a Deſart: And Secondly, If a violent South-wind ſhould riſe upon them, while they were travelling through the deep gaping Sands, as it did heretofore upon *Cambyſes* his Army, blowing the Sand together in heaps, and then rowling it in waves upon his Men, till 50000 were ſwallowed up and deſtroyed by it. All theſe difficulties were weighed and repreſented to him; but *Alexander* was not eaſily to be diverted from any thing he was bent upon: For Fortune having hitherto ſeconded him in his deſigns, made him reſolute and firm in his Opinions, and the greatneſs of his Mind raiſed a confidence in him of ſurmounting almoſt invincible difficulties; as if it were not enough to be always victorious in the Field, unleſs Places, and Seaſons, and Nature her ſelf ſubmitted to him. In this Voyage, the Relief and Aſſiſtance the Gods afforded him in his diſtreſſes, were more wonderful and worthy of belief, than the Oracles he received afterwards, which were valued and credited the more upon this occaſion: For firſt, the plentiful Rains that fell, preſerv'd them from periſhing by drought, and allaying the extreme dryneſs of

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the Sand, which now became moiſt and firm to travel on, clear'd and purified the Air. Beſides this, when they were out of their way, and were wandring up and down, by reaſon the marks which were wont to direct the Guides were diſordered and loſt, they were ſet right again by ſome Ravens who flew before them in their march, and would wait for thoſe who lagg'd or were left behind. But the greateſt Miracle, as *Caliſthenes* tells us, was, That if any of the Company went aſtray in the night, they never left croaking and making a noiſe, till by that means they had brought them into the right way again. Having paſſed through the Wilderneſs, they came to the City, where the High-Prieſt at the firſt ſalute, bade *Alexander* welcom from his Father *Ammon*: And being ask'd by him whether any of his Fathers Murderers had eſcap'd puniſhment, he charg'd him to ſpeak with more reſpect, for his Father was not mortal. Then *Alexander* more plainly deſired to know of him, If any of thoſe who murder'd *Philip* were yet unpuniſh'd, and further concerning Dominion, Whether the Empire of the World was reſerv'd for him? This the God anſwered he ſhould obtain, and that *Philip*'s Death was fully reveng'd; which gave him ſo much ſatisfaction, that he made ſplendid Offerings to *Jupiter*, and gave the Prieſts very rich Preſents. This is what moſt Authors write concerning the Oracles: But *Alexander*, in a Letter to his Mother, tells her,

her, there were ſome ſecret Anſwers, which at his return, he would communicate to her only. Others ſay, that the Prieſt, deſirous to expreſs himſelf more kindly, and to call him in the *Greek* Tongue *Paidion*, which ſignifies my Son, miſtaking the pronunciation, uſed the *S* inſtead of the *N*, and ſaid *Paidios*, or Son of *Jupiter*, which miſtake of his Speech *Alexander* was well enough pleas'd with, and it went for currant that the Oracle had call'd him ſo.

Among the Sayings of one *Pſammon*, a Philoſopher, whom he heard in *Ægypt*, he moſt approved of this, *That all Men are govern'd by God, becauſe in every thing that which is chief and commands is Divine.* But what he pronounc'd himſelf upon this Subject, was more like a Philoſopher; for he ſaid, *God was the common Father of us all, but more particularly of Good Men.* To the *Barbarians*, he carried himſelf very inſolently, as if he were fully perſwaded of his Divine Original; but to the *Græcians* more moderately, and with leſs affectation of Divinity: Except it were writing to the *Athenians* concerning *Samos*, where he tells them they held not that free and glorious City by virtue of his Gift, but from the Bounty of him who at that time was call'd his Lord and Father, meaning *Philip.* However, afterwards being wounded with an Arrow, and feeling much pain, he turn'd to thoſe about him, and told them, it was common human Blood that fell from him, and not the *Ichor*, *Such*

Such as th' Immortal Gods were wont to ſhed.

And another time, when it thundred ſo much that every body was afraid, and *Anaxarchus* the Sophiſt, ask'd him, If he who was *Jupiter*'s own Son were ſo too? *Yes, that I am*, anſwered *Alexander* laughing, *for I would not be formidable to my Friends, as you would have me be, who deſpis'd my Table for being furniſh'd with Fiſh, and not with the Heads of Governors of Provinces.* For it is certain, that *Anaxarchus* ſeeing a Preſent of ſmall Fiſhes, which the King ſent to *Hepheſtion*, did expreſs himſelf to this purpoſe, to ſhew his contempt and deriſion of thoſe who take mighty pains, and run deſperate hazards in purſuit of great matters, and yet after all, if we examine things cloſely, have little more of pleaſure or injoyment than other People. From what I have ſaid upon this Subject, it is apparent, that *Alexander* in himſelf was not fooliſhly affected, or had the vanity to think himſelf really a God, but he kept others under by his Pretences to Divinity.

At his return out of *Ægypt* into *Phœnicia*, he ſacrific'd and made ſolemn Proceſſions, to which were added circular Dances and Acting of Tragedies, whoſe ſplendour appear'd not only in the Furniture and Ornaments, but in the noble Zeal and Contention of thoſe who acted them. For no leſs Perſons than two Kings of *Cyprus* were at the Charge of them, in

in the ſame manner as it is perform'd at *Athens* by thoſe who are choſen by Lot out of the Tribes. And indeed, they ſtrove with wonderful emulation to out-vie each other: Chiefly *Nicocreon* King of *Salamis*, and *Paſicrates* of *Soli*, who were appointed to furniſh and defray the expence of *Athenodorus* and *Theſſalus*, two of the moſt celebrated Actors of that Age. *Theſſalus* was moſt favour'd by *Alexander*, though it appear'd not till *Athenodorus* was declar'd Victor by the plurality of Suffrages. For then at his going away, he ſaid the Judges deſerv'd to be commended for what they had done, but that he would willingly have loſt part of his Kingdom, rather than to have ſeen *Theſſalus* overcome. However, when he underſtood *Athenodorus* was Fin'd by the *Athenians*, for being abſent at the Feſtivals celebrated in Honour of *Bacchus*, though he refus'd his requeſt of Writing in his behalf; yet he was ſo generous as to give him where-withal to ſatisfie the Penalty. Another time, *Lycon* of *Scarphia*, happened to Act with great Applauſe in the Theatre, and in a Verſe inſerted in his part, cunningly begg'd ten Talents of *Alexander*; who was ſo pleas'd with his Ingenuity, that he freely gave him the Money.

About this time, *Darius* wrote to him, and his Friends, to intercede with him to accept 10000 Talents above what he had already taken; And to purchaſe his Amity and Alliance, offer'd him all the Countries on this ſide

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the River *Euphrates*, together with one of his Daughters in Marriage. Theſe Propoſitions he communicated to his Friends, and when *Parmenio* told him, that for his part, if he were *Alexander*, he ſhould readily embrace them; *So would I too you may be ſure*, ſaid the King, *if I were* Parmenio. Accordingly, his Anſwer to *Darius* was, that if he would yield himſelf up into his power, he would treat him with all imaginable Kindneſs; if not, he was reſolv'd immediately to advance towards him. But the Death of *Darius* his Wife in Child-birth, made him ſoon after repent of this Reſolution, not without evident marks of Grief, for being ſo depriv'd of a further opportunity of exerciſing his Clemency and good Nature, which he ſhew'd to the laſt, by the great Expence he was at in her Funeral.

Among the Eunuchs who waited in the Queens Chamber, and were taken Priſoners with the Women, there was one *Tyreus*, who getting out of the Camp, fled away on Horſeback to *Darius*, to inform him of his Wives Death; which as ſoon as he heard, he could not forbear beating his Head, and burſting forth into Tears with lamentable Outcries, ſaid, *Alas! how great is the Calamity of the* Perſians? *Was it not enough that their King's Conſort and Siſter was a Priſoner in her Life-time, but ſhe muſt now ſhe is dead alſo, be but meanly and obſcurely buried? Oh Sir*, replied the Eunuch, *As to her Interment, or any Reſpect, or Decency that was omitted*

omitted at it, you have not the leaſt reaſon to accuſe the ill Fortune of your Country; for to my knowledge neither your Queen Statira *when alive, or your Mother, or Children, wanted any thing of their former happy condition, unleſs it were the light of your Countenance, which I doubt not but the mighty* Oromaſdes *will yet reſtore with greater Splendor and Glory than ever: And after her Deceaſe, I aſſure you, ſhe had not only all due Funeral Ornaments, but was honour'd alſo with the Tears of your very Enemies; for* Alexander *is as merciful and gentle after Victory, as he is daring and terrible in the Field.* At the hearing of theſe words, ſuch was the Grief and Emotion of *Darius* his Mind, that although there was not the leaſt ground for them, he could not chuſe but entertain ſome abſurd Suſpicions. For taking *Tyreas* aſide into a more private Apartment in his Tent: *Unleſs thou likewiſe,* ſaid he to him, *haſt deſerted me together with the good fortune of* Perſia, *and art become a* Macedonian *in thy heart; if thou beareſt me yet any Reſpect, and owneſt me for thy Soveraign* Darius, *Tell me, I charge thee, by the Veneration thou payeſt the Deity of* * Mithras, *and this Right Hand of thy King: Do I not lament the leaſt of* Statira's *Misfortunes in her Captivity and Death? Have I not ſuffer'd ſomething more injurious and deplorable in her Life-time? And had*

* *The* Sun.

I not been miſerable with leſs Diſhonour, if I had met with a more ſevere and inhumane Enemy? For how is it poſſible a young Man as he is, ſhould treat the Wife of Darius *with ſo much Generoſity, without paſſing the Bounds of a virtuous Converſation?* Whilſt he was yet ſpeaking, *Tyreus* threw himſelf at his Feet, and beſought him neither to wrong *Alexander* ſo much, nor his dead Wife and Siſter, as to harbour ſuch unjuſt thoughts, which depriv'd him of the only Conſolation he was capable of in his Adverſity, in a firm belief that he was overcome by a Man, whoſe Virtues rais'd him far above the pitch of humane Nature. That he ought to look upon *Alexander* with Love and Admiration, who had given no leſs Proofs of his Continence towards the *Perſian* Women, than of his Valour among the Men. The Eunuch confirm'd all he ſaid with ſolemn horrid Oaths, and was farther enlarging himſelf in the deſcription of *Alexander*'s Moderation and Magnanimity upon other occaſions: When *Darius* not able to contain himſelf any longer, broke from him into the next Room, where before all his Courtiers he lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and utter'd this Prayer. *Ye Gods*, ſaid he, *who are the Authors of our Being, and ſupreme Directors of Kingdoms; above all things, I beg of you to reſtore the declining Affairs of* Perſia, *that I may leave them at leaſt in as flouriſhing a Condition as I found them, and have it in my Power to make ſome grateful Returns to* Alexander, *for the*

the Kindneſs which in my Adverſity he has ſhew'd to thoſe who are deareſt to me. But if indeed the fatal Time be come, which is to give a Period to the Perſian *Monarchy; if our Ruine be a Debt that muſt be inevitably paid to the divine Vengeance, and the Viciſſitude of things: Then I beſeech you grant, that no other Man but* Alexander *may ſit upon the Throne of* Cyrus. The truth of theſe paſſages is atteſted by moſt Writers.

But to return to *Alexander*, after he had reduc'd all *Aſia* on this ſide the *Euphrates*, he advanc'd towards *Darius*, who was coming down againſt him with a Million of Men. In his March a very ridiculous Paſſage happen'd. The Servants who follow'd the Camp, for Sports-ſake divided themſelves into two Parties, and nam'd the Commander of one of them *Alexander*, and of the other *Darius*. At firſt they only pelted one another with Clods of Earth, and after fell to Fiſty-cuffs, till at laſt, heated with the Skirmiſhes, they fought in good earneſt with Stones and Clubs, ſo that they had much ado to part them, till *Alexander* order'd the two Captains to decide the Quarrel by ſingle Combat, and arm'd him who bore his Name himſelf, while *Philotas* did the ſame to him who repreſented *Darius*. The whole Army were Spectators of this Encounter, with Minds prepar'd from the Event of it, to make a Judgment of their own future Succeſs. After they had fought ſtoutly a pretty

while, at laſt he who was call'd *Alexander* had the better, and for a Reward of his Proweſs, had 12 Villages given him, with leave to veſt himſelf after the *Perſian* Mode. Thus we are inform'd by the Writings of *Eratoſthenes*.

But the great Battel of all that was fought with *Darius*, was not as moſt Writers tell us, at *Arbela*, but at *Gauſamela*, which in their Language ſignifies the *Camels Houſe*, foraſmuch as one of their ancient Kings, having eſcap'd the purſuit of his Enemies on a ſwift Camel, in gratitude to his Beaſt, ſettled him at this Place, with an allowance of certain Villages and Rents for his Maintenance. It came to paſs that in the Month * *Boedromion* about the beginning of the Feaſt of Myſteries at *Athens*, there happen'd an Eclipſe of the Moon, the 11*th* night after which, the two Armies being then in view of one another, *Darius* kept his Men in Arms, and by Torch-light took a general Review of them. But *Alexander*, while his Soldiers ſlept, ſpent the night before his Tent with his Diviner *Ariſtander*, performing certain myſterious Ceremonies, and ſacrificing to *Apollo*. In the mean while the eldeſt of his Commanders, and chiefly *Parmenio*, when they beheld all the Plain between the River *Niphates*, and the *Gordyæan* Mountains, ſhining with the Lights and Fires which were made by the

* *Auguſt.*

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Barbarians, and heard the rude and confus'd Voices out of their Camp, the terrour and noiſe of which reſembled the roaring of a vaſt Ocean, they were ſo amaz'd at the thoughts of ſuch a multitude, that after ſome Conference among themſelves, they concluded it an Enterprize too difficult and hazardous for them to engage ſo numerous an Enemy in the Day, and therefore meeting the King as he came from ſacrificing, beſought him to attack *Darius* by Night, that the Darkneſs might conceal the horror and danger of the enſuing Battel. To this he gave them the ſo celebrated Anſwer. *That he would not ſteal a Victory:* which tho' ſome may think childiſh and vain, as if he play'd with Danger, yet others look upon it as an evidence that he confided in his preſent Condition, and made a true Judgment of the future, in not leaving *Darius* in caſe he were worſted, ſo much as a pretence of trying his Fortune any more; which he would certainly do, if he could impute his Overthrow to the diſadvantage of the Night, as he did before to the Mountains, the narrow Paſſages, and the Sea. For it was not to be imagin'd, that he who had ſtill ſuch Forces and large Dominions left, ſhould give over the War for want of Men or Arms, till he had firſt loſt all Courage and Hope, by the conviction of an undeniable and manifeſt Defeat. After they were gone from him with this Anſwer, he laid himſelf down in his Tent, and ſlept the reſt of the Night ſound-

lier than he was wont to do, to the aſtoniſhment of the Commanders, who came to him early in the morning, and were fain themſelves to give order that the Soldiers ſhould dine. But at laſt, time not giving them leave to wait any longer, *Parmenio* went to his Bed-ſide, and call'd him twice or thrice by his Name, till he wak'd him, and then ask'd him, *How it was poſſible when he was to fight the moſt important Battel of all, he could ſleep ſo ſecurely, as if he were already victorious. So I am*, ſaid *Alexander*, ſmiling, *ſince I am now no more put to the trouble of wandring after, and purſuing* Darius, *as long as he pleaſes to decline Fighting, in a Country of ſo large extent, and ſo waſted.* And not only before the Engagement, but likewiſe in the extreameſt danger of it, he ſhew'd the greatneſs of his Courage in Action, and the ſolidity of his Judgment in Counſel. For the left Wing which *Parmenio* commanded, was ſo violently charg'd by the *Bactrian* Horſe, that it was diſorder'd, and forc'd to give ground, at the ſame time that *Mazeus* had ſent a Party round about to fall upon thoſe who guarded the Baggage, which ſo diſturb'd *Parmenio*, that he ſent Meſſengers to acquaint *Alexander* that the Camp and Baggage would be all loſt, unleſs he immediately reliev'd the Rear, by a conſiderable Reinforcement drawn out of the Front. This Meſſage being brought him juſt as he was giving the Signal to thoſe about him for the Onſet, he bad them tell *Parmenio*, *That ſure*

ſure he was mad, and had loſt the uſe of his Reaſon, and that the Conſternation he was in, had made him forget, that Conquerors always become Maſters of their Enemies Baggage; whereas thoſe who were defeated, inſtead of taking care of their Wealth or their Slaves, had nothing more to do, but to fight gallantly, and die with Honour. When he had ſaid this, he put on his Helmet, having the reſt of his Arms on before he came out of his Tent, which were a ſhort Coat of the *Sicilian* faſhion, girt cloſe about him, and over that a Breaſtpiece of Linnen often folded and pleated, which was taken among other Booty at the Battel of *Iſſus*. The Helmet which was made by *Theophilus*, though of Iron, was ſo well wrought and poliſh'd, that it was as bright as the moſt refin'd Silver. To this was fitted a Gorget of the ſame metal, ſet with precious Stones. His Sword, which was the weapon he moſt us'd in Fight, was given him by the King of the *Citieans*, and was of an admirable temper and lightneſs. But the Belt which he wore alſo in all Engagements, was of much richer Workmanſhip than the reſt of his Armour; it was made by old *Helicon*, and preſented him by the *Rhodians*, as a mark of their reſpect to him. When-ever he drew up his Men, or rode about to give Orders, or inſtruct, or view them, he favour'd *Bucephalus* by reaſon of his Age, and made uſe of another Horſe, but when he was to fight, he ſent for him again, and as ſoon as he was

mounted, preſently fell upon the Enemy. After he had made a long Oration to the *Theſſalians*, and the reſt of the *Græcians*, who encourag'd him with loud Outcries, deſiring to be led on to the Charge, he ſhifted his Javelin into his left Hand, and with his right lifted up towards Heaven, beſought the Gods, that if he was of a truth the Son of *Jupiter*, they would be pleas'd to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen the *Græcians*. At the ſame time the Augur *Ariſtander*, who had a white Mantle about him, and a Crown of Gold on his Head, rode by and ſhew'd them an Eagle that ſoar'd juſt over *Alexander*, and directed his flight towards the Enemy; which ſo animated the Beholders, that after mutual Encouragements and Exhortations, the Horſe charg'd at full ſpeed, and were vigorouſly ſeconded by the Foot. But before they could well come to Blows with the firſt Ranks, the *Barbarians* ſhrunk back, and were hotly purſued by *Alexander*, who drove thoſe that fled before him into the middle of the Battel, where *Darius* himſelf was in Perſon, whom he ſaw over the foremoſt Ranks, conſpicuous in the midſt of his Life-Guard; for he was an handſom, proper Man, and drawn in a lofty Chariot, defended by abundance of the beſt Horſe, who ſtood cloſe in order about it, ready to receive the Enemy. But *Alexander*'s approach was ſo terrible, forcing thoſe who gave back, upon thoſe who yet maintain'd their Ground, that he beat down and diſpers'd them

them almoſt all, but a few of the braveſt and valianteſt who were ſlain in their King's preſence, falling in heaps upon one another, and in the very pangs of Death ſtriving by catching hold of the Men and Horſes, to ſtop the *Macedonians* purſuit. *Darius* now ſeeing all was loſt, that thoſe who were plac'd in Front to defend him were broken, and beat back upon him, that he could not turn or diſengage his Chariot without great difficulty, the Wheels were ſo clogg'd and entangled among the dead Bodies which lay in ſuch heaps, as not only ſtopt, but almoſt cover'd the Horſes, and made them bound, and grow ſo unruly, that the frighted Charioteer could govern them no longer: In this extremity he was glad to quit his Chariot and his Arms, and mounting as they ſay, upon a Mare that had newly foal'd, betook himſelf to flight. But he had not eſcap'd ſo neither, if *Parmenio* had not ſent freſh Meſſengers to *Alexander*, to deſire him to return, and aſſiſt him againſt a conſiderable Body of the Enemy which yet ſtood together, and would not give ground. Upon this *Parmenio* was on all hands accus'd of Dulneſs and Sloth, whether Age had impair'd his Courage, or that, as *Calliſthenes* ſays, he inwardly griev'd at, and envied his Maſters growing Greatneſs. *Alexander* though he was not a little vex'd to be ſo recall'd, and hindred from purſuing his Victory, yet conceal'd the true Reaſon from his Men, and cauſing a Retreat to be ſounded, as if it were too late to

continue

continue the Execution any longer, march'd back towards the place of danger, and by the way met with the News of the Enemies total overthrow and flight.

This Battel being thus over, ſeem'd to put a period to the *Perſian* Empire; and *Alexander* who was now proclaim'd King of *Aſia*, return'd thanks to the Gods in magnificent Sacrifices, and rewarded his Friends and Followers with great ſums of Money, and Places, and Governments of Provinces. To ingratiate himſelf with the *Græcians*, he wrote to them, that he would have all Tyrannies aboliſh'd, that they might live free according to their own Laws, more particularly to the *Platæans*, that their City ſhould be re-edified, becauſe their Anceſtors permitted their Coountry-men to make their Territories the Seat of the War, when they fought with the *Barbarians* for their common Liberty. He ſent alſo part of the Spoils into *Italy*, to the *Crotonians*, to honour the Zeal and Courage of their Citizen *Phaylus* the Wreſtler, who in the *Median* War, when the other *Græcian* Colonies in *Italy* diſown'd *Greece*; that he might have a ſhare in the danger, joyn'd the Fleet at *Salamis*, with a Veſſel ſet forth at his own charge. So affectionate was *Alexander* to all kind of Virtue, and ſo deſirous to preſerve the memory of laudable Actions.

From hence he march'd through the Province of *Babylon*, which immediately ſubmit-

ted

ted to him, and in that of *Ecbatane* was mightily ſurpris'd to ſee Fire continually break like a Spring out of a cleft of the Earth; and not far from that a Fountain of *Naphtha*, which ſtagnated in great abundance. This *Naphtha*, in other reſpects reſembling *Bitumen*, is ſo ſubject to take fire, that before it touches the flame, it will kindle at the very light that ſurrounds it, and often inflame the interjacent Air alſo. The *Barbarians*, to ſhew the Power and Nature of it, ſprinkled the Street that led to the Kings Lodgings with little drops of this Liquor, and when it was almoſt night, ſtood at the further end with Torches, which being applied to the moiſtned places, the firſt preſently taking fire, in leſs than a minute it caught from one end to another, in that manner, that the whole Street was but one continued flame. Among thoſe who us'd to wait on the King when he anointed and waſh'd himſelf, and diverted his Mind with pleaſant diſcourſes, there was one *Athenophanes* an *Athenian*, who deſired him to make an Experiment of the *Naphtha* upon *Stephanus*, who ſtood by in the Bathing place, a very ugly ridiculous Youth, whoſe Talent was Singing well: *For*, ſaid he, *if it take hold of him and cannot be quenched, it muſt undeniably be allow'd to be of great and invincible ſtrength.* The Youth readily conſented to undergo the Tryal, and as ſoon as he was anointed and rubb'd with it, his whole Body broke out into ſuch a flame, and was ſo ſeiz'd by the fire,

fire, that *Alexander* was exceedingly perplex'd and concern'd for him, and not without reaſon; for nothing could have prevented his being conſum'd by it, if by good chance there had not been People at hand with a great many Veſſels of Water for the ſervice of the Bath, with all which they had much ado to extinguiſh the fire; and his Body was ſo burn'd all over, that he was not cur'd of it a good while after. Not abſurdly therefore do they endeavour to reconcile the Fable to Truth, who ſay, this was the Drug mention'd by the Poets, with which *Medea* anointed the Crown and Veil which ſhe gave to *Creon*'s Daughter. For neither the things themſelves, nor the fire could kindle of its own accord, but being prepar'd for it by the *Naphtha*, they imperceptibly attracted and caught the flame: For the rays and emanations of Fire at a diſtance, have no other effect upon ſome Bodies, than bare light and heat; but in others where they meet with airy dryneſs, and alſo ſufficient fat moiſture, they collect themſelves and ſoon prey upon and alter the matter. However, the production of *Naphtha* admits of divers opinions: * Whether this liquid Subſtance that feeds the flame, does not rather proceed from a Soil that is unctuous and productive of Fire, as that of the Province of *Babylon* is, where the ground is ſo very hot,

* *Here ſome of the Original is loſt.*

that

that oftentimes the Grains of Barley leap up, and are thrown out, as if the violent Inflammation had given the Earth a pulſe: And in extream heats the Inhabitants are wont to ſleep upon Skins fill'd with Water. *Harpalus*, who was left Governor of this Country, and was deſirous to adorn the Palace Gardens and Walks with *Græcian* Plants, ſucceeded in the raiſing of all but Ivy, which the Earth would not bear, but conſtantly kill'd: For being a Plant that loves a cold Soil, the temper of that mold which was violently hot, was improper for it. Such digreſſions as theſe the niceſt Readers may endure, provided they are not too tedious.

At the taking of *Suſa*, *Alexander* found in the Palace 40000 Talents in Money ready Coyn'd, beſides an unſpeakable quantity of other Furniture and Treaſure; amongſt which was 5000 Talents worth of *Hermionique* Purple, that had been laid up there an hundred and ninety nine years, and yet kept its colour as freſh and lively as at firſt. The reaſon of which they ſay, is, that in Dying the Purple they made uſe of Honey, and of white Oil in the white Tincture, both which being of equal Age, ſtill preſerv'd their luſtre clean and refulgent. *Dinon* alſo relates, that the Kings of *Perſia* had Water fetch'd from the *Nile* and the *Danubius*, which they laid up in their Treaſuries, uſing it as an Argument of the Greatneſs of their Power and Univerſal Empire.

But

But the entrance into *Perſia* being very difficult, by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the Ways, and that the Paſſes to ſecure *Darius*, who was retired thither, were guarded by the beſt of his Forces, *Alexander* happened upon a Guide exactly correſpondent to what the *Pythia* had foretold when he was a Child; That a *Lycian* ſhould conduct him in his Journey into *Perſia*; for by ſuch an one, whoſe Father was a *Lycian* and his Mother a *Perſian*, and who ſpoke both Languages, he was led into the Country by a way ſomething about, yet without fetching any conſiderable compaſs. Here a great many of the Priſoners were put to the Sword, of which himſelf gives this account, That he commanded them to be kill'd out of an apprehenſion it would be advantageous to his Affairs: Nor was his Booty in Money leſs here than at *Suſa*, beſides other Moveables and Treaſure, as much as 10000 pair of Mules, and five thouſand Camels could well carry away. When *Alexander* ſaw a vaſt Statue of *Xerxes* thrown down on a ſudden, by the multitudes of Soldiers that broke into the Palace; he ſtood ſtill, and accoſting it as if it had been alive; *Shall we*, ſaid he, *neglectfully paſs thee by now thou art proſtrate on the ground, becauſe thou once invadedſt* Greece, *or ſhall we Erect thee again in conſideration of the Greatneſs of thy Mind and thy other Virtues?* But at laſt, after he had paus'd a pretty while, he went on without taking any further notice of it. In this place he took up his Winter-Quarters, and ſtaid four months

months to refreſh his Soldiers. The firſt time he ſate on the Royal Throne of *Perſia*, under a Canopy of Gold, *Demaratus* the *Corinthian*, a well-wiſher to *Alexander*, and one of his Fathers Friends, wept, Good Old Man, and deplor'd the misfortune of the *Græcians*, that by Death were depriv'd of the ſatisfaction to ſee *Alexander* ſeated on *Darius* his Throne.

From hence deſigning to march againſt *Darius*, before he ſet out, he diverted himſelf with his Officers at an Entertainment of Drinking, and other Paſtimes, and indulg'd ſo far as to have every one his Miſtreſs ſit by and drink with them. The moſt celebrated of them was *Thais* an *Athenian*, *Ptolemy*'s Miſtreſs, who was afterwards King of *Ægypt*. She ſometimes cunningly prais'd *Alexander*, ſometimes play'd upon him and rally'd him, and all the while drank ſo freely, that at laſt ſhe fell to talk extravagantly, as thoſe of her Country us'd to do, much above her character or condition. She ſaid it was indeed ſome recompence for the pains ſhe had taken in following the Camp all over *Aſia*, that ſhe was that day Treated in, and could inſult over the Stately Palace of the *Perſian* Monarchs: But ſhe added, it would pleaſe her much better, if while the King look'd on, ſhe might in ſport, with her own hands, ſet fire to *Xerxes* his Court, who reduc'd the City of *Athens* to Aſhes; that it might be recorded to Poſterity, that the Women who follow'd *Alexander*, had taken a ſharper revenge on

on the *Perſians* for the Sufferings and Affronts of *Greece*, than all his Commanders could do by Sea or Land. What ſhe ſaid was receiv'd with ſuch univerſal liking, and murmurs of Applauſe, and ſo ſeconded by the incouragement and eagerneſs of the Company, that the King himſelf, perſwaded to be of the Party, ſtarted from his Seat, and with a Chaplet of Flowers on his Head, and a lighted Torch in his Hand, led them the way, who went after him in a riotous manner, dancing, and making loud noiſes about the place: which when the reſt of the *Macedonians* perceiv'd, they alſo with all the Joy imaginable ran thither with Torches; for they hop'd the burning and deſtruction of the Royal Palace, was an Argument that he look'd homeward, and had no deſign to reſide among the *Barbarians*. Thus ſome Writers give an account of this Action, and others ſay it was done deliberately; however, all agree, that he ſoon repented of it, and gave order to put out the fire.

Alexander was naturally very munificent, and grew more ſo as his Fortune increas'd, accompanying what he gave with that courteſie and freedom, which, to ſpeak truth, is abſolutely neceſſary to make a Benefit really obliging. I will give you a few Inſtances of this kind. *Ariſton*, the Captain of the *Pæonians*, having kill'd an Enemy, brought his Head to ſhew him, and told him, *That among them ſuch a Preſent was recompens'd with a Cup of Gold. With an empty one,*

one, ſaid *Alexander* ſmiling, *but I drink to you in this full of Wine, which I give you.* Another time, as one of the common Soldiers was driving a Mule laden with ſome of the King's Treaſure, the Beaſt tir'd, and the Soldier took it upon his own Back, and began to march with it, till *Alexander* ſeeing the Fellow ſo overcharg'd, ask'd what was the matter; and when he was inform'd, juſt as he was ready to lay down his Burthen for wearineſs: *Do not faint now*, ſaid he to him, *but keep on the reſt of your way, and carry what you have there, to your own Tent for your ſelf.* He was always more diſpleas'd with thoſe who would not accept of what he gave, than with thoſe who continually begg'd of him. And therefore he wrote to *Phocion*, *That he ſhould not take him for his Friend any longer, if he refus'd his Preſents.* Nor would he ever give any thing to *Serapion*, one of the Youths that play'd at Ball with him, becauſe he did not ask of him, till one day it coming to *Serapion*'s turn to play, he ſtill threw the Ball to others, and when the King ask'd him, *Why he did not direct it to him? Becauſe you did not deſire it*, ſaid he; which Anſwer pleas'd him ſo, that he was very liberal to him afterwards. One *Proteas*, a pleaſant, drolling, drinking Fellow, having incurr'd his Diſpleaſure, got his Friends to intercede for him, and begg'd his pardon himſelf with tears, which at laſt prevail'd, and *Alexander* declar'd he was Friends with him. *I cannot believe it, Sir,*

ſaid *Proteas*, *unleſs you firſt give me ſome pledge of your Reconciliation.* The King underſtood his meaning, and preſently order'd him to receive five Talents. How generous he was in enriching his Friends, and thoſe who attended on his Perſon, appears by a Letter which *Olympias* wrote to him, where ſhe tells him, *He ſhould reward and honour thoſe about him in a more moderate way; for now*, ſaid ſhe, *you make them all equal to Kings, you give them power and opportunity to improve their own Intereſt, by obliging of many to them, and in the mean time do not conſider, that you leave your ſelf bare and deſtitute.* She often wrote to him to this purpoſe, and he never communicated her Letters to any body, unleſs it were one which he open'd when *Hepheſtion* was by, whom he permitted to read it along with him; but then, as ſoon as he had done, he took off his Ring, and clapp'd the Seal upon his Lips. *Mazæus*, who was the moſt conſiderable Man in *Darius* his Court, had a Son who was already Governor of a very good Province; but *Alexander* would needs beſtow another upon him that was better, which he modeſtly refus'd, and withal told him, *Inſtead of one* Darius, *he went the way to make many* Alexanders. To *Parmenio* he gave *Bagoas* his Houſe, in which he found a Wardrobe of Apparel worth more than 1000 *Suſian* Talents. He wrote to *Antipater*, commanding him to keep a Life-guard about him, for the ſecurity of his Perſon againſt Conſpira-

cies.

cies. And to his Mother he was very grateful, in ſending her many Preſents, but would never ſuffer her to meddle with Matters of State or War, not indulging her buſie Temper; and when ſhe fell out with him upon this account, he bore her ill Humour very patiently. Nay more, when he read a long Letter from *Antipater*, full of Accuſations againſt her: *I wonder*, ſaid he, *Antipater ſhould not know, that one Tear of a Mother effaces a thouſand ſuch Letters as theſe.*

But when he perceiv'd his Favourites grow ſo luxurious, and extravagant in their way of Living and Expences; that *Agnon* the *Teian* wore ſilver Nails in his Shoes; that *Leonatus* employ'd ſeveral Camels, only to bring him Powder out of *Ægypt*, to uſe when he wreſtl'd; and that *Philotas* had Toils to take wild Beaſts, that reach'd 12500 paces in length; that more us'd precious Ointments than plain Oil when they went to Bathe, and that they had Servants every where with them, to rub them and wait upon them in their Chambers: He reprov'd them with great mildneſs and diſcretion, telling them, he wondred that they who had been engag'd in ſo many ſignal Battels, ſhould not know by experience, that Labour and Induſtry made People ſleep more ſweetly and ſoundly than Lazineſs; and that if they compar'd the *Perſians* manner of Living with their own, they would be convinc'd, it was the moſt abject, ſlaviſh condition in the world to

be effeminate and voluptuous, but the moſt generous and becoming a Great Man to take pains. Beſides he reaſon'd with them, how it was poſſible for any one who pretended to be a Soldier, either to look well after his Horſe, or to keep his Armour bright and in good order, who thought much to let his Hands be ſerviceable to what was neareſt to him, his own Body. *Are ye ſtill to learn*, ſaid he, *the End and Perfection of our Victories is to avoid the Vices and Infirmities of thoſe whom we ſubdue?* And to ſtrengthen his Precepts by Example, he applied himſelf now more vigorouſly than ever to Hunting and warlike Expeditions, readily embracing all opportunities of Hardſhip and Danger; inſomuch, that old *Lacon*, who chanc'd to be by, when he encounter'd with, and maſter'd an huge Lion, told him, *He had put his Empire in Competition, and had fought gallantly with the Beaſt, which of the two ſhould be King.* *Craterus* caus'd a Repreſentation of this Adventure, conſiſting of the Lion and the Dogs, of the King engag'd with the Lion, and himſelf coming in to his aſſiſtance, all expreſs'd in Figures of Braſs; ſome of which were made by *Lyſippus*, and the reſt by *Leochares*, to be dedicated in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*. In this manner did *Alexander* expoſe his Perſon to Danger, whilſt he both inur'd himſelf, and incited others to the performance of brave and vertuous Actions.

But

But his Followers, who were grown rich, and conſequently proud, long'd to indulge themſelves in Pleaſure and Idleneſs, and were weary of the Toils and Inconveniencies of War, and by degrees came to be ſo impudently ungrateful, as to cenſure and ſpeak ill of him behind his back. All which at firſt he bore very patiently, ſaying, *It became a King well to do good to others, and be evil ſpoken of.* But to deſcend to ſome Inſtances of an inferiour nature, it is certain, that in the leaſt demonſtrations of Kindneſs to his Friends, there was ſtill a great mixture of Tenderneſs and Reſpect. Hearing *Peuceſtes* was bitten by a Bear, he wrote to him, *That he took it unkindly, he ſhould ſend others notice of it, and not make him acquainted with it; but now,* ſaid he, *ſince it is ſo, let me know how you do, and whether any of your Companions forſook you when you were in danger, that I may puniſh them.* He ſent *Hepheſtion,* who was abſent about ſome Buſineſs, word, *How, while they were fighting for their Diverſion with an* Ichneumon, Craterus *was by chance run through both Thighs with* Perdiccas *his Javelin.* And upon *Peuceſtes* his recovery from a Fit of Sickneſs, he ſent a Letter of Thanks to his Phyſician *Alexippus.* When *Craterus* was ill, he ſaw a Viſion in his Sleep, after which he offer'd Sacrifices for his Health, and commanded him to do ſo likewiſe. He wrote alſo to *Pauſanias* the Phyſician, who was about to purge *Craterus* with Hellebore, partly out of

an anxious Concern for him, and partly to give him a Caution how he us'd that Medicine. He was ſo tender of his Friends Reputation, that he impriſon'd *Ephialtes* and *Ciſſus*, who brought him the firſt News of *Harpalus* his Flight, and withdrawing from his Service, as if they had falſly accus'd him. When he ſent the old infirm Soldiers home, *Eurylochus* the *Ægean* got his Name enroll'd among the Sick, though he ail'd nothing; which being diſcover'd, he confeſs'd he was in Love with a young Woman nam'd *Telerippa*, and had a mind to go along with her to the Sea-ſide. *Alexander* enquir'd, *To whom the Woman belong'd?* and being told, *She was an Whore at her own diſpoſal: I will aſſiſt you*, ſaid he to Eurylochus, *all I can in your Amour, if your Miſtreſs be to be gain'd either by Preſents or Perſwaſions; but we muſt uſe no other means, becauſe ſhe is free-born.* It is ſurprizing to conſider, upon what ſlight occaſions he would write Letters to ſerve his Friends. As when he wrote one, in which he gave order to ſearch for a Youth that belong'd to *Seleucus*, who was run away into *Cilicia*. In another he thank'd and commended *Peuceſtes*, for apprehending *Nicon*, a Servant of *Craterus*. And to *Megabyſus*, concerning a Slave that had taken Sanctuary in a Temple, he wrote, that he ſhould not meddle with him while he was there, but if he could entice him out by fair means, then he gave him leave to ſeize him. It is reported of him, that when he firſt ſate

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in Judgment upon Capital Cauſes, he would lay his Hand upon one of his Ears, while the Accuſer ſpoke, to keep it free and unprejudic'd in behalf of the Party accus'd. But afterwards ſuch a multitude of Accuſations were brought before him, whereof many proving true, exaſperated him ſo, that he gave credit to thoſe alſo that were falſe, and eſpecially when any body ſpoke ill of him, he would be ſo out of meaſure tranſported, that he became cruel and inexorable, valuing his Glory and Reputation far beyond either his Life or Kingdom.

His Affairs call'd upon him now to took after *Darius*, expecting he ſhould be put to the hazard of another Battel; till he heard he was taken, and ſecur'd by *Beſſus*, upon which news he ſent home the *Theſſalians*, and gave them a largeſs of 2000 Talents, over and above the pay that was due to them. This long and painful purſuit of *Darius*, (for in eleven days he march'd 412 Miles) haraſs'd his Soldiers ſo, that moſt of them were ready to faint, chiefly for want of Water. While they were in this diſtreſs, it hapned that ſome *Macedonians*, who had fetch'd Water in Skins upon their Mules from a River they had found out, came about Noon to the place where *Alexander* was, and ſeeing him almoſt choak'd with Thirſt, preſently fill'd an Helmet, and offered it him. He ask'd them to whom they were carrying the Water? They told him to their Children, ad-

ding withal, that if his Life were but preſerv'd, it was no matter for them, they ſhould have opportunities enough to repair that loſs, tho' they all periſh'd. Then he took the Helmet into his hands, and looking round about when he ſaw all thoſe who were near him ſtretch'd their heads out, and gap'd earneſtly after the Drink; he return'd it again with thanks, without taſting a drop of it: *For*, ſaid he, *if I only ſhould drink, the reſt will be quite out of heart and faint.* The Soldiers no ſooner took notice of his Temperance and Magnanimity upon this occaſion, but they, one and all, cried out to him to lead them on boldly, and fell a whipping their Horſes to make them 'mend their pace; for whilſt they had ſuch a King, they ſaid, they defied both Wearineſs and Thirſt, and look'd upon themſelves to be little leſs than immortal. But tho' they were all equally cheerful and willing, yet not above threeſcore Horſe were able to keep up, and fall in with *Alexander* upon the Enemies Camp; where they rode over abundance of Gold and Silver that lay ſcattered about, and paſſing by a great many Chariots full of Women, that wandred here and there for want of Drivers, they endeavour'd to overtake the firſt of thoſe that fled, in hopes to meet with *Darius* among them: And at laſt, with much ado, they found him lying along in a Chariot, all over wounded with Darts, juſt at the point of Death. However, he deſired they would give him ſome drink, and when he had

had drank a little cold water, he told *Polyſtratus* who gave it him, *That to receive ſuch a Benefit, and not have it in his power to return it, was the higheſt pitch of his misfortune. But* Alexander, ſaid he, *whoſe kindneſs to my Mother, my Wife, and my Children, I hope the Gods will recompence, will doubtleſs thank you for your humanity to me. Tell him therefore in token of my Acknowledgment, I give him this Right Hand:* At which words he took hold of *Polyſtratus* his Hand, and died. When *Alexander* came up to them, he was ſenſibly touch'd at the unfortunate End of ſo great a Man, and pulling off his own Coat, threw it upon the Body to cover it. And to ſhew how much he deteſted ſo horrid a fact, as ſoon as *Beſſus* was taken, he order'd him to be torn in pieces in this manner. They faſtned him to a couple of tall ſtrait Trees, which were bound down ſo as to meet, and then being let looſe, with a great force return'd to their places, each of them carrying that part of the Body along with it that was tyed to it. *Darius* his Body was laid in State, and ſent to his Mother with Pomp ſuitable to his quality. His Brother *Exathres*, *Alexander* receiv'd into the number of his moſt intimate Friends.

And now with the Flower of his Army he march'd down into *Hyrcania*, where he ſaw a Gulph of the Sea, not much leſs than the *Euxine*, and found its Water ſweeter than that of other Seas; but could learn nothing of certainty concerning

cerning it, farther than that in all probability it ſeem'd to him to be an overflowing of the Lake of *Mæotis*, or at leaſt to have Communication with it. However the Naturaliſts better inform'd of the Truth, give us this account of it many years before *Alexander*'s Expedition; that of four Gulphs which out of the main Sea enter into the Continent, this is the moſt Northern, and is known by the Name both of the *Hyrcanian* and *Caſpian* Sea. Here the *Barbarians* unexpectedly meeting with thoſe who led *Bucephalus*, took them Priſoners, and carried the Horſe away with them; which *Alexander* was ſo offended at, that he ſent an Herald to let them know, he would put them all to the Sword, Men, Women, and Children, without mercy, if they did not reſtore him: Which they immediately did, and at the ſame time ſurrendred their Cities into his hands; upon which he not only treated them very kindly, but alſo paid a good Ranſom for his Horſe to thoſe who took him.

From hence he march'd into *Parthia*, where not having much to do, he firſt put on the *Barbarick* Habit, which Compliance perhaps he us'd in order to civilize them; for nothing gains more upon men, than a Conformity to their Faſhions and Cuſtoms: Or it may be he did it as an Eſſay, whether the *Macedonians* would be brought to adore him, (as the *Perſians* did their Kings) by accuſtoming them by little and little to bear with the alteration of his

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Diſcipline, and courſe of Life in other things. However he followed not the *Median* Faſhion, which was altogether barbarous and uncouth; for he wore neither their Breeches, nor their long Veſt, nor their Tiara for the Head, but taking a middle way between the *Perſian* Mode and the *Macedonian*, he ſo contriv'd his Habit, that it was not ſo flanting as the former, and yet more pompous and magnificent than the latter. At firſt he wore this Habit only when he convers'd with Strangers, or within doors, among his intimate Friends and Companions, but afterwards he appear'd in it abroad, and at publick Audiences. A Sight which the *Macedonians* beheld with exceeding Grief; but they were ſo charm'd with his other Virtues and good Qualities, that they could not but think it reaſonable in ſome things to gratifie his Humour, and his paſſionate deſire of Glory: In purſuit of which he hazarded himſelf ſo far, that beſides his other Adventures, he had but newly been wounded in the Leg by an Arrow, which had ſo ſhatter'd the Shankbone, that Splinters were taken out. And another time he receiv'd ſuch a violent Blow with a Stone upon the Nape of the Neck, as dimn'd his Sight a good while afterwards. But all this could not hinder him from expoſing himſelf to the greateſt Dangers, without any regard to his Perſon; inſomuch that he paſs'd the River *Orexartes*, which he took to be the *Tanais*, and putting the *Scythians* to flight, follow'd them

them above 12 mile in their Rear, though at the ſame time he had a violent Flux upon him. Here many affirm, that the *Amazonian* Queen came to give him a Viſit: So report *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus* and *Oneſicritus*, *Antigenes* and *Iſter*, *Ariſtobulus* and *Chares*, beſides *Ptolemy* and *Anticlides*, *Philon* the *Theban*, and *Philip* the Maſter of Requeſts. But then on the other ſide, *Hecatæus* the *Eretrian*, *Philip* the *Chalcidian*, and *Duris* the *Samian* ſay, it is wholly a Fiction. And truly *Alexander* himſelf ſeems to confirm the opinion of the latter; for in a Letter in which he gives *Antipater* an account of all Paſſages, he tells him, that the King of *Scythia* offer'd him his Daughter in Marriage, but makes no mention at all of the *Amazon*. And many years after, when *Oneſicritus* read this Story in his 4*th* Book to *Lyſimachus*, who then reign'd, the King fell a laughing at it, and ask'd, *How ſuch a thing ſhould happen, and he knew nothing of it, though he was preſent?*

But it ſignifies little to *Alexander* whether this be credited or no: Certain it is, that apprehending the *Macedonians* would be weary of purſuing the War, he left the groſs of his Army in their Quarters; and having with him in *Hyrcania* the choice of his Men only, which amounted to 20000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, he ſpoke to them to this effect: *That hitherto the* Barbarians *had ſeen them no otherwiſe than as it were in a Dream, and if they ſhould think of returning when they had only alarm'd* Aſia, *and*

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not conquer'd it, their Enemies would ſet upon them, and deſtroy them like ſo many Women: However he told them, he would keep none of them with him againſt their will, they might go if they pleas'd, but withal proteſted againſt thoſe who ſhould be ſo mean-ſpirited as to deſert him and his Friends, and thoſe who were willing to fight under him ſtill, in an Enterprize ſo glorious as it would be, to make the Macedonians *Lords of the habitable World.* This is almoſt word for word, as he wrote it in a Letter to *Antipater*, where he adds, *That when he had thus ſpoken to them, they all cried out, they would go along with him, whitherſoever it was his pleaſure to lead them.* When he had in this manner gain'd the Principal, it was no hard matter for him to bring over the Multitude, which in ſuch Caſes eaſily follows the Example of their Betters. Now alſo he more and more accommodated himſelf in his way of Living to that of the *Perſians*, and brought them as near as he could to the *Macedonian* Cuſtoms; wiſely conſidering, that ſince he deſign'd an Expedition which would carry him far from thence, it was better to ſettle Affairs in his abſence, by a mixture of their Conſtitutions, and mutual Society with Good-will, than by Compulſion. In order to this he choſe out 30000 Boys, whom he allow'd Maſters to teach them the Greek Tongue, and to train them up to Arms in the *Macedonian* Diſcipline. As for his Marriage of *Roxana*, whoſe good Meen and Beauty had charm'd him, at a Drink-

Drinking-entertainment, where he firſt happen'd to ſee her, it was perfectly the effect of Love, nor did it appear to be at all prejudicial to his Intereſt, as things ſtood with him at that time: For it put the conquer'd People in heart, and made them confide in him, and love him more than ever, when they ſaw how continent he was, and that he forbore the only Woman he was ever in Love with, till he could enjoy her in a lawful and honourable way.

When he perceiv'd that among his chief Friends and Favourites, *Hepheſtion* moſt approv'd all that he did, and comply'd with, and imitated him in his Habit, while *Craterus* continued ſtrict in the obſervation of the Cuſtoms and Faſhions of his own Country: He made the beſt uſe of them both, employing the firſt in all Tranſactions with the *Perſians*, and the latter when he had to do with the *Greeks* or *Macedonians*. It is true, he lov'd *Hepheſtion* beſt as a Favourite, becauſe he lov'd *Alexander*, but then he eſteem'd and honour'd *Craterus* moſt as a Friend, becauſe he lov'd the King. Wherefore theſe two great Men bore one another ſecret Grudges, and often claſh'd and quarrell'd ſo far, that once in *India* they drew upon one another, and were going to it in good earneſt, with their Friends on each ſide to ſecond them, till *Alexander* came up to them, and publickly reprov'd *Hepheſtion*, calling him Fool and Madman, not to be ſenſible that without his Favour

vour he was but a Cypher. He chid *Craterus* alſo in private very ſeverely, and then cauſing them both to come into his preſence, he reconcil'd them, at the ſame time ſwearing by *Jupiter Ammon*, and the reſt of the Gods, that he lov'd them two above all other Men; but if ever he perceiv'd them fall out again, he would be ſure to put both of them to death, at leaſt the Aggreſſor: After which, they neither ever did, or ſaid any thing, ſo much as in jeſt to offend one another.

None had more Authority among the *Macedonians* than *Philotas*, the Son of *Parmenio*: For beſides that he was valiant, and able to endure any Fatigue of War, he was alſo next to *Alexander* himſelf the moſt munificent, and the greateſt lover of his Friends; one of whom asking him for ſome Money, he commanded his Steward to give it him; and when he told him, he had not wherewith, *Have you not Plate then*, he ſaid, *and Cloaths of mine? turn them into Money rather than let my Friend go without.* But he was ſo very proud and inſolent by reaſon of his Wealth, and ſo over nice about his Perſon and Diet, more than became a private Man, that he awkardly and unſeemingly affected the Air and Character of Greatneſs, without the Civility and obliging Temper which ought to accompany it, and ſo gain'd nothing but Envy and Ill-will to that degree, that *Parmenio* would ſometimes tell him, *My Son, the meaner the better.* For he had

had long before been complain'd of, and accus'd to *Alexander*; particularly when *Darius* was overthrown in *Cilicia*, and an immenſe Booty was taken at *Damaſcus*, among the reſt of the Priſoners who were brought into the Camp, there was one *Antigone* of *Pydna*, a very handſom Woman, who fell to *Philotas* his ſhare. The young Man one day in his Cups, like an arrogant, bragging Soldier, told his Miſtreſs, *That all the great Actions were perform'd by him and his Father, the Glory and Benefit of which*, he ſaid, *together with the Title of King, that Stripling* Alexander *reap'd and enjoy'd by their means.* She could not hold, but diſcover'd what he had ſaid to one of her Acquaintance, and he, as is uſual in ſuch Caſes, to another, till at laſt it came to the King. When *Alexander* had heard what ſhe had to ſay, he commanded her to continue her Intrigue with *Philotas*, and give him an account from time to time of all that ſhould fall from him to this purpoſe: Who being through Inadvertency caught in this ſnare, ſometimes to gratifie his Paſſion, and ſometimes his Vain-glory, blurted out many fooliſh indiſcreet Speeches againſt the King in *Antigone's* hearing; of which though *Alexander* was inform'd, and convinc'd by ſtrong Evidence, yet he would take no notice of it at preſent, whether it was, that he confided in *Parmenio's* Affection and Loyalty, or that he apprehended their Authority and Intereſt in the Army. About this time one *Dimnus*,

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a *Macedonian* Native of *Chalæſtra*, conſpir'd againſt *Alexander*'s Life, and communicated his Deſign to a Youth whom he lov'd, nam'd *Nicomachus*, inviting him to be of the Party. But he not reliſhing the thing, reveal'd it to his Brother *Balinus*, who immediately addreſs'd himſelf to *Philotas*, requiring him to introduce them both to *Alexander*, to whom they had ſomething of great moment to impart, which very nearly concern'd him. But he, for what Reaſon is uncertain, went not with him, pretending the King was taken up with Affairs of more importance: And when they had urg'd him a ſecond time, and were ſtill ſlighted by him, they applied themſelves to another; by whoſe means being admitted into *Alexander*'s preſence, they firſt laid open *Dimnus* his Conſpiracy, and then repreſented *Philotas* his Negligence, who had taken ſo little notice of their repeated Solicitations; which extreamly exaſperated *Alexander*, eſpecially when ſending to apprehend *Dimnus*, he underſtood that he defended himſelf, and choſe rather to be ſlain than taken; for by his Death he thought he was depriv'd of the means of making a full diſcovery of the Plot. As ſoon as his Diſpleaſure againſt *Philotas* began to appear, preſently all his old Enemies ſhew'd themſelves, and ſaid openly, *The King was too eaſily impos'd on, to imagine, that one ſo inconſiderable as* Dimnus *the* Chalæſtrian, *ſhould of his own head undertake ſuch an Enterprize; that in all likelihood he was*

but ſubſervient to the Deſign, an Inſtrument that was mov'd by ſome greater Spring; that thoſe ought to be moſt ſtrictly examin'd about the Matter, whoſe Intereſt it was ſo much to conceal it. When they had once fill'd the King's Head with theſe and the like Speeches and Suſpicions, they loaded *Philotas* daily with innumerable Crimes, till at laſt they prevail'd to have him ſeiz'd, and put to the Queſtion, which was done in the preſence of the principal Officers, *Alexander* himſelf being plac'd behind the Tapeſtry, to underſtand what paſs'd. Where when he heard in what a miſerable Tone, and with what abject Submiſſions *Philotas* applied himſelf to *Hepheſtion*, he broke out in this manner: *Art thou ſo mean-ſpirited and effeminate*, Philotas, ſaid he, *and yet engage thy ſelf in ſo deſperate a Deſign?* After his Death, he preſently ſent into *Media* to take off *Parmenio* his Father, who had done brave Service under *Philip*, and was the only Man, eſpecially of his old Friends and Counſellors, who had encourag'd *Alexander* to invade *Aſia*. Of three Sons which he had in the Army, he had already loſt two, and now was himſelf put to death with the third. Theſe Actions rendred *Alexander* formidable to many of his Friends, and chiefly to *Antipater*, who thereupon to ſtrengthen himſelf, ſent Ambaſſadors privately to the *Ætolians*, to treat an Alliance with them; for they ſtood in fear of *Alexander*, becauſe they had deſtroy'd the *Oeniades*,

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of which when he was inform'd, he ſaid, *The Children of the* Oeniades *need not revenge their Father's Quarrel, for he would himſelf take care to puniſh the* Ætolians.

Not long after this happen'd the deplorable End of *Clitus*, which to thoſe who barely hear the matter of Fact, may ſeem more inhumane than that of *Philotas*. But if we take the Story with its Circumſtance of Time, and weigh the Cauſe, we ſhall find the King did it not on purpoſe, but by evil Chance, and that his Paſſion and Drunkenneſs were the occaſion of *Clitus* his Misfortune, which came to paſs in this manner. The King had a Preſent of *Græcian* Fruit brought him from the Sea-coaſt, which was ſo very freſh and fair, that he was ſurpriz'd at it, and call'd *Clitus* to him to ſee it, and to give him a ſhare of it. *Clitus* was then ſacrificing, but he immediately left off and came, follow'd by three Sheep, on whom the Drink-offering had been already pour'd, in order to ſacrifice them; which when *Alexander* ſaw, he told his Diviners, *Ariſtander*, and *Cleomantis* the *Lacedæmonian*, of it, and ask'd them what it meant: Who aſſuring him, it was an ill Omen, he commanded them in all haſte to offer Sacrifices for *Clitus* his Safety, foraſmuch as three days before he himſelf had ſeen a ſtrange Viſion in his Sleep, of *Clitus* all in Mourning, ſitting by *Parmenio*'s Sons who were dead. *Clitus* however ſtaid not to finiſh his Devotions, but came ſtrait to Supper with

the King, who the ſame day had ſacrific'd to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. And when they had drank pretty hard, ſome of the Company fell a ſinging the Verſes of one *Pranichus*, or as others ſay, of *Pierion*, which were made upon thoſe Captains who had been lately worſted by the *Barbarians*, on purpoſe to diſgrace and turn them to ridicule, which ſo offended the grave ancient Men, that they reprov'd both the Author, and the Singer of the Verſes, though *Alexander* and the Blades about him were mightily pleas'd to hear them, and encourag'd them to go on: Till at laſt *Clitus* who had drank too much, and was beſides of a froward, and wilful Temper, was ſo nettled that he could hold no longer, ſaying, *It was not well done to expoſe the* Macedonians *ſo before the* Barbarians, *and their Enemies, ſince though it was their unhappineſs to be overcome, yet they were much better Men than thoſe who laugh'd at them.* To this *Alexander* replied, *That ſure* Clitus *ſpoke ſo tenderly of Cowardiſe when he call'd it Miſfortune, only to excuſe himſelf*: At which *Clitus* ſtarting up, *This Cowardiſe, as you are pleas'd to term it*, ſaid he to him, *ſav'd your Life, though you pretend to be ſprung from the Gods, when you were running away from* Spithridates *his Sword; and it is by the expence of* Macedonian *Blood, and by theſe Wounds, that you are now rais'd to ſuch an height, as to deſpiſe and diſown your Father* Philip, *and adopt your ſelf the Son of* Jupiter Ammon. *Thou baſe*

Fellow,

Fellow, ſaid *Alexander*, who was now throughly exaſperated, *doſt thou think to utter theſe things every where of me, and ſtir up the* Macedonians *to Sedition, and not be puniſh'd for it? We are ſufficiently puniſh'd already*, anſwer'd Clitus, *if this be the Recompence of our Toyls; and eſteem thoſe happieſt, who have not liv'd to ſee their Countrymen ignominiouſly ſcourg'd with* Median *Rods, and forc'd to ſue to the* Perſians *to have acceſs to their King.* While he talk'd thus at random, and thoſe who were by thwarted and reprov'd him, the old Men endeavour'd all they could to compoſe the Buſineſs. *Alexander* in the mean time turning about to *Xenodochus* the *Cardian*, and *Artemius* the *Colophenian*, ask'd them, *If they were not of opinion, that the reſt of the* Græcians, *in compariſon with the* Macedonians, *behav'd themſelves like ſo many demi-Gods among wild Beaſts?* But *Clitus* for all this would not give over, deſiring *Alexander* to ſpeak out, if he had any thing more to ſay, or elſe why did he invite Men who were Free-born, and us'd to ſpeak their minds openly without reſtraint, to ſup with him? he had better live and converſe with *Barbarians*, and conquer'd Slaves, who would not ſcruple to adore his *Perſian* Girdle, and his white Tunick. Which words ſo provok'd *Alexander*, that not able to ſuppreſs his Anger any longer, he threw one of the Apples that lay upon the Table at him, and hit him, and then look'd about

for his Sword. But *Ariſtophanes*, one of his Life-guard, had hid that out of the way, and others came about him, and beſought him to ſtay his Fury, but in vain; for breaking from them, he call'd out aloud to his Guards in the *Macedonian* Language, which was a certain ſign of ſome great Diſturbance towards, and commanded a Trumpeter to ſound, giving him a Box on the Ear for not preſently obeying him; though afterwards the ſame Man was commended for diſobeying an Order, which would have put the whole Army into Tumult and Confuſion. *Clitus* continued ſtill in the ſame quarrelſom Humour, till his Friends with much ado forc'd him out of the Room; but he came in again immediately at another Door, very irreverently and confidently ſinging this Verſe out of *Euripides* his *Andromache*.

Alas in Greece *how ill Affairs are govern'd!*

Then *Alexander* ſnatching a Spear from one of the Soldiers, met *Clitus* as he was putting by the Curtain that hung before the Door, and ran him through the Body, ſo that he fell down, and after a few Sighs and Groans died. At ſight of which the King's Anger preſently vaniſhing, he came perfectly to himſelf, and when he ſaw his Friends about him all in a profound Silence, he pull'd the Spear out of the dead Body, and would have thruſt

it

it into his own Throat, if the Guards had not held his Hands, and by main Force carried him away into his Chamber, where all that night and the next day he wept bitterly, till being quite ſpent with crying and lamenting, he lay as it were ſpeechleſs, only fetching deep Sighs. His Friends apprehending ſome dangerous conſequence of his Silence, broke into the Room; but he took no notice of what any of them ſaid, till *Ariſtander* putting him in mind of the Viſion he had ſeen concerning *Clitus*, and the Prodigy that follow'd, as if all had come to paſs by an unavoidable Fatality, he then ſeem'd to moderate his Grief. They alſo brought *Calliſthenes* the Philoſopher, who was nearly related to *Ariſtotle*, and *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*, to him. *Calliſthenes* endeavour'd to alleviate his Sorrow with moral Diſcourſes, and gentle Inſinuations, without offending him. But *Anaxarchus*, who was always ſingular in his Method of Philoſophy, and was thought to ſlight thoſe of his own Time, as ſoon as he came in, cried out aloud, *Is this the* Alexander *whom the World looks upon with ſuch admiration? See how meanly he weeps like an abject Captive, for fear of the Cenſure and Reproach of Men, to whom he himſelf ought to be a Law, and meaſure of Equity, if he would make a right uſe of his Victories, as ſupream Lord and Governour of all, and not be a Slave to a vain, idle Opinion. Do not you know*, ſaid he, *that*

Jupiter *is repreſented to have Juſtice and Law on each hand of him*? the meaning of which is, *that all the Actions of a Prince are lawful and juſt.* With theſe and the like Speeches, *Anaxarchus* indeed allay'd the King's Grief, but withal corrupted his Manners, rendring him more diſſolute and violent than he was before. Nor did he fail by theſe means to inſinuate himſelf into his Favour, and to make *Calliſthenes* his Converſation, which otherwiſe becauſe of his Auſterity was not very acceptable, more uneaſie and diſagreeable to him.

It happen'd that theſe two Philoſophers meeting at an Entertainment, where the Company diſcours'd of the Seaſons of the Year, and the Temperature of the Air; *Calliſthenes* joyn'd with their opinion, who held, that thoſe Countreys were colder, and the Winter ſharper there than in *Greece*; which *Anaxarchus* would by no means allow of, but contradicted with great Obſtinacy. *Sure*, ſaid Calliſthenes to him, *you muſt needs confeſs this Country to be colder than* Greece, *for there you had but one thread-bare Cloak to keep out the coldeſt Winter, and here you have three good warm Mantles one over another.* This piece of Raillery not only exceedingly exaſperated *Anaxarchus*, but likewiſe piqu'd the other Pretenders to Learning, and the Crowd of Flatterers, who could not endure to ſee him ſo belov'd and follow'd by the Youth,

and

and no leſs eſteem'd by the ancient Men for his good Life, his Modeſty, Gravity, and being contented with his Condition. All which confirm'd what he gave out of his Deſign in this Voyage to *Alexander*, that it was only to get his Countrymen recall'd from Baniſhment, and to rebuild and repeople *Abdera* where he was born. Beſides the Envy which his great Reputation rais'd; he alſo by his own Deportment gave thoſe who wiſh'd him ill, opportunity to do him Miſchief. For when he was invited to publick Entertainments, he would moſt-times refuſe to come, or if he were preſent at any, he put a Conſtraint upon the Company by his Moroſeneſs and Silence, ſeeming to diſapprove of every thing they did or ſaid; which made *Alexander* ſay this of him.

That vain pretence to Wiſdom I deteſt,
Where a Man's blind to his own Intereſt.

Being with many more invited to ſup with the King, he was commanded to make an Oration *Extempore* while they were drinking, in praiſe of the *Macedonians*; and he did it with ſuch a Torrent of Eloquence, that all who heard it exceedingly applauded him, and threw their Garlands upon him, only *Alexander* told him out of *Euripides*,

I won-

I wonder not that you have ſpoke ſo well,
'Tis eaſie on good Subjects to excel.

Therefore, ſaid he, *if you will ſhew the force of your Eloquence, tell my* Macedonians *their Faults, and diſpraiſe them, that by hearing their Errors, they may learn to be better for the future.* *Calliſthenes* preſently obey'd him, retracting all he had ſaid before, and inveighing againſt the *Macedonians* with great freedom, added, *That* Philip *thriv'd, and grew powerful, chiefly by the Diſcord of the* Græcians, applying this Verſe to him:

Where-ever Feuds and civil Diſcords reign,
There the worſt Men moſt Reputation gain.

Which ſo diſoblig'd the *Macedonians*, that he was odious to them ever after. And *Alexander* ſaid, *That inſtead of his Eloquence, he had only made his Ill-will appear in what he had ſpoken.* *Hermippus* aſſures us, that one *Stroebus*, a Servant whom *Calliſthenes* kept to read to him, gave this account of theſe Paſſages afterwards to *Ariſtotle*; and that when he perceiv'd the King grow more and more averſe to him, he mutter'd this Verſe out of *Homer* two or three times to himſelf, as he was going away:

Death

Death ſeiz'd at laſt on Great Patroclus *too,*
Though he in Virtue far ſurmouted you.

Not without Reaſon therefore did *Ariſtotle* give this Character of *Calliſthenes*, *That he was indeed an excellent Orator, but had no Judgment at all.* For though we grant, it was reſolutely and Philoſophically done of him, not to worſhip the King, though by talking publickly againſt that which the beſt and graveſt of the *Macedonians* only repin'd at in ſecret, he put a ſtop to their baſe Adoration, and deliver'd the *Græcians* and *Alexander* himſelf from a great deal of Infamy: yet in the cloſe he ruin'd himſelf by it, becauſe he went too roughly to work, as if he would have forc'd the King to that which he ſhould have effected by Reaſon and Perſuaſion. *Chares* of *Mitylene* writes, That at a Banquet, *Alexander* after he had drank, reach'd the Cup to one of his Friends, who receiving it, roſe up towards the Domeſtick Altar, and when he had drank, firſt ador'd, and then kiſs'd *Alexander*, and afterwards ſate down at the Table with the reſt. Which they all did one after another, till it came to *Calliſthenes* his Turn, who taking the Cup, drank it off, when the King, who was engag'd in Diſcourſe with *Hepheſtion*, did not mind him, and then offer'd to kiſs him. But *Demetrius*, ſirnam'd *Pheidon*, interpos'd, ſaying, *Sir, by no means let him kiſs you, for he only of us all has*

has refus'd to adore you; upon which, the King declin'd it, and all the Concern *Calliſthenes* ſhew'd, was, that he ſaid aloud, *Then I go away with a Kiſs leſs than the reſt.* The Diſpleaſure he incurr'd by this Action, was improv'd by *Hepheſtion*'s affirming, that he had broke his word to him, in not paying the King the ſame Veneration that others did, as he had faithfully promis'd to do: And to finiſh his Diſgrace, *Lyſimachus* and *Agnon* added, That this Sophiſter went about priding himſelf, as if he ſtood in the Gap againſt Arbitrary Power; that the young men all ran after him, and honour'd him as the only man among ſo many thouſands, who had the Courage to preſerve his Liberty. Therefore when *Hermolaus* his Conſpiracy came to be diſcover'd, the Crimes which his Enemies laid to his charge were the more eaſily believ'd, particularly that when the young man ask'd him, *What he ſhould do to be the moſt illuſtrious Perſon on Earth*; he told him, *The readieſt way was to kill him who was already ſo.* And that to incite him to commit the Fact, he bid him not be aw'd by his golden Bed, but remember, *Alexander* was a Man equally infirm and vulnerable as another. However none of *Hermolaus* his Accomplices, in the extremity of their Torments, made any mention of *Calliſthenes* his being engag'd in the Deſign. Nay *Alexander* himſelf, in the Letters which he wrote ſoon after to *Craterus*,

rus, *Attalus*, and *Alcetas*, tells them, that thoſe who were put to the Rack, confeſs'd they had enter'd into the Conſpiracy wholly of themſelves, without any others being privy to, or guilty of it. But yet afterwards, in a Letter to *Antipater*, he accuſes *Calliſthenes* of the ſame Crime. *The young Men*, ſays he, *were ſton'd to death by the* Macedonians, *but for the Sophiſter*, meaning *Calliſthenes*, *I will take care to puniſh him, with them too who ſent him to me, and who harbour thoſe in their Cities who conſpire againſt my Life.* By which Expreſſions it appears, he had no very good opinion of *Ariſtotle*, by whom *Calliſthenes* was educated upon the ſcore of his Relation to him, being his Neece *Hero*'s Son. His Death is diverſly related: Some ſay, he was hang'd by *Alexander*'s Command; others, that he died of Sickneſs in Priſon; but *Chares* writes, he was kept in Chains ſeven months after he was apprehended, on purpoſe that he might be proceeded againſt in full Council, when *Ariſtotle* ſhould be preſent; and that being grown very fat, he died of the lowſie Diſeaſe, about the time that *Alexander* was wounded in the Country of the *Malli Oxydracæ*; all which came to paſs afterwards.

For to go on in order: *Demaratus* of *Corinth*, a Man of a great Age, was at this time very deſirous to give the King a Viſit, and when he had ſeen him, ſaid, *He pitied*

the

the misfortune of thoſe Græcians, *who were ſo unhappy to die before they had beheld* Alexander *ſeated on the Throne of* Darius. But he did not long enjoy the Effects of his Bounty to him, any otherwiſe, than that ſoon after falling ſick and dying, he had a magnificent Funeral, and the Army rais'd him a Monument of Earth fourſcore Cubits high, and of a vaſt Circumference. His Aſhes were convey'd in a very rich Chariot drawn by four Horſes to the Sea-ſide.

Alexander now intent upon his Expedition into *India*, took notice, that his Soldiers were ſo charg'd with Booty, that it hindred their marching; to remedy which, at break of day, as ſoon as the Baggage-Waggons were laden, firſt he ſet Fire to his own, and his Friends, and then commanded thoſe to be burnt which belong'd to the reſt of the Army. An Action which in the deliberation of it ſeem'd more dangerous and difficult than it prov'd in the execution, with which few were diſſatisfied; for moſt of them, as if they had been inſpir'd with Zeal from above, with loud Outcries and warlike Shoutings, furniſh'd one another with what was abſolutely neceſſary, and burnt and deſtroy'd all that was ſuperfluous, the ſight of which redoubled *Alexander*'s Vigor and Alacrity.

He

He was now grown very ſevere and inexorable in puniſhing thoſe who committed any Fault; for he put *Menander*, one of his Friends, to death, for deſerting a Fortreſs, where he had plac'd him in Garriſon, and ſhot *Orſodates*, one of the *Barbarians*, who revolted from him, with his own Hand. At this time a Sheep happen'd to yean a Lamb, with the perfect ſhape and colour of a *Tiara* upon the Head, and Teſticles on each ſide; which Portent *Alexander* ſo deteſted, that he immediately caus'd his *Babylonian* Prieſts, whom he uſually carried about with him for ſuch purpoſes, to purifie him, and withal told his Friends, he was not ſo much concern'd for his own ſake, as for theirs, out of an apprehenſion that God after his Death might ſuffer his Empire to fall into the Hands of ſome degenerate, impotent Perſon. But this Fear was ſoon remov'd, by a wonderful thing that happen'd not long after, and was thought to preſage better: For *Proxemus*, a *Macedonian*, who was the chief of thoſe who look'd to the King's Furniture, as he was breaking Ground near the River *Oxus*, to ſet up the Royal Pavilion, diſcover'd a Spring of groſs oily Liquor, which after the top was taken off, ran pure, clear Oil, without any difference either of Taſte or Smell, having exactly the ſame ſmoothneſs and brightneſs, and that too in a Country where no Olives grew. The Water indeed of the River *Oxus*

is

is ſaid to be ſo fat, that it leaves a Gloſs on their Skins who bathe themſelves in it. Whatever might be the Cauſe, certain it is, that *Alexander* was wonderfully pleas'd with it, as appears by his Letters to *Antipater*, where he tells him, He look'd upon it as one of the moſt conſiderable Preſages that God had ever favour'd him with. The Diviners told him, it ſignify'd his Expedition would be glorious in the Event, but very painful, and attended with many Difficulties; for Oil, they ſaid, was beſtow'd on Mankind by God as a Refreſhment of their Labours. Nor did they judge amiſs; for he expos'd himſelf to many Hazards in the Battels which he fought, and receiv'd very deep and dangerous Wounds, beſides the mouldring away of his Army, through the unwholeſomeneſs of the Air, and for want of neceſſary Proviſions. But he ſtill applied himſelf to ſurmount Fortune, and whatever oppos'd him, by his Reſolution and Virtue, and thought nothing impoſſible to a daring, valiant Man. Therefore when he beſieg'd *Siſimethres*, who held an inacceſſible, impregnable Rock againſt him, and his Soldiers began to deſpair of taking it, he ask'd *Oxyartes*, *Whether* Siſimethres *was a Man of Courage?* who aſſuring him, *he was the greateſt Coward alive*; *then you tell me*, ſaid he, *that the Place is our own, if the Commander of it be a* Poltron: And in a little time he

ſo

ſo terrified *Siſimethres*, that he took it without any difficulty. At an Attack which he made upon ſuch another ſteep Place with ſome of his *Macedonian* Soldiers, he call'd to one whoſe Name was *Alexander*, and told him, *It would become him to behave himſelf gallantly for his Names ſake.* The Youth fought bravely, and was kill'd in the Action, at which he was ſenſibly afflicted. Another time, ſeeing his Men march ſlowly and unwillingly to the Siege of a Place call'd *Nyſa*, becauſe of a deep River between them and the Town, he advanc'd before them, and ſtanding upon the Bank, *What a miſerable Man*, ſaid he, *am I, that I have not learn'd to ſwim?* and then was hardly diſſuaded from endeavouring to paſs it upon his Shield. Here, after the Aſſault was over, the Ambaſſadors, who from ſeveral Towns which he had block'd up, came to ſubmit to him, and make their Peace, were ſurpriz'd to find him rough, and arm'd at all Points, without any Pomp or Ceremony about him; and when his Attendants brought him a Cuſhion, he made the eldeſt of them, nam'd *Acuphis*, take it, and ſit down upon it. The old Man, charm'd with his Magnanimity and Courteſie, ask'd him, *What his Countrymen ſhould do to merit his Friendſhip? I would have them*, ſaid Alexander, *chooſe you to govern them, and ſend one hundred of the moſt conſiderable and moſt*

worthy Men among them to remain with me as Hoſtages: I ſhall govern them with more eaſe Sir, replied *Acuphis* ſmiling, *if I ſend you ſo many of the worſt, rather than the beſt of my Subjects.*

The Extent of King *Taxiles* his Dominions in *India* was thought to be as large as *Ægypt*, abounding in good Paſtures, and above all in excellent Fruits. The King himſelf had the Reputation of a wiſe Man, and at his firſt Interview with *Alexander*, he ſpoke to him in theſe terms: *To what purpoſe*, ſaid he, *ſhould we make War upon one another, if the deſign of your coming into theſe Parts be not to rob us of our Water, or our neceſſary Food, which are the only things that wiſe men are indiſpenſably oblig'd to fight for? As for other Riches and Poſſeſſions, as they are accounted in the eye of the World, if I am better provided of them than you, I am ready to let you ſhare with me; but if Fortune has been more liberal to you than me, I will not decline your Favours, but accept them with all the grateful Acknowledgments that are due to a Benefactor.* This Diſcourſe pleas'd *Alexander* ſo much, that embracing him, *Do you think*, ſaid he, to him, *your fair Speeches, and affable Behaviour, will bring you off in this Interview without fighting? No, you ſhall not eſcape ſo, for as to matter of Benefits, I will contend with you ſo far, that how obliging ſoever you are, you ſhall not have the better*

of

of me. Then receiving ſome Preſents from him, he return'd him others of greater value, and to compleat his Bounty, gave him in Money ready Coin'd, 1000 Talents; at which his old Friends were exceedingly diſpleas'd, but it gain'd him the hearts of many of the *Barbarians.* The valianteſt of the *Indians* now taking Pay of ſeveral Cities, undertook to defend them, and did it ſo bravely, that they put *Alexander* to a great deal of Trouble and Fatigue, till having made an Agreement with him, upon the ſurrender of a Place, he fell upon them as they were marching away, and put them all to Sword. This one breach of his word was a perpetual Blemiſh to him, though on all other occaſions he had manag'd his Wars with that Juſtice and Honour that became a King. Nor was he leſs incommoded by the *Indian* Philoſophers, who inveigh'd bitterly againſt thoſe Princes who were of his Party, and ſollicited the free Cities to oppoſe him, therefore he took ſeveral of them, and caus'd them to be hang'd.

Alexander in his own Letters has given us an account of his War with *Porus:* He ſays, The two Armies were ſeparated by the River *Hydaſpes*, on whoſe oppoſite Bank, *Porus* continually kept his Elephants in order of Battel, with their Heads towards their Enemies, to guard the Paſſage. That he was forc'd every day to make great Noiſes in his

Camp, and give his Men conſtant Alarms, to accuſtom them by degrees not to be afraid of the *Barbarians*. That one cold, dark Night he paſs'd the River, above the Place where the Enemy lay, into a little Iſland, with part of his Foot, and the beſt of his Horſe. Here there fell ſo violent a Shower of Rain, accompanied with Lightning, and fiery Whirlwinds, that ſeeing ſome of his Men burnt and deſtroy'd by the Lightning, he quitted the Iſland, and made over to the other ſide. The *Hydaſpes*, now after the Storm, was ſo ſwoln and grown ſo rapid, as to make a Breach in the Bank, at which part of the River ran out, ſo that when he came to land, he found very ill ſtanding for his Men, the Place being extream ſlippery and undermin'd, and ready to be blown up by the Currents on both ſides. In this Diſtreſs, *Oneſicritus* tells us, he was heard to ſay, *Oh ye* Athenians! *to what incredible Dangers do I expoſe my ſelf to merit your Praiſes?* But to proceed, *Alexander* ſays here, they left their little Boats, and paſs'd the Breach in their Armour up to the Breaſt in Water; and then he advanc'd with his Horſe about 20 Furlongs before his Foot, concluding, that if the Enemy charg'd him with their Cavalry, he ſhould be too ſtrong for them; if with their Foot, his own would come up time enough to his Aſſiſtance. Nor did he judge amiſs; for being charg'd by 1000 Horſe, and

60

60 arm'd Chariots, which advanc'd before their main Body, he took all the Chariots, and kill'd 400 Horſe upon the Place. *Porus* by this ſmart Execution, gueſſing that *Alexander* himſelf was gotten over, came on with his whole Army, except a Party which he left behind, to hold the reſt of the *Macedonians* in Play, if they ſhould attempt to paſs the River. But *Alexander* apprehending the multitudes of the Enemy, and to avoid the ſhock of their Elephants, would not joyn Battel with them in Front, but dividing his Forces, attack'd their left Wing himſelf, and commanded *Coenus* to fall upon the right, which was perform'd with good Succeſs. For by this means both Wings being broken, they retir'd when they found themſelves preſs'd cloſe, to their Elephants, and then rallying, renew'd the Fight ſo obſtinately, that it was three hours after Noon before they were entirely defeated. This deſcription of the Battel the Conqueror has left us in his own Epiſtles.

Almoſt all Writers agree, that *Porus* was four Cubits and an half high, and that when he was upon his Elephant, which was of the largeſt ſize, his Stature and Bulk were ſo anſwerable, that he appear'd to be but proportionably mounted. This Elephant, during the whole Battel, gave many proofs of wonderful Underſtanding, and a particular Care of the King, whom as long as he was

ſtrong, and in condition to fight, he defended with great Courage, repelling thoſe who ſet upon him; and as ſoon as he perceiv'd him ready to faint, by reaſon of his many Wounds, and multitude of Darts that were thrown at him, to prevent his falling off, he ſoftly kneel'd down, and then with his Probos's gently drew every Dart out of his Body. When *Porus* was taken Priſoner, and *Alexander* ask'd him, *How he expected to be us'd?* he anſwer'd, *As a King ought to be; for that expreſſion*, he ſaid, when the ſame Queſtion was put to him a ſecond time, *comprehended every thing.* And *Alexander* indeed dealt very generouſly with him, for he not only ſuffer'd him to govern his own Kingdom as his Lieutenant, but added to it a large Province of ſome free People whom he had newly ſubdued, which conſiſted of fifteen ſeveral Nations, and contain'd 5000 conſiderable Towns, beſides abundance of Villages. Another Government three times as large as this, he beſtow'd on *Philip*, one of his Friends.

Some time after the Battel with *Porus*, moſt Authors agree, that *Bucephalus* died under cure of his Wounds, or as *Oneſicritus* ſays, of Fatigue and Age, being thirty years old. *Alexander* was no leſs concern'd at his death, than if he had loſt an old Companion, or an intimate Friend, and built a City, which he nam'd *Bucephalia*, in memory of him, on the

the Bank of the River *Hydaſpes*, and another in remembrance of his beloved favourite Dog *Peritas*, as *Sotion* aſſures us, he was inform'd by *Potamon* of *Lesbos*.

But this laſt Combat with *Porus* took off the edge of the *Macedonians* Courage, and hindred their farther progreſs in *India*. For having with much ado defeated him, who brought but 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horſe into the Field, they thought they had reaſon to oppoſe *Alexander*'s Deſign, of obliging them to paſs the *Ganges* too, which they were told was four miles over, and an 100 fathom deep, and the Banks on the farther ſide cover'd with multitudes of Enemies. For they had intelligence that the Kings of the *Gandaritans* and *Præſians* expected them there with 80000 Horſe, 200000 Foot, 8000 arm'd Chariots, and 6000 fighting Elephants. Nor was this a falſe, vain Report, ſpread on purpoſe to diſcourage them; for *Androcottus*, who not long after reign'd in thoſe Parts, made a Preſent of 500 Elephants at once to *Seleucus*, and with an Army of 600000 men ſubdued all *India*. *Alexander* at firſt was ſo griev'd and enrag'd at his mens Reluctancy, that he ſhut himſelf up in his Tent, and in a deſponding manner threw himſelf upon the Ground, declaring, if they would not paſs the *Ganges*, he ow'd them no thanks for any thing they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now, was plainly to confeſs himſelf van-

quiſh'd. But at laſt, the prudent Remonſtrances and Perſwaſions of his Friends, who inform'd him truly how the Caſe ſtood, and the Tears and Lamentations of his Soldiers, who in a ſuppliant manner crowded about the entrance of his Tent, prevail'd with him to think of returning. Yet before he decamp'd, he would needs impoſe upon Poſterity, by leaving behind him ſome fictitious Monuments of his Glory; ſuch as Arms of an extraordinary bigneſs, and Mangers for Horſes, with Bits of Bridles above the uſual ſize, which he ſet up, and diſtributed in ſeveral Places. He erected Altars alſo to the Gods, which the Kings of the *Præſians* even in our Time highly reverence, and often paſs the River to ſacrifice upon them after the *Græcian* manner. *Androcottus*, then a Youth, ſaw *Alexander* there, and has often afterwards been heard to ſay, That he miſs'd but little of making himſelf Maſter of thoſe Countries; their King, who then reign'd, was ſo hated and deſpis'd for the viciouſneſs of his Life, and the meanneſs of his Extraction.

Alexander decamping from hence, had a mind to ſee the Ocean; to which purpoſe he caus'd a great many Veſſels with Oars, and ſmall Boats to be built, in which he fell gently down the Rivers, making merry as he went, and order'd it ſo, that his Navigation was neither unprofitable nor unactive; for by making ſeveral Deſcents, he took in the for-

tifi'd

tifi'd Towns, and conſequently the Country on both ſides. But at the Siege of a City of the *Mallians*, who are the valienteſt People of *India*, he ran great danger of his Life; for having beaten off the Defendants with ſhowers of Arrows, he was the firſt man that mounted the Wall by a ſcaling Ladder, which as ſoon as he was up, broke, and left him almoſt alone expos'd to the Darts, which the *Barbarians* threw at him in great numbers from below. In this Diſtreſs, turning himſelf as well as he could, he leap'd down in the midſt of his Enemies, and had the good Fortune to light upon his Feet. The brightneſs and clattering of his Armour, when he came to the Ground, made the *Barbarians* think, they ſaw Rays of Light, or ſome Phantoſm playing before his Body, which frighted them ſo at firſt, that they ran away, and diſpers'd themſelves, till ſeeing him ſeconded but by two of his Guards, they fell upon him Hand to Hand, and though he defended himſelf very bravely, wounded him through his Armour with their Swords and Spears. One who ſtood farther off, drew a Bow with ſuch juſt Strength, that the Arrow finding its way through his Cuiraſs, ſtuck in his Ribs under the Breaſt. This Stroke was ſo violent, that it made him give back, and ſet one Knee to the Ground, which as ſoon as he that ſhot him, perceiv'd, he came up to him with his drawn Scimitar, thinking

thinking to diſpatch him, and had done it, if *Peuceſtes* and *Limnæus* had not interpos'd, who were both wounded, *Limnæus* mortally, but *Peuceſtes* ſtood his Ground, while *Alexander* kill'd the *Barbarian.* But this did not free him from Danger; for beſides many other Wounds, at laſt he receiv'd ſo weighty a ſtroke of a Club upon his Neck, that he was forc'd to lean his Body againſt the Wall, yet ſtill look'd undauntedly upon the Enemy. When he was reduc'd to this Extremity, the *Macedonians* breaking in to his Aſſiſtance, very opportunely took him up, juſt as he was fainting away, having loſt all ſenſe of what was done near him, and convey'd him to his Tent, upon which it was preſently reported all over the Camp that he was dead. But when they had with great difficulty and pains ſaw'd out the Shaft of the Arrow which was of Wood, and ſo with much ado got off his Cuiraſs, they came to cut the Head of it, which was three fingers broad, and four long, and ſtuck faſt in the Bone. During the Operation, he was taken with almoſt mortal Swoonings, but when it was out, he came to himſelf again. Ye though all Danger was paſt, he continued very weak, and confin'd himſelf a great while to a regular Diet, and the method of his Cure, till one day hearing the *Macedonians* were ſo deſirous to ſee him, that they were ready to mutiny, he put on his Robe, and when he had

ſhew'd

ſhew'd himſelf to them, and ſacrific'd to the Gods, without more delay he went on board again, and as he coaſted along, ſubdued a great deal of the Country on both ſides, and took in ſeveral conſiderable Cities.

In this Voyage he took 10 of the *Indian* Philoſophers Priſoners, who had been moſt active in perſwading *Sabbas* to rebel, and beſides that had done the *Macedonians* abundance of Miſchief. Theſe Men becauſe they go ſtark naked, are call'd *Gymnoſophiſts*, and are reputed to be extreamly ſharp and ſuccinct in their Anſwers to whatſoever is propounded to them, which he made tryal of, by putting difficult Queſtions to them, withal letting them know, that thoſe whoſe Anſwers were not pertinent, ſhould be put to death, of which he made the eldeſt of them Judge. The firſt being ask'd, *Which he thought moſt numerous, the Dead or the Living?* Anſwer'd, *The Living, becauſe thoſe who are dead, are not at all.* Of the 2*d* he deſir'd to know, *Whether the Sea or Land produc'd the largeſt Beaſt?* Who told him, *The Land, for the Sea was but a part of it.* His Queſtion to the 3*d* was, *Which was the craftieſt Animal? That*, ſaid he, *which Mankind is not yet acquainted with.* He bid the 4*th* tell him, *What Arguments he us'd to* Sabbas *to perſwade him to revolt? No other*, ſaid he, *than that he ſhould live with Honour, or periſh in the Attempt.* Of the 5*th* he ask'd, *Which*

was

was eldeſt, Night or Day? The Philoſopher reply'd, *Day was eldeſt, by one day at leaſt:* But perceiving *Alexander* not well ſatisfied with that Account, he added, *That he ought not to wonder, if ſtrange Queſtions had as odd Anſwers made to them.* Then he went on, and enquir'd of the next, *What a Man ſhould do to be exceedingly belov'd? He muſt be very powerful*, ſaid he, *without making himſelf too much fear'd.* The Anſwer of the 7*th* to his Queſtion, *How a Man might be a God?* was, *If he could do that which was impoſſible for Men to perform.* The 8*th* told him, *Life was ſtronger than Death, becauſe it ſupported ſo many Miſeries.* And the laſt being ask'd, *How long he thought it decent for a Man to live?* ſaid, *Till Death appear'd more deſirable than Life.* Then *Alexander* turn'd to him whom he had made Judge, and commanded him to give Sentence. *All that I can determine*, ſaid he, *is, that they have every one anſwer'd worſe than another. No, that they have not*, ſaid the King, *but however thou ſhalt die firſt, becauſe thou judgeſt ſo ill. You will not deal ſo with me, Sir*, reply'd the Gymnoſophiſt, *if you intend to be as good as your word, which was, that he ſhould die firſt who anſwer'd worſt, which I have not done, for you have not ask'd me any Queſtion.* In concluſion he gave them Preſents, and diſmiſs'd them. But to thoſe who were in greateſt Reputation among them, and liv'd a private quiet Life, he ſent *Oneſicritus*,

critus, one of *Diogenes* the *Cynicks* Diſciples, deſiring them to come to him. *Calanus* very arrogantly and rudely commanded him *to ſtrip himſelf, and hear what he ſaid, naked, otherwiſe he would not ſpeak a word to him, though he came from* Jupiter *himſelf.* But *Dandamis* receiv'd him with more Civility, and hearing him diſcourſe of *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and *Diogenes*, told him, *He thought them Men of great Parts, and to have err'd in nothing ſo much, as in having too great Reſpect for the Laws and Conſtitutions of their Country.* Others ſay, he only ask'd him the Reaſon, *Why* Alexander *undertook ſo long a Voyage to come into thoſe Parts?* *Taxiles* perſwaded *Calanus* to wait upon *Alexander*; his proper Name was *Sphines*, but becauſe he was wont to ſay *Cale*, which in the *Indian* Tongue ſignifies, *God ſave you*, when he ſaluted thoſe he met with any where, the *Græcians* call'd him *Calanus*. He is ſaid to have ſhewn *Alexander* an inſtructive Emblem of Government, which was this: He threw a dry ſhrivel'd Hide upon the Ground, and trod upon the edge of it; the Skin when it was preſs'd in one place, ſtill roſe up in another whereſoever he trod round about it, till he ſet his foot in the middle, which made all the parts lye even and quiet. The meaning of this Similitude was, that he ought to reſide moſt in the middle and Heart of his Empire, and not ſpend too much time on the Borders of it.

His

His Voyage down the Rivers took up ſeven Months time, and when he came to the Sea, he ſail'd to an Iſland which he call'd *Scilluſtis*, others *Pſiltucis*, where going aſhore, he ſacrific'd and made what Obſervations he could of the Nature of the Sea, and the Sea-coaſt. Then having beſought the Gods, that no other Man might ever go beyond the Bounds of this Expedition, he order'd his Fleet, of which he made *Nearchus* Admiral, and *Oneſicritus* Pilot, to ſail round about, leaving *India* on the right hand, and return'd himſelf by Land through the Country of the *Orites*, where he was reduc'd to great Straits for want of Proviſions, and loſt abundance of Men, ſo that of an Army of 120000 Foot, and 15000 Horſe, he ſcarce brought back above a 4*th* part out of *India*, they were ſo diminiſh'd by Diſeaſes, ill Diet, and the ſcorching Heats, but moſt by Famine. For their March was through an uncultivated Country, whoſe Inhabitants far'd hardly, and had none but a little ill Breed of Sheep, whoſe Fleſh was rank and unſavoury, by reaſon of their continual feeding upon Sea-fiſh.

After 60 days March he came into *Gedroſia*, where he found great Plenty of all things, which the neighbouring Kings, and Governours of Provinces hearing of his Approach, had taken care to provide. From hence when he had re-enforc'd his Army, he continued his March through *Carmania*, feaſting all the way

way for 7 days together. He with his moſt intimate Friends banqueted and revell'd night and day, upon a Stage erected on a lofty, conſpicuous Scaffold, which with a ſlow, majeſtick Pace, was drawn by 8 Horſes. This was follow'd by a great many Chariots, whereof ſome were cover'd with Tapeſtry of Purple, and other Colours, and ſome with green Boughs, which were ſupplied with freſh as they wither'd, and in them the reſt of his Friends and Commanders drinking, and crown'd with Garlands of Flowers. Here was now no Target, or Helmet, or Spear to be ſeen, inſtead of Armour, the Soldiers handled nothing but Cups and Goblets, and drinking Bowls of *Thericles* his Make, which they dipp'd into larger Veſſels, and drank Healths to one another, ſome ſitting cloſe to it, others as they went along. All Places reſounded with Muſick of Pipes and Flutes, with Odes and Songs, and Women dancing as in the Rites of *Bacchus*; for this diſorderly wandring March, beſides the drinking part of it, was accompanied with all the Looſneſs and Inſolence of *Bacchanals*, as much as if the God himſelf had been there to countenance and carry on the Debauch. As ſoon as he came to the Royal Palace of *Gedroſia*, he again refreſh'd and feaſted his Army, and one day after he had drank pretty hard, (it is ſaid) went to ſee a Prize of Dancing contended for, in which his Minion *Bagoas*, who defraid

defraid the expence of it, having the Victory, croſs'd the Theater in his dancing Habit, and ſate down cloſe by him, which ſo pleas'd the *Macedonians*, that they made loud Acclamations for him to kiſs *Bagoas*, and never left clapping their Hands and ſhouting, till *Alexander* took him about the Neck and kiſs'd him.

Here his Admiral *Nearchus* came to him, and delighted him ſo with the Relation of his Voyage, that he reſolv'd himſelf to ſail out of the mouth of *Euphrates* with a great Fleet, with which he deſign'd to go round by *Arabia* and *Lybia*, and ſo by *Hercules his Pillars* into the *Mediterranean*; in order to which, he directed all ſorts of Veſſels to be built at *Thapſacus*, and made great Proviſion every where of Sea-men and Pilots. But it fell out unluckily for this Enterprize, that the Report of the Difficulties he went through in his *Indian* Expedition, the danger of his Perſon among the *Mallians*, the loſs of a conſiderable part of his Forces, and the general opinion that he would hardly return in ſafety, occaſion'd the Revolt of many conquer'd Nations, and made the Commanders and Lieutenants in ſeveral Provinces, preſume to oppreſs the People with extream Injuſtice, Avarice, and Inſolence. So that there ſeem'd to be an univerſal fluctuation and diſpoſition to Change. *Olympias* and *Cleopatra* rais'd a Faction againſt *Antipater*, and ſhar'd his Government

vernment between them, *Olympias* ſeizing upon *Epirus*, and *Cleopatra* upon *Macedonia*. When *Alexander* was told of it, he ſaid, *His Mother had made the beſt choice, for the* Macedonians *would never endure to be rul'd by a Woman.* Upon this he diſpatch'd *Nearchus* again to his Fleet, intending to carry the War into the maritime Provinces; and as he march'd that way himſelf, he puniſh'd thoſe Commanders who had not behav'd themſelves well, particularly *Oxyartes*, one of *Abulites* his Sons, whom he kill'd with his own hand, thruſting him through the Body with his Spear. And when *Abulites*, inſtead of the neceſſary Proviſions which he ought to have furniſh'd, brought him 3000 Talents in Money ready coin'd, he order'd it to be thrown to his Horſes, who not meddling with it; *What good does this Proviſion do me*, ſaid he to him? and ſent him away to Priſon.

When he came into *Perſia*, he diſtributed Money among the Women, as their own Kings were wont to do, who as often as they came thither, gave every one of them a Crown, for which Reaſon ſome of them came but ſeldom, and *Ochus* was ſo ſordidly covetous, that to avoid this Expence, he never viſited *Perſia* all his Life, though it was his native Country.

Then finding *Cyrus* his Sepulcher open'd, and rifled, he put *Polymachus*, who did it, to

death, though he was a Man of Quality, and born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*: And after he had read the Inſcription, he caus'd it to be cut again below the old one in Greek Characters; the words were theſe; *O Man, whoſoever thou art, and from whence ſoever thou comeſt, (for I know thou wilt come) I am* Cyrus, *the Founder of the* Perſian *Empire, do not envy me this little quantity of Earth which covers my Body.* The reading of this ſenſibly touch'd *Alexander*, cauſing him to reflect ſeriouſly upon the incertainty and mutability of humane Affairs. At the ſame time *Calanus* having been a little while troubled with a Looſneſs, requeſted he might have a Funeral Pile erected, to which he came on Horſeback, and after he had ſaid ſome Prayers, and ſprinkled himſelf, and cut off ſome of his Hair to throw into the Fire, as was uſual on ſuch occaſions; before he aſcended it, he embrac'd and took leave of the *Macedonians* who ſtood by, deſiring them to paſs that day in Mirth and good Fellowſhip with their King, whom in a little time, he ſaid, he doubted not but to ſee again at *Babylon.* Having thus ſaid, he lay down, and covering himſelf, he ſtirr'd not when the Fire came near him, but continued ſtill in the ſame poſture as at firſt, and ſo ſacrific'd himſelf, as it was the ancient cuſtom of the Philoſophers in thoſe Countreys to do. The

ſame

ſame thing was done long after by another *Indian*, who came with *Cæſar* to *Athens*, where they ſtill ſhew you the *Indians* Monument. At his return from the Funeral Pile, *Alexander* invited a great many of his Friends and principal Officers to Supper, and propos'd a Drinking-match, in which the Victor ſhould be crown'd. *Promachus* drank 18 Quarts of Wine, and won the Prize which weigh'd a Talent from them all; but he ſurviv'd his Victory but three days, and was follow'd, as *Chares* ſays, by 41 more, who died of the ſame Debauch, by reaſon of the ſevere Froſt which happen'd at that time.

At *Suſa* he married *Darius* his Daughter *Statira*, and celebrated the Nuptials of his Friends, beſtowing the nobleſt of the *Perſian* Ladies upon the worthieſt of them, withal making a very ſplendid Entertainment for all the *Macedonians* who were married before; at which it is reported, there were no leſs than 9000 Gueſts, to each of whom he gave a golden Cup, for them to uſe in their Libations of Wine to the Honour of the Gods. Not to mention other Inſtances of his wonderful Magnificence, he paid the Debts of his whole Army, which amounted to 9870 Talents. But there was one *Antigenes* who had loſt one of his Eyes, though he ow'd nothing, got his Name ſet down in the Liſt of thoſe who were in Debt, and bringing one who

pretended to be his Creditor, and to have ſupply'd him from the Bank, receiv'd the Money. But when the Cheat was found out, the King was ſo incens'd at it, that he baniſh'd him from Court, and took away his Command, though he was an excellent Soldier, and a Man of great Courage. For when he was but a Youth, and ſerv'd under *Philip* at the Siege of *Perinthus*, where he was wounded in the Eye by an Arrow ſhot out of an Engine, he would neither let the Arrow be taken out, or be perſwaded to quit the Field, till he had bravely repuls'd the Enemy, and forc'd them to retire into the Town. A Man of his Spirit was not able to ſupport ſuch a Diſgrace with any Patience, and certainly Grief and Deſpair would have made him kill himſelf, but that the King fearing it, not only pardon'd him, but let him alſo enjoy the Benefit of his Deceit.

The 30000 Boys which he left behind him to be taught the uſe of their Arms, and military Diſcipline, were ſo improv'd at his return both in Strength and Beauty, and perform'd their Exerciſes with ſuch Dexterity, and wonderful Agility, that he was extreamly pleas'd with them; which griev'd the *Macedonians*, and made them fear he would have the leſs Eſteem for them, And when he was ſending away the infirm and maim'd Soldi-

Soldiers to Sea, they ſaid they were unjuſtly and infamouſly dealt with, after they were worn out in his Service upon all occaſions, now to be turn'd away with Diſgrace, and ſent home into their Country among their Friends and Relations, in a worſe condition than when they came out; therefore they deſir'd him one and all to diſmiſs them, and to account his *Macedonians* uſeleſs, now he was ſo well furniſh'd with dancing Boys, with whom if he pleas'd, he might go on, and conquer the World. Theſe Speeches ſo enrag'd *Alexander*, that after he had given them a great deal of reproachful Language in his Paſſion, he drave them away, and committed the Watch to *Perſians*, out of whom he choſe his Life-guard, and Serjeants at Arms. When the *Macedonians* ſaw him attended by theſe Men, and themſelves excluded, and ſhamefully diſgrac'd, their high Spirits fell, and upon Diſcourſe with one another, they found that Jealouſie and Rage had almoſt diſtracted them. But at laſt coming to themſelves again, they went without their Arms almoſt naked, crying and weeping to offer themſelves at his Tent, and deſir'd him to deal with them as their Baſeneſs and Ingratitude deſerv'd. However this would not prevail; for though his Anger was already ſomething mollified, yet he would not admit them into his preſence, nor would

they ſtir from thence, but continued two days and nights before his Tent, bewailing themſelves, and imploring him their Soveraign Lord to have compaſſion on them. But the third day he came out to them, and ſeeing them very humble and penitent, he wept himſelf a great while, and after a gentle Reproof ſpoke kindly to them, and diſmiſs'd thoſe who were unſerviceable, with magnificent Rewards: And this Recommendation to *Antipater*; that when they came into *Greece*, at all publick Shows, and in the Theaters, they ſhould ſit on the beſt and foremoſt Seats, crown'd with Chaplets of Flowers, and order'd the Children of thoſe who had loſt their Lives in his Service, to have their Fathers Pay continued to them.

When he came to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, and had diſpatch'd his moſt urgent Affairs, he fell to divert himſelf again with Spectacles, and publick Entertainments, to carry on which, he had a Supply of 3000 Actors newly arriv'd out of *Greece*. But they were ſoon interrupted by *Hepheſtion*'s falling ſick of a Feaver, in which being a young Man, and a Soldier too, he could not confine himſelf to ſo exact a Diet as was neceſſary; for whilſt his Phyſician *Glaucas* was gone to the Theater, he eat a boyl'd Cock for his Dinner, and drank a large draught of Wine, upon which he grew worſe, and died in a few days.

At

At this Misfortune *Alexander* was ſo beyond all Reaſon tranſported, that to expreſs his Sorrow, he preſently order'd the Manes and Tails of all his Horſes and Mules to be cut, and threw down the Battlements of the neighbouring Cities. The poor Phyſician he crucified, and forbad playing on the Flute, or any other muſical Inſtrument in the Camp a great while, till the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon* enjoyn'd him to honour *Hephæſtion*, and ſacrifice to him as to an Heroe. Then ſeeking to alleviate his Grief in War, he ſet out as if he were to go a Man-hunting, for he fell upon the *Cuſſæans*, and put the whole Nation to the Sword, not ſparing ſo much as the Children. This was call'd a Sacrifice to *Hephæſtion*'s Ghoſt. In his Sepulcher and Monument, and the adorning of them, he intended to beſtow 10000 Talents; and that the excellency of the Artiſt, and the curioſity of the Workmanſhip, might go beyond the expence it ſelf, he rather choſe to imploy *Staſicrates* than any other, becauſe he always promis'd ſomething very bold and lofty, and magnificent in his Deſigns. For in Diſcourſe before he had told him, that of all the Mountains he knew, that of *Athos* in *Thrace*, was the moſt capable of being contriv'd to repreſent the Shape and Lineaments of a Man. That if he pleas'd to command him, he would make it the nobleſt and moſt durable Statue in the

World, which in its left Hand ſhould hold a City of 10000 Inhabitants, and out of its right ſhould pour a copious River into the Sea. Though *Alexander* declin'd this Project, yet now he ſpent a great deal of time with Workmen, to invent and contrive others far more abſurd and expenſive.

As he was upon his way to *Babylon*, *Nearchus*, who had ſail'd back out of the Ocean by the mouth of the River *Euphrates*, came to tell him, he had met with ſome *Chaldæan* Diviners, who warn'd him not to go thither. But *Alexander* ſlighted this Advertiſement, and went on, and when he came near the Walls of the Place, he ſaw a great many Crows fighting with one another, whereof ſome fell down juſt by him. After this, being privately inform'd, that *Apollodorus* the Governor of *Babylon* had ſacrific'd to know what would become of him; he ſent for *Pythagoras* the Soothſayer, who not denying the thing, he ask'd him, in what condition he found the Victim? and when he told him, the Liver was defective in its Lobe; a great Preſage indeed, ſaid *Alexander!* However he offer'd *Pythagoras* no Injury, but was much troubled that he had neglected *Nearchus* his Advice, and therefore ſtaid a great while without the Town, removing his Tent from Place to Place, and ſailing up and down the *Euphrates*. Beſides this, he was diſturb'd by

by many other Prodigies. A tame Aſs fell upon the biggeſt and handſomeſt Lion that he kept, and kick'd him to death. And one day undreſſing himſelf to be anointed, and to play at Ball, when he was putting his Cloaths on again, the young men who play'd with him, perceiv'd a Man clad in the King's Robes, with a Diadem upon his Head, ſitting ſilently upon his Throne. They ask'd him, Who he was? To which he gave no Anſwer a good while, till at laſt with much ado coming to himſelf, he told them, His Name was *Dionyſius*; that he was of *Meſſenia*; that for ſome Crime whereof he was accus'd, he was brought thither from the Sea ſide, and had been kept long in Priſon; that *Serapis* appear'd to him, had freed him from his Chains, conducted him to that Place, and commanded him to put on the King's Robe and Diadem, and to ſit where they found him, and to ſay nothing. *Alexander* when he heard this, by the direction of his Soothſayers, put the Fellow to death, but from thenceforth deſponded, and grew diffident of the Protection and Aſſiſtance of the Gods, and beſides very ſuſpicious of his Friends. His greateſt apprehenſion was of *Antipater*, and his Sons, one of whom, *Jollas*, was his chief Cup-bearer, the other nam'd *Caſſander*, was newly arriv'd out of *Greece*, and being bred up in the freedom of his Country, the

the firſt time he ſaw ſome of the *Barbarians* adore the King, could not forbear laughing at it aloud; which ſo incens'd *Alexander*, that he took him by the Hair with both Hands, and violently knock'd his Head againſt the Wall. Another time, *Caſſander* would have ſaid ſomething in defence of *Antipater*, to thoſe who accus'd him; but *Alexander* interrupting him, *What is't you ſay? Do you think, People if they had receiv'd no Injury, would come ſuch a Journey only to calumniate your Father?* To which, when *Caſſander* replied, That this very thing was a great evidence of their Calumny; *Alexander* ſmil'd and ſaid, Thoſe were ſome of *Ariſtotle*'s Sophiſms, which would ſerve equally on both ſides; and added, That both he and his Father ſhould be ſeverely puniſh'd, if they were found guilty of the leaſt Injuſtice towards thoſe who complain'd; which upon the whole made ſuch a deep impreſſion of Fear in *Caſſander*'s Mind, that long after, when he was King of *Macedonia*, and Maſter of *Greece*, as he was walking up and down at *Delphos*, and looking on the Statues, at the ſight of that of *Alexander*, he was ſuddenly ſtruck with Horrour, and ſhook all over, his Eyes rowl'd, his Head grew dizzy, and he had much ado to recover himſelf.

When

When once *Alexander* gave way to Superſtition, his Mind grew ſo diſturb'd and timorous, that if the leaſt unuſual or extraordinary thing happen'd, he would needs have it thought a Prodigy, or a Preſage, and his Court was throng'd with Diviners and Prieſts, whoſe buſineſs was to ſacrifice, and purifie, and foretel the future. So horrid a thing is Incredulity, and Contempt of the Gods on one hand, and no leſs horrid is Superſtition on the other, which like Water always creeping on the Ground, invades us with ſervile Fear and Folly, as it did now *Alexander* himſelf. But upon ſome Anſwers which were brought him from the Oracle concerning *Hepheſtion*, he laid aſide his Sorrow, and fell again to Sacrificing and Drinking; and having given *Nearchus* a ſplendid Entertainment, after he had bath'd, as was his Cuſtom, juſt as he was going to Bed, at *Medius* his Requeſt he went to Supper with him. Here he drank all that night and the next day to ſuch exceſs, as put him into a Feaver, which ſeiz'd him, not as ſome write, after he had drank of *Hercules* Bowl, nor was he taken with a ſudden pain in his Back, as if he had been ſtruck with a Lance: For theſe are the Inventions of ſome Authors, who thought it became them to make the concluſion of ſo great an Action as tragical and moving as they could. *Ariſtoeulus* tells

tells us, that in the rage of his Feaver, and a violent Thirſt, he took a draught of Wine, upon which he fell into a Frenzy, and died the 30*th* of *June*. But in his Journals we have this account of his Sickneſs, that the 18*th* of *June*, by reaſon of his Illneſs, he lay in his Bathing-room where it firſt ſeiz'd him; that when he had bath'd, he remov'd into his Chamber, and ſpent that day at Dice with *Medius*. In the evening having waſh'd and ſacrific'd, he eat with a good Stomach, and had his Feaver that night. The 20*th* after the uſual Sacrifices and Bathing, he kept his Bed in the ſame Room, and heard *Nearchus* his Relation of his Voyage, and the Obſervations he had made of the Ocean. The 21*ſt* he paſſed in the ſame manner, his Feaver ſtill encreaſing, and had a very ill night of it. The next day he had a ſevere Fit, and caus'd himſelf to be remov'd, and his Bed ſet by the great Bath, and then diſcours'd with his principal Officers about filling up the vacant Charges in the Army, with Men of tryed Valour and Experience. The 24*th* being much worſe, he was carried out to aſſiſt at the Sacrifices, and gave order that his chief Commanders ſhould wait within the Court, whilſt the Colonels and Captains kept Watch without doors. The 25*th* he was remov'd to his Palace on the other ſide the River, where he ſlept a little, but his Feaver abated

bated not, and when the Commanders came into his Chamber, he was ſpeechleſs, and continued ſo the following day. Then the *Macedonians* ſuppoſing he was dead, came with great Clamours to the Gates, and menac'd his Friends ſo, that they were forc'd to admit them, and let them all paſs through unarm'd along by his Bed-ſide. The ſame day *Python* and *Seleucus* being ſent to *Serapis* his Temple, to enquire if they ſhould bring *Alexander* thither, were anſwer'd by the God, that they ſhould not remove him. The 28*th* in the Evening he died. This account is moſt of it word for word, as it is written in his own Diary.

At that time no body had any ſuſpicion of his being poyſon'd; but upon a diſcovery made ſix years after, they ſay, *Olympias* put many to death, and threw abroad the Aſhes of *Jollas*, who was dead, as if he had given it him. But thoſe who affirm *Ariſtotle* counſell'd *Antipater* to do it, and that by his means wholly the Poyſon was brought, produce one *Agnothemis* for their Author, who heard King *Antigonus* ſpeak of it, and tell us that the Poyſon was Water, deadly cold as Ice, diſtilling from a Rock in the Territory of *Nonacris*, which they gather'd like a thin Dew, and kept in an Aſſes Hoof; for it was ſo very cold and penetrating, that no other veſſel would hold it. However moſt are of opinion that all this is falſe, no ſlight evidence of which is, that during

ring the Diſſentions among the Commanders, which laſted a great many days, the Body continued clear and freſh, without any ſign of ſuch Taint or Corruption, though it lay neglected in a cloſe, ſultry place.

Roxana who was now with Child, and upon that account much honour'd by the *Macedonians*, being jealous of *Statira*, ſent for her by a counterfeit Letter, as if *Alexander* had been ſtill alive; and when ſhe had her in her power, kill'd her and her Siſter, and threw their Bodies into a Well, which they fill'd up with Earth, not without the privity and aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*, who at this time under the ſhelter of *Aridæus*, whom he carried about with him for his own ſecurity, bore the greateſt ſway of any. *Aridæus* himſelf who was *Philip*'s Son, by one *Philinna*, an obſcure common Strumpet, was a Man of weak Parts, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition of Body, which was neither natural to him, nor contracted of it ſelf; for in his Childhood he was quick-witted, and hopeful enough, but caus'd by Drinks that *Olympias* gave him, which not only impair'd his Health, but weakned his Underſtanding.

THE



C. IVLIVS CAESAR.



MBurghers sculp.

THE

LIFE

OF

JULIUS CÆSAR.

Engliſhed from the Greek,

By Mr. *Smalridge* of *Chriſt-church.*

AS ſoon as *Sylla* had made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, he reſolved to force *Cornelia*, Daughter to *Cinna* (the late Uſurper) from *Cæſar* her Husband; but being unable to compaſs it either by hopes or fears, confiſcated her Dowry. The ground of *Sylla*'s hatred to *Cæſar*, was the alliance between him and *Marius*; for *Marius* the Elder married *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s Aunt by the Father's ſide, and had by her the Younger *Marius*, who conſe-

quently was *Cæſar*'s Couſin-german. And though at firſt, in the heat of his Tyranny and hurry of Buſineſs, *Cæſar* was overlookt by *Sylla*, he could not lie ſtill, but preſented himſelf to the People as a Candidate for the Prieſthood, though he was yet under Age. But *Sylla*, by his under-hand Management, ſo carried it, that *Cæſar* fell ſhort of his Pretenſions; and in a Conſult of Friends to take him off, when it was urged by ſome, that it was not worth his while to contrive the Death of a Boy, he anſwered, That they knew little, who did not ſee many *Marius*'s in that Boy. *Cæſar*, upon notice of this, lay concealed a long while among the *Sabines*, often changing his Quarters; till one Night, as he was removing his Lodging for his Health, he fell into the Hands of *Sylla*'s Soldiers, who were ſearching thoſe Parts in order to apprehend ſuch as had abſconded. *Cæſar*, by a Bribe of Two Talents, prevailed with *Cornelius* their Captain to let him go, and was no ſooner diſmiſt, but he put to Sea, and made for *Bithynia*. After a ſhort ſtay there, with *Nicomedes* the King, in his Paſſage back, he was taken near the Iſland *Pharmacuſa* by ſome Pirates, who at that time with ſome great Ships, and a vaſt number of ſmaller Veſſels, infeſted thoſe Seas. When at firſt they demanded of him 20 Talents for his Ranſom, he ſmiled at them as not underſtanding the Value of their Priſoner, and voluntarily engaged to give

give 'em 50. He preſently diſpatched thoſe about him to ſeveral Places to raiſe the Money, till at laſt he was left among thoſe bloody Villains, the *Cilicians*, only with one Friend, and Two Attendants: Yet he made ſo little of them, that when he had a mind to ſleep, he would ſend to them, and command ſilence. For 38 Days, with all the freedom in the World he uſed Exerciſe, and Gamed amongſt them, as if they had not been his Keepers, but his Guards. He wrote Verſes, and Speeches, and made them his Auditors, and thoſe who did not admire them, he called to their Faces illiterate and barbarous, and would often in raillery threaten to hang 'em. They were mightily taken with this, and attributed his free way of talking to a kind of Simplicity, and juvenile Humour. As ſoon as his Ranſon was come from *Miletus*, he paid it, and was diſcharged; ſoon after which he Mann'd ſome Ships at the *Mileſian* Port, and went in purſuit of the Pirates, whom he ſurprized as they were yet at an Anchor, and took moſt of them. Their Money he made Prize, and the Men he ſecured in Priſon at *Pergamus*, and preſently applied himſelf to *Junius*, who was then Governor of *Aſia*, to whoſe Office it belonged, as *Prætor*, to determine their Puniſhment. *Junius* having his Eye upon the Money, (for the Sum was conſiderable) ſaid, *He would think at his leiſure what to do with the Priſoners*; upon which *Cæſar* took his leave of

him, and went for *Pergamus*, where he order'd the Pirates to be brought forth and crucified; the Puniſhment he had often threatned them with, whilſt he was in their Hands, and they little dreamt he was in earneſt. In the mean time *Sylla*'s Power declined, and *Cæſar*'s Friends adviſed him to return to *Rome*; but he went off to *Rhodes*, and entred himſelf in the School of *Apollonius*, *Molon*'s Son, a famous Rhetorician, one who had the Reputation of a well-tempered Man, and had *Cicero* at that time for his Auditor. *Cæſar* was by Nature excellently framed for a perfect Statesman, and Orator, and took ſuch Pains to improve his Genius this way, that without diſpute he might challenge the ſecond Place amongſt Men of that Character. More he did not aim at, as chuſing to be firſt rather amongſt Men of Arms and Power; and therefore never roſe up to that pitch of Eloquence to which Nature would have carried him, being diverted by thoſe Expeditions and Deſigns, which at length gain'd him the Empire. And he himſelf, in his Anſwer to *Cicero*'s Panegyric on *Cato*, deſires his Reader not to compare the plain Diſcourſe of a *Soldier* with the Harangues of an *Orator*, who had not only fine Parts, but had employed his whole Life in this one Study. When he was returned to *Rome*, he accuſed *Dolabella* of Male-Adminiſtration, and many Cities of *Greece* came in to atteſt it. *Dolabella* was acquitted,

quitted, and *Cæſar* in return of the Favours he had received from the *Grecians*, aſſiſted them in their Proſecution of *P. Antonius* for Bribery before *M. Lucullus* Prætor of *Macedonia*. In this Cauſe he prevailed ſo far, that *Antonius* was forced to appeal to the Tribunes at *Rome*, alledging, That in *Greece* he could not have fair play againſt *Grecians*. In his Pleadings at *Rome* he appeared with all the Graces of an Orator, and gained much upon the Affections of the People by the eaſineſs of his Addreſs, and Converſation, in which he was accompliſht beyond what could be expected from his Age. His Intereſt grew ſtill inſenſibly greater by the open Houſe he kept, and the magnificence of his Entertainments: His Enemies ſlighted the growth of it at firſt, in expectation it would ſoon fail, when his Money was gone; whilſt in the mean time it was firmly ſettled among the Common People. When his Power at laſt was fixt, and not to be controll'd, and now openly tended to the altering of the whole Conſtitution, they were aware too late, that there is no beginning ſo mean, which continued Application will not make conſiderable, and that ſmall Dangers by being deſpiſed at firſt become at laſt irreſiſtible. *Cicero* was the firſt who had any Suſpicions of his Deſigns upon the Government, and (as a good Pilot is apprehenſive of a Storm when the Sea is calmeſt) ſaw the deſigning temper of the

Man through this diſguiſe of good Humour and Affability, and ſaid upon it; *In all his other Actions and Intrigues I plainly diſcover the the air of a Tyrant; but when I ſee his Hair lie in ſo exact order, and him ſo often adjuſting it, I cannot imagine it ſhould enter into ſuch a Man's thoughts to ſubvert the Roman State.* But of this more hereafter.

The firſt Proof he had of the People's good Will to him, was, when he carried a Tribuneſhip in the Army againſt *C. Popilius*. A ſecond and clearer Inſtance of their Favour appeared upon his making an Excellent Oration in praiſe of his Aunt *Julia*, Wife to *Marius*, publickly in the *Forum*: At whoſe Funeral he was ſo bold as to bring forth the Images of *Marius*, which no Body durſt produce ſince the Government came into *Sylla*'s Hands, *Marius*'s Party having from that time been declared Enemies to the State. For when ſome upon this Occaſion exclaimed againſt *Cæſar*, the People on the other ſide were taken with the Action, and received it with very great Applauſe; admiring him for having revived in the City thoſe Honours of *Marius*, which for ſo long time had been buried. It had always been the Cuſtom at *Rome* to make Funeral Orations in praiſe of Ancient Matrons, but there was no Precedent of any upon young Women, till *Cæſar* firſt made one upon the Death of his own Wife. This alſo procured him Favour, and by this ſhew of Affection

Affection he got the Hearts of the People, who lookt upon him as a Man of great Tenderneſs and extraordinary good Nature. When he had buried his Wife, he went *Quæſtor* into *Spain* under one *Fotus*, who was *Prætor*, whom he Honoured ever after, and made his Son *Quæſtor* when he himſelf came to be *Prætor*. When he was out of that Office, he married *Pompeja* his third Wife, having then a Daughter by *Cornelia* his firſt Wife, whom he afterwards match'd to *Pompey* the Great. He was ſo profuſe in his Expences, that before he had any publick Employment, he was in debt 1300 Talents. Some thought that by being at ſo great a Charge to be popular, he changed a real and ſolid Good, for what was ſhort and uncertain: But in truth he purchaſed what was of the greateſt Value at an inconſiderable rate. When he was made Surveyor of the *Appian* Way, he diſburſt beſides the publick Money a great Sum out of his private Purſe; and when he was *Ædile*, he provided ſuch a number of Gladiators, that he entertain'd the People with 320 ſeveral Duels; and by his great Liberality and Magnificence in Shews, in Pomps, and publick Feaſtings, obſcured the Glory of all who went before him, and gain'd ſo much upon the People, that every one was ready to invent new Offices, and new Honours, for him, in return to his Munificence. There being two Factions in the City, one for *Sylla*, which was very

powerful, the other for *Marius* which was then broken, and in a very low condition, he was desirous to raise it again, and to bring it over to his Interest: To this end, whilst he was in the heighth of his Repute with the People, for the Magnificent Shews he gave as *Ædile*, he ordered Images, and Statues, with Ensigns of Victory, to be carried privately in the Night, and placed in the Capitol. Next Morning, when some saw them glittering with Gold, and curiously wrought with Inscriptions of *Marius*'s Exploits over the *Cimbrians*, they were surprized at the Boldness of him who had set them up, nor was it difficult to guess who it was. The Fame of this soon spread, and brought together a great Concourse of People: Some presently cried out that *Cæsar* had Designs upon the Government, because he had revived those Honours which were buried by the Laws, and Decrees of the Senate; that this was done to sound the temper of the People, whom he had prepared before, and to try whether they were tame enough to bear his Humour, and would quietly give way to his Innovations. However *Marius*'s Party took courage; and 'tis incredible what a multitude of them appeared on a sudden, and came shouting into the Capitol. Many of them when they saw *Marius*'s Picture cried for Joy, and *Cæsar* was highly extoll'd as the only Person, who was a Relation worthy of *Marius*. Upon this the Senate

nate met, and *Catulus Luctatius*, one of the moſt Eminent *Romans* of that Time, ſtood up, and accuſed *Cæſar*, cloſing his Speech with this remarkable ſaying; Cæſar *no longer undermines the Government, but openly plants his Batteries againſt it.* But when *Cæſar* had made an Apology for himſelf, and ſatisfied the Senate, his Admirers were very much animated, and adviſed him not to depart from his own thoughts for any one, ſince he was likely to get the better of them all in a little time, and to be the firſt Man in the State with the Peoples Conſent. At the ſame time *Metellus* the High-Prieſt died; and *Catulus*, and *Iſauricus*, Perſons of known Reputation, and who bore a great weight in the Senate, were Competitors for the Office; yet *Cæſar* would not give way to them, but preſented himſelf to the People as a Candidate againſt them. The ſeveral Intereſts ſeeming very equal, *Catulus*, who becauſe he had the moſt Honour to loſe, was the moſt apprehenſive of the event, ſent to *Cæſar* to buy him off, with Offers of a great Sum of Money: But he ſaid, *He would provide a larger Sum than that to carry on the Competition.* Upon the day of Election, as his Mother conducted him out of doors with tears, he ſaluted her, and ſaid; *Well Mother, to day you'll ſee me either High-Prieſt, or Baniſhed.* When the Votes were taken, after a great ſtruggle, he carried it, and by that gave the Senate and Nobility reaſon to fear he might now

now draw on the People to the greateſt height of Arrogance. Whereupon *Piſo* and *Catulus* found fault with *Cicero* for letting *Cæſar* eſcape, when in the Conſpiracy of *Catiline* he had given the Government ſuch advantage againſt him. For *Catiline*, who had deſigned not only to change the preſent State of Affairs, but to ſubvert the whole Conſtitution, and confound all, had himſelf eſcaped, by reaſon the Evidence was not full againſt him, they having not yet gone to the bottom of his Deſign. But he had left *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* in the City to ſupply his place in the Conſpiracy: Whether they had any ſecret Encouragement and Aſſiſtance from *Cæſar* is uncertain; This is certain, that they were fully convicted in the Senate, and when *Cicero* the Conſul askt the ſeveral Opinions of the Senators, how they would have them puniſh'd, all who ſpake before *Cæſar* ſentenced them to Death; but *Cæſar* ſtood up, and made a ſet Speech, wherein he told them, *That he thought it without Precedent, and not juſt, to take away the Lives of two Perſons of their Birth and Quality, before they were fairly tried, unleſs there was an abſolute neceſſity for it; but that if they were kept confin'd in any Town which* Cicero *himſelf ſhould chuſe till* Catiline *was defeated, then the Senate might in peace and at their leiſure determine, what was beſt to be done.* This Sentence of his carried ſo much appearance of Humanity, and he gave it ſo good an air by his Speech, that not only thoſe who

who ſpoke after him cloſed with it, but even they who had before given a contrary Opinion, now came over to his; till it came about to *Catulus*, and *Cato*'s turn to ſpeak. They warmly oppoſed it; and *Cato* inſinuated in his Speech ſome ſuſpicions of *Cæſar* himſelf, and preſt the matter ſo far, that the Criminals were given up to ſuffer Execution. As *Cæſar* was going out of the Senate, many of the young Men who guarded *Cicero*, ran in with their naked Swords to aſſault him. But *Curio*, as it is ſaid, threw his Gown over him, and convey'd him out, and *Cicero* himſelf gave a Sign to his Guards, who watch't the Motions of his Eye, not to kill him, either for fear of the People, or becauſe he thought the Murder unjuſt and illegal. If this be true, I wonder how *Tully* came to omit it in the Book which he wrote concerning his Conſulſhip. *Cicero* was blam'd afterwards for not making uſe of ſo good an opportunity againſt *Cæſar* out of fear of the Populace, who mightily favour'd him. Sometime after, when *Cæſar* went into the Senate to clear himſelf of ſome Suſpicions he lay under, he found great Clamours rais'd againſt him, whereupon the Senate ſitting longer then ordinary, the People went up to the Houſe in a Tumult, and beſet it, demanding *Cæſar*, and requiring them to diſmiſs him. Upon this *Cato* much fearing a Mutiny from the poorer ſort, who are always the Incendiaries in a Rebellion, and who now plac'd

plac'd all their hopes in *Cæſar*, perſuaded the Senate to give them a Monthly allowance of Corn, which put the Commonwealth to the extraordinary charge of 55000 Crowns a Year. This Expedient remov'd all fears for the preſent, and very much weaken'd *Cæſar*'s Power, who at that time was juſt going to be made *Prætor*, and conſequently would have been more formidable by his Office. But there was no diſturbance during his Prætorſhip, only what misfortune he met with in his own Domeſtick Affairs. *P. Clodius* was a Perſon well deſcended, Eminent both for his Riches and Eloquence, but in Lewdneſs and Impudence exceeded the very worſt of thoſe who were remarkable for their Debauchery. He was in love with *Pompeja*, *Cæſar*'s Wife, and ſhe had no averſion to him. But there were ſtrict Guards on her Apartment, and *Cæſar*'s Mother *Aurelia*, who was a diſcreet Woman, being continually about her, made an Interview very dangerous and difficult. The *Romans* have a Goddeſs which they call *Bona*, the ſame which the *Greeks* call *Gynæcea*: The *Phrygians*, who claim a peculiar Title to her, ſay ſhe was Mother to *Midas*; The *Romans* pretend ſhe was one of the *Dryads*, and Married to *Faunus*: The *Grecians* affirm that ſhe is that Mother of *Bacchus*, whoſe Name is not to be utter'd: For this Reaſon the Women who Celebrate her Feſtival, cover the Tents with Vine-branches, and according to the Fable,

a Conſecrated Dragon is plac'd by the Goddeſs. It is not lawful for a Man to be bye, nor ſo much as in the Houſe, whilſt the Sacred Rites are Celebrated, but the Women by themſelves perform ſuch Holy Offices, as are much a-kin to thoſe us'd in the Solemnities ſacred to *Orpheus*. When the Feſtival comes, the Husband, who is always either *Conſul* or *Prætor*, and with him every Male-creature quits the Houſe; the Wife then taking it under her care, ſets it in order, and there are great Solemnities all Night, attended with Dancing, and ſeveral ſorts of Muſick. As *Pompeja* was at that time Celebrating this Feaſt, *Clodius*, who as yet had no Beard, and ſo thought to paſs undiſcover'd, took upon him the Habit and Diſguiſe of a Singing-Woman having the Air of a young Girl, and ſo came thither. Finding the Doors open, he was without any ſtop introduc'd by a young Maid, who was in the Intrigue. She preſently ran to tell *Pompeja*, but being from him a great while, he grew uneaſie in waiting for her, and therefore left his Poſt, and travers'd the Houſe from one Room to another, ſtill taking care to avoid the Lights, till at laſt *Aurelia*'s Woman met him, and invited him to ſuch Recreations as the Women uſe among themſelves. He refus'd to comply; but ſhe preſently pull'd him forward, and ask'd him, who he was, and whence? *Clodius* told her he waited for *Aura* one of *Pompeja*'s Maids, and

as he ſaid ſo, betray'd himſelf by his Voice: Upon which the Woman ſhrieking, ran into the Company where there were Lights, and cried out, ſhe had diſcovered a Man. The Women were all in a fright; *Aurelia* preſently threw a Veil over the Ceremonies, put a ſtop to the *Orgia*, and having order'd the Doors to be ſhut, ran about with Lights to find *Clodius*, who was got into the Maids Room that he had come in with, and was ſeiz'd there. The Women knew him, and drove him out of Doors, and preſently, though it was yet Night, went home to tell their Husbands the Story. In the Morning it was all about Town, what an impious attempt *Clodius* had made, and all agreed he ought to be puniſh'd as an Offender, not only againſt thoſe whom he had Affronted, but alſo againſt the Publick, and the Gods. Upon which one of the Tribunes accus'd him of profaning the Holy Rites, and ſome of the Principal Senators came in, and witneſs'd againſt him, that beſides many other horrible Crimes, he had been guilty of Inceſt with his own Siſter, who was Married to *Lucullus*. But the People ſet themſelves againſt the Intereſt of the Nobility, and defended *Clodius*; which was of great ſervice to him with the Judges, who were at a ſtand, being afraid to provoke the Commonalty. *Cæſar* preſently diſmiſt *Pompeja*, but being ſummon'd as a Witneſs againſt *Clodius*, ſaid, *He had nothing to charge him with.* This looking like a Paradox,

Paradox, the Accuſers ask'd him, why he parted with his Wife? *Cæſar* replied, *Becauſe I can't bear that my Wife ſhould be ſo much as ſuſpected.* Some ſay that *Cæſar* ſpake this as his thoughts; Others, that he did it to gratifie the People, who were very earneſt to ſave *Clodius*. So *Clodius* got clear of the Indictment, moſt of the Judges giving their Opinions in confus'd terms, that they might not be in danger from the People by condemning him, nor in diſgrace with the Nobility by acquitting him. *Cæſar* in the mean time being out of his Prætorſhip had got the Province of *Spain*, but was in ill Circumſtances with his Creditors, who, as he was going off, came upon him, and were very preſſing and importunate; which made him apply himſelf to *Craſſus*, who was the Richeſt Man in *Rome*, but wanted *Cæſar*'s Vigor and Warmth to ſet up againſt *Pompey*. *Craſſus* took upon him to ſatisfie thoſe Creditors, which were moſt uneaſie to him, and would not be put off any longer, and engag'd himſelf to the value of 830 Talents: Upon which *Cæſar* was now at liberty to go to his Province. In his Journey as he was croſſing the *Alps*, and paſſing by a ſmall Village of the Barbarians, which was ſtock'd with but few Inhabitants, and thoſe wretchedly Poor, his Friends ſmil'd, and ask'd him by way of raillery, *If their were any canvaſing for Officers there; any contention which ſhould be uppermoſt, or feuds of great Men one againſt*

againſt another? To which *Cæſar* made anſwer very ſeriouſly: *For my part I had rather be the firſt Man among theſe Fellows, than the ſecond Man in* Rome. 'Tis ſaid that another time, being retir'd from Buſineſs, and reading the Hiſtory of *Alexander*, he ſat a great while very thoughtful, and at laſt burſt out into Tears. His Friends were ſurpris'd, and ask'd him the Reaſon of it. *Do you think* (ſaid he) *I have not juſt cauſe to weep, when I conſider that* Alexander *at my Age had conquer'd ſo many Nations, and I have all this time done nothing, that is Memorable?* As ſoon as he came into *Spain* he was very active, and in a few Days had got together 10 new Companies of Foot to thoſe 20 which were there before: With theſe he march'd againſt the *Gallæci*, and *Lucitani*, conquer'd them, and advancing as far as the Ocean, ſubdu'd thoſe Nations, which never before had been ſubject to the *Romans*. Having manag'd his Military Affairs with good Succeſs, he was equally happy in the Courſe of his Civil Government; For he eſtabliſh'd a good Underſtanding amongſt the ſeveral States, and took eſpecial Care to heal the Differences betwixt Debtors and Creditors. He order'd that the Creditor ſhould receive two parts of the Debtor's yearly Income, and that the other part ſhould be manag'd by the Debtor himſelf, till by this method the whole Debt was at laſt diſcharg'd. This Conduct made him leave his Province with a fair Reputation;

putation; being rich himſelf, and having enrich'd his Soldiers, who therefore Complimented him with the Title of *Emperor*. There is a Law among the *Romans*, that whoever deſires the Honour of a *Triumph* muſt ſtay without the City, and expect his Anſwer: And another, that thoſe who put in for the *Conſulſhip* ſhall appear perſonally upon the place: *Cæſar* was come home at the very time of chuſing Conſuls; and being in a ſtrait between theſe two oppoſite Laws, ſent to the Senate to deſire, that ſince he was oblig'd to be abſent, he might appear for the Conſulſhip by Proxy. *Cato* being back'd by the Law, at firſt oppos'd his requeſt; afterwards perceiving that *Cæſar* had prevail'd with a great part of the Senate to comply with it, he made it his buſineſs to gain time, and waſted an whole Day in Harangues: Upon which *Cæſar* thought fit to let the *Triumph* fall, and purſu'd the *Conſulſhip*. He advances therefore preſently, and enters upon a project which deceiv'd all but *Cato*. This was the reconciling of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, who then bore the greateſt weight in *Rome*. There had been a quarrel between them, which he quickly made up; and by this means ſtrengthen'd himſelf by the united Power of both; and ſo privately undermin'd the Government, under the covert of an Action which carried in it all the appearance of a good Office. For it was not the quarrel betwixt *Pompey* and *Ceſar*,

as moſt Men imagine, which was the foundation of the Civil Wars, but their Union; the conſpiring at firſt to ſubvert the Ariſtocracy, and quarrelling at laſt betwixt themſelves, which ſhould be Monarch. *Cato*, who often foretold what the Conſequence of this Alliance would be, had then the Character of a ſullen and buſie Man, and afterwards the Reputation of a wiſe but unfortunate Counſellor. Thus *Cæſar* being doubly guarded with the Intereſts of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, was promoted to the Conſulate, and declar'd publickly with *Calfurnius Bibulus*. When he was fix't in his Office he brought in Bills, which would have been preferr'd with better grace by a bold *Tribune*, than by a *Conſul*; in which he propos'd Tranſplantation of Colonies, and Diviſion of Lands, on purpoſe to oblige the Commonalty. The beſt and moſt Honourable of the Senators oppos'd it, upon which, having long waited for ſuch a colourable Pretence, he openly proteſted how unwillingly he was driven upon Applications to the People, and how neceſſary it was to make his Addreſſes that way, and to enter into their Intereſts, ſince he had receiv'd ſo many Affronts, and found ſo much Sullenneſs in the Senate. When he had ſaid this, he ask'd *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, who ſet on each ſide of him, Whether they conſented to the Bills he had propos'd? They own'd their Aſſent, upon which he deſir'd them to aſſiſt him againſt

thoſe

those who had threatned to oppose him with their Swords. They engag'd they would, and *Pompey* added farther, that *he would not only meet their Swords with a Sword in his Hand, but that he would bring a Buckler with him besides.* This Speech the Nobles resented, as neither suitable to his Gravity, nor becoming the Reverence due to that Assembly, but such as had an air of Levity and Rashness: But the People were pleas'd with it. *Cæsar*, that he might work himself yet deeper into the Interest of *Pompey*, gave him his Daughter *Julia*, who had before been contracted to *Servilius Cæpio*, and told *Servilius* he should have *Pompey*'s Daughter, who was not unprovided neither, but design'd for *Sylla*'s Son, *Faustus*. A little time after *Cæsar* Married *Calpurnia* the Daughter of *Piso*, and made *Piso* Consul for the Year following. *Cato* exclaim'd loudly against this, and protested with a great deal of warmth, that it was intolerable the Government should be prostituted by the Marriages, and that they should advance one another to the Commands of Armies, Provinces, and other great Posts, by the Interest of Women. *Bibulus*, *Cæsar*'s Collegue, finding it was to no purpose to oppose his Bills, but that he was in danger of being Murder'd in the *Forum*, as also was *Cato* confin'd himself to his House, and there wore out the remaining part of his Consulship. *Pompey* when he was Married, presently fill'd the *Forum* with

Soldiers, and ſo ſecur'd the People their new Laws, and to *Cæſar* the Government of all *Gaul*, both on this and the other ſide of the *Alps*, together with *Illyricum*, and the Command of four Legions for five Years. *Cato* made ſome attempts againſt theſe Proceedings, but was ſent to Priſon by *Cæſar*, who ſuſpected he would appeal to the Tribunes. But when *Cæſar* ſaw that he went along without ſpeaking a Word, and not only the Nobility diſreliſh'd it, but that the People alſo out of their Veneration to *Cato*'s Vertue waited on him, and by their ſilence and dejected looks expreſt a great concern for him; he himſelf privately deſir'd one of the Tribunes to reſcue *Cato*. As for the other Senators, ſome few of them attended the Houſe; the reſt being diſguſted abſented themſelves. Hence *Conſidius*, a very old Man, took occaſion one Day to tell *Cæſar*, that *the Senators did not meet becauſe they were afraid of his Soldiers*. *Cæſar* preſently ask'd him, *Why don't you then out of the ſame fear keep at home?* To which the old Man replied, that *Age was his guard againſt Fear, and that the ſmall Remains of his Life were not worth much Caution.* But the foulest thing that was done in *Cæſar*'s Conſulſhip, was his promoting *Clodius* to be Tribune; that very *Clodius* who had attempted to Diſhonour his Bed, and who contrary to all Piety had Polluted the Holy and Myſterious Vigils. Now he was prefer'd in oppoſition to *Cicero*, nor did *Cæſar* take the Field, till

till they had over-power'd *Cicero*, and drove him out of *Italy*.

Thus far have we deduc'd *Cæſar*'s Actions before the Wars of *Gaul*. After this he ſeems to have begun his Courſe afreſh, and to have enter'd upon a new, and different Scene of Action. The Progreſs of thoſe Battels which he afterwards fought, and thoſe many Expeditions in which he ſubdu'd the *Gauls*, ſhew him to have been a Soldier and General, not in the leaſt inferior to any of thoſe great and admired Commanders, who have appear'd at the Heads of Armies. For if we compare him with the *Fabii*, the *Metelli*, the *Scipio*'s, and with thoſe who were his Contemporaries, or not long before him, *Sylla*, *Marius*, the 2 *Luculli*, or even *Pompey* himſelf, whoſe Glory reach'd the Heavens, we ſhall find *Cæſar*'s Actions to have ſurpaſs'd them all. One he excell'd on the account of the difficulty of the Places where he fought: Another in reſpect of the large extent of Country which he over-ran: Some in the Number and Strength of the Enemies, whom he conquer'd; and ſome in the roughneſs and barbarity of their Tempers, whom he poliſh'd and civiliz'd: Others yet in his Humanity and Clemency to thoſe he over-power'd, and others in his Gifts, and Gratuities to his Soldiers: All in the number of the Battles which he fought, and the Enemies which he kill'd. For he had not purſu'd the Wars in *Gaul* full 10 Years, before he took by

Storm 800 Towns, ſubdu'd 300 States; and of the 3 millions of Men, which made up the groſs of thoſe, with whom at ſeveral times he engag'd, he kill'd one, and took a ſecond. He was ſo much Maſter of the Good Will, and hearty Service of his Soldiers, that thoſe who in other Expeditions were but ordinary Men, carried with them a force not to be reſiſted or ſhaken, when they went upon any danger, where *Cæſar*'s Glory was concern'd. Such an one was *Acilius*, who in a Sea-fight before *Marſeilles* had his Right Hand ſtruck off with a Sword, yet did not quit his Buckler out of his Left, but gaul'd the Enemies in the Face with it, till he defeated them, and made himſelf Maſter of the Veſſel. Such another was *Caſſius Scæva*, who in a Battle near *Dyrrhachium* had one of his Eyes pick'd out with an Arrow, his Shoulder pierc'd with one Javelin, and his Thigh with another; and having receiv'd 130 Darts upon his Target, call'd to the Enemy, as tho' he would ſurrender himſelf; but when two of them came up to him, he cut off the Shoulder of one with a Sword, and by a blow over the Face forc'd the other to retire, whilſt with the Aſſiſtance of his own Party he made his eſcape. Again in *Britain*, when ſome of the chief Officers were accidentally fal'n into a Moraſs full of Water, and there aſſaulted by the Enemy, a common Soldier, whilſt *Cæſar* ſtood and look'd on, threw himſelf into the midſt of them, and after many

ny and ſignal demonſtrations of his Valour, reſcu'd the Officers, and beat off the Barbarians. At laſt he took the Water, and with much ado, partly by ſwimming, partly by wading, paſs'd it, but in the paſſage loſt his Shield. *Cæſar* admir'd him, and went to meet him with joy and acclamation; but the Soldier very much dejected, and in tears threw himſelf down at *Cæſar*'s feet, and beg'd his pardon that he had let go his Buckler. Another time in *Afric*, *Scipio* having taken a Ship of *Cæſar*'s, in which *Granius Petronius*, one lately made *Quæſtor* was paſſing, he gave the other Paſſengers as free prize to his Soldiers, but thought fit to give the *Quæſtor* his Life: But he ſaid, *it was not uſual for* Cæſar's *Soldiers to take, but give Life*; and having ſaid ſo, ran upon his Sword, and kill'd himſelf. Theſe Principles and Notions of Honour were inſpir'd into them, and cheriſh'd in them by *Cæſar* himſelf, who by his liberal diſtribution of Money and Honours, ſhew'd them, that he did not from the Wars heap up Wealth for his own Luxury, or the gratifying his private Pleaſure, but that he took care to ſettle a ſure Fund for the reward and encouragement of Valour, and that he look'd upon himſelf only rich in that, which he gave to deſerving Soldiers. There was no danger to which he did not willingly expoſe himſelf; no labour from which he pleaded an exemption. His contempt of danger was not ſo much admir'd by his Soldiers, becauſe they

knew how much he lov'd Honour: But his enduring ſo much hardſhip, which he did to all appearance beyond his Natural Strength, very much aſtoniſh'd them. For he was a ſpare Man, had a ſoft and white Skin, was diſtemper'd in the Head, and ſubject to an Epilepſie, which 'tis ſaid firſt ſeiz'd him at *Corduba*. But he did not make the weakneſs of his Conſtitution a pretext for his Eaſe, but us'd War as the beſt Phyſick againſt his Indiſpoſitions; whilſt by unwearied Travels, courſe Diet, and frequent lodging in the Fields, he ſtrugled with his Diſeaſes, and prepar'd his Body againſt all Attacks. He ſlept generally in his Chariots or Litters, and employ'd even his *Reſt* in purſuit of *Action*. In the Day he was carried to Caſtles, Gariſons, or Fortifications, in his Chariot; one Servant riding with him, who us'd to write down what he dictated as he went, and a Soldier attending behind, with his Sword drawn. He drove ſo briskly, that when he firſt ſet out from *Rome* he arriv'd at the River *Rhoan* within 8 Days. He had been an expert Rider from his Childhood; for it was uſual with him to hold his Hands cloſe behind him, and to put his Horſe to full ſpeed. But in the Wars he had improv'd himſelf ſo far as to dictate Letters from on Horſeback, and to direct himſelf to two who took Notes at the ſame time, or as *Oppius* ſaith, to more. And 'tis thought that he was the firſt who found out a new way of Converſing with

with his Friends by Cyphers, when either multitude of buſineſs, or the large extent of the City, he had not time for a Perſonal Conference about ſuch Incidents as requir'd a ſudden diſpatch. How little nice he was in his Diet, we have this remarkable Inſtance. When *Valerius Leo* invited him one Night to Supper, and treated him with a *Sparagus*, upon which inſtead of Oyl he had pour'd ſweet Oyntment, *Cæſar* fed on it without any diſguſt, and reprimanded his Friends for finding fault with it. *For it was enough*, ſaid he, *not to eat, what you did not like; but he who reflects on another Man's want of breeding, ſhews he wants it as much himſelf.* Another time upon the Road he was driven by a Storm into a poor Man's Cottage, where he found but one Room, and that ſuch as would afford but a mean Reception to a ſingle Perſon, and therefore he told his Companions, that *the moſt Honourable Places ought to be given to the beſt Men, but the moſt Neceſſary Accommodations to the weakeſt*; and accordingly order'd that *Oppius*, who was infirm, ſhould lodge within, whilſt he and the reſt ſlept under a Shed at the Door. His firſt War in *Gaul* was againſt the *Helvetians* and *Tigurines*, who having burnt 12 of their own Towns, and 400 Villages, would have march'd forward through that part of *Gaul*, which was under the *Roman* Province, as the *Cimbrians* and *Teutons* formerly had done. Nor were they inferior to theſe in Courage; and in Numbers they

they were equal, being in all Three hundred thouſand, of which One hundred and ninety thouſand were fighting Men. *Cæſar* did not engage the *Tigurines* in Perſon, but *Latienus*, who was Commiſſion'd by him, routed them about the River *Arar*. But the *Helvetians* ſurpriz'd *Cæſar*, and unexpectedly ſet upon him as he was conducting his Army to a Confederate Town. However he manag'd it ſo as to get into a place well fortified, where, when he had muſter'd and marſhal'd his Men, his Horſe was brought to him; upon which he ſaid, *When I have won the Battle, I'll uſe my Horſe for the Chaſe, but at preſent let us go againſt the Enemy:* Accordingly he charged them furiouſly on foot. After a long and ſharp Engagement he drove the main Army out of the Field, but found the rougheſt work at their Carriages and Ramparts, where not only the Men ſtood, and fought, but the Women alſo and Children defended themſelves, till they were cut to pieces; inſomuch that the Fight was ſcarce ended till Midnight. This Action in it ſelf very great, *Cæſar* crown'd with another more glorious, by gathering in a Body all the Barbarians that had eſcap'd out of the Battle, above 100000 in Number, and obliging them to repair to the Countrey which they had deſerted, and the Cities which they had burnt. Which he did for fear the *Germans* ſhould paſs the *Rhine*, and poſſeſs themſelves of the Country whilſt it lay uninhabited.

ted. His ſecond War was in favour of the *Gauls* againſt the *Germans*, though ſometime before he had made *Arioviſtus*, their King, own'd at *Rome* as an Allie. But they were very inſufferable Neighbours to thoſe under his Obedience, and it was probable, when Occaſion ſhew'd, they would be uneaſie under their preſent poſture, and would make Incurſions into *Gaul*, and ſeize it. But finding his Commanders timorous, and eſpecially thoſe of the young Nobility and Gentry, who came along with him in hopes of making uſe that Expedition to their Pleaſure or Profit, he call'd them together, and advis'd them to march off, and not to run the hazard of a Battel againſt their Inclinations, ſince they were ſo effeminately and cowardly diſpoſed; telling them withal, that he would take only the 10th Legion, and march againſt the Barbarians, whom he did not expect to find an Enemy more formidable than the *Cimbri*, nor ſhould they find him a General inferior to *Marius*. Upon this the 10th Legion deputed ſome of their Body to pay him their Compliments of Thanks, and the other Legions blam'd their Officers, and with great Vigor and Zeal follow'd him many days Journey, till they encamp'd within 200 furlongs of the Enemy. *Arioviſtus*'s Courage was cool'd upon their very approach; for not expecting the *Romans* ſhould attack the *Germans*, who were known to be Men likely to

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ſtand a Charge, he admir'd *Cæſar*'s Conduct, and ſaw his own Army under a great Conſternation. They were ſtill more diſcourag'd by the Prophecies of their Holy Women, who by obſerving the Whirl-pools of Rivers, and taking Omens from the windings and noiſe of Brooks, foretold ſtrange Events, and warn'd them not to engage before the next New Moon appear'd. *Cæſar* having had intimations of this, and ſeeing the *Germans* lie ſtill, thought it expedient to attack them, whilſt they were under theſe Apprehenſions, rather than ſit ſtill, and wait their Time. Accordingly he made his approaches to their Fortifications and Outworks, within which they were intrench'd, and ſo gall'd and fretted them, that at laſt they came down with great fury to engage. But he gain'd a glorious Victory, and purſu'd them for 300 furlongs as far as the *Rhine*; all which ſpace was cover'd with Spoils, and Bodies of the Slain. *Arioviſtus* made ſhift to paſs the *Rhine* with the ſmall Remains of an Army; for it is ſaid the number of the ſlain amounted to 80000. After this Action *Cæſar* left his Army at their Winter-Quarters in the Country of the *Sequani*, and in order to attend his Affairs at *Rome*, went into that part of *Gaul*, which lies on the *Po*, and was part of his *Province*, for the River *Rubicon* divides *Gaul*, which is on this ſide the *Alps* from the reſt of *Italy*. There he ſat down, and gain'd the favour of the People,

ple, who made their Court to him frequently, and always found their Requeſts anſwer'd; for he never fail'd to diſmiſs any without preſent Pledges of his favour in Hand, and farther hopes for the future. During all this time of the War in *Gaul*, *Pompey* never diſcover'd how on one ſide *Cæſar* conquer'd his Enemies with the Arms of *Rome*, and on the other ſide gain'd upon the *Romans*, and captivated them with the Money which he had got from his Enemies. But when *Cæſar* heard that the *Belgæ*, who were the moſt powerful of all the *Gauls*, and inhabited a third part of the Country, were revolted, and they had got together a great many Thouſand Men in Arms, he immediately directed his Courſe that way with great expedition, and falling upon the Enemy, as they were ravaging the *Gauls* his Allies, he ſoon defeated them, and put them to flight. For though their numbers were great, yet they made but a ſlender defence; ſo that the Marſhes and deep Rivers were made paſſable to the *Roman* Foot, by the vaſt quantity of dead Bodies. Of thoſe who revolted, all that liv'd near the Ocean came over without fighting, and therefore he led his Army againſt the *Nervi*, who are the moſt unciviliz'd and moſt warlike People of all in thoſe parts. Theſe live in a cloſe Woody Country, and having lodg'd their Children and their Goods in a deep hollovv vvithin a large Foreſt, fell upon *Cæſar* vvith a Body of 60000 Men before he was prepar'd for them while he

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was making his Encampment. They ſoon routed his Cavalry, and having ſurrounded the 12th and 7th Legions, kill'd all the Officers; and had not *Cæſar* himſelf ſnatch'd up a Buckler, and forced his way through his own Men to come up to the Barbarians; or had not the 10th Legion, when they ſaw him in danger, ran in from the tops of the Hills, vvhere they lay, and broke through the Enemies Ranks, to reſcue him, in all probability his Army had been entirely cut off. But through the Influence of *Cæſar's* Valour, the *Romans* in this Conflict exerted more than their ordinary Courage: Yet with the utmoſt ſtreins of their Valour, they were not able to beat the Enemy out of the Field, but cut them off fighting in their own defence. For out of 60000 Soldiers not above 500 ſurvived the Battle; and of 400 of their Senators not above Three. When the *Roman* Senate had received News of this, they voted Sacrifices, and Feſtivals to the Gods, to be ſtrictly obſerved for the ſpace of 15 Days, which is a longer ſpace than ever was obſerved for any Victory before. For the Danger appear'd great, becauſe they were engag'd with ſo many States at once, and the Favour of the People to *Cæſar* made the Victory more eſteem'd becauſe he was Conqueror. He was now retir'd to his Winter-Quarters by the *Po*, where, after he had ſettled the Affairs of *Gaul*, he reſided in order to the forming his Deſigns at *Rome*. All who were

were Canditates for Offices us'd his Aſſiſtance, and were ſupplied with Money from him to corrupt the People, and buy their Votes, in return of which, when they were choſe, they did all things to advance his Power. But what was more conſiderable, the moſt eminent and powerful Men in *Rome* in great Numbers made their Court to him at *Lucca*; as *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, and *Appius* the Prætor of *Sardinia*, and *Nepos* the Proconſul of *Spain*; ſo that there were upon the Place at one time 120 Lictors, and more than 200 Senators, who held a Council, and then parted. There it was decreed, that *Pompey* and *Craſſus* ſhould be Conſuls again for the following Year; that *Cæſar* ſhould have a freſh ſupply of Money, and that his Command ſhould be renew'd to him for Five Years more. It ſeem'd very extravagant to all thinking Men, that thoſe very Perſons who had receiv'd ſo much Money from *Cæſar*, ſhould perſuade the Senate to grant him more, as if he wanted, though indeed they did not ſo much perſuade as compel the Senate, who at the ſame time regretted what they were forc'd to paſs. *Cato* was not preſent, for they had ſent him aſide very ſeaſonably into *Cyprus*; but *Favonius*, who was a zealous Imitator of *Cato*, when he found he could do no good by oppoſing it, broke out of the Houſe, and loudly declaim'd againſt theſe Proceedings to the People. But none gave him Hearing; ſome ſlighting him out

of

of reſpect to *Craſſus* and *Pompey*; others, to gratify *Cæſar*, on whom depended all their hopes. After this, *Cæſar* return'd again to his Forces in *Gaul*, where he found that Country involv'd in a dangerous War, two ſtrong People of the *Germans* having lately paſt the *Rhine*, and made Inroads into it; one of them call'd *Ipes*, the other *Tenterides*. Of the War with this People, *Cæſar* himſelf has given this Account in his Commentaries; That the Barbarians having ſent Ambaſſadors to treat with him, did during the Treaty ſet upon him in his march, by which means with 800 Men they routed 5000 of his Horſe, who did not ſuſpect their coming; that afterwards they ſent other Ambaſſadors to purſue the ſame fraudulent Practices, whom he kept in Cuſtody, and led on his Army againſt the Barbarians, as judging it would betray too much Eaſineſs, if he ſhould keep Faith with thoſe who broke their Promiſes, and could not be oblig'd by any League. *Canuſius* ſaith, that when the Senate decreed Feſtivals, and Sacrifices for this Victory, *Cato* declar'd it to be his Opinion, that *Cæſar* ought to be given into the Hands of the Barbarians; that ſo the Guilt which this breach of Faith might otherwiſe bring upon the Publick, might be expiated by transferring the Curſe on him, who was the Occaſion of it. Of thoſe which paſt the *Rhine* there were 400000 cut off; thoſe few which eſcaped were ſhelter'd by the *Sicambri*,

cambri, a People of *Germany*. *Cæſar* took hold of this Pretence to invade the *Germans*, being otherwiſe ambitious of Glory, and eſpecially of the Honour of being the firſt Man that ſhould paſs the *Rhine* with an Army. He preſently laid a Bridge over it, though it was very wide, and in that place deeper than ordinary, and at the ſame time very rough and fierce, carrying down with its Stream Trunks of Trees, and other Lumber, which much ſhock'd and weaken'd the Foundations of his Bridge. But he drove great Planks of Wood into the bottom of the River above the Bridge, both to reſiſt the Impreſſion of ſuch Bodies, and to break the force of the Torrent; and by this means he finiſh'd his Bridge, which no One who ſaw could believe it to be the Work but of Ten Days. In the paſſage of his Army over it, he met with no oppoſition; the *Sueví* themſelves, who are the moſt warlike People of all *Germany*, flying with their Effects into the cloſeſt and moſt woody part of the Vales. When he had burnt all the Enemies Country, and encourag'd thoſe who had remain'd firm to the *Roman* Intereſt, he went back into *Gaul* after Eighteen Days ſtay in *Germany*. But his Expedition into *Britain* gave the moſt ſignal Teſtimony of his Courage; for he was the firſt who brought a Navy into the Weſtern Ocean, or who ſail'd through the Atlantick with an Army to make War; and though the Iſland is of ſo incre-

dible an extent, that it has given room to Hiſtorians to diſpute, whether ſuch an Iſland really be in Nature, or whether 'tis a bare Name and Fiction; yet he attempted to conquer it, and to carry the *Roman* Empire beyond the Limits of the known World. He paſſed thither twice from that part of *Gaul*, which lies over againſt it, and in ſeveral Battles which he fought, did more diſſervice to the Enemy, than ſervice to himſelf; for the Iſlanders were ſo miſerably poor, that they had nothing worth being plundered of. When he found himſelf unable to put ſuch an end to the War as he wiſh'd, he was content to take Hoſtages from the King, and to impoſe ſome Taxes, and then quitted the Iſland. At his Arrival in *Gaul*, he found Letters which lay ready to be convey'd over the Water to him, from his Friends at *Rome*, to give him notice of his Daughters Death, who died in Labour of a Child by *Pompey*. *Cæſar* and *Pompey* were much afflicted with her Death, nor were their Friends leſs diſturb'd; becauſe that Alliance was now quite broke, which had hitherto kept the Commonwealth in Peace and Amity; for the Child alſo died within a few Days after the Mother. The People took the Body of *Julia* by force from the Tribunes, and buried it in the *Campus Martius*, with all Solemnities proper on that Occaſion. *Cæſar*'s Army was now grown very Numerous, ſo that he was forc'd to diſperſe them into ſeveral Winter-Quarters, and being

being gone himself towards *Rome*, as he us'd to do, there was a sudden Rupture in *Gaul*, and great Armies were on their march about the Country, who beat up the *Romans* Quarters, and attempted to make themselves Masters of the Forts where they lay. The greatest and strongest Party of the Rebels, under the Command of *Ambiorix*, cut off *Cotta*, and *Titurius*, with their Army. After that the Enemies invested a Town, (where *Cicero* lay with his Legion) with an Army of 60000 Men, and had almost taken it by Storm, the *Roman* Soldiers in it being all wounded, and having quite spent themselves, by a brisk and vigorous Defence, beyond their natural Strength: But *Cæsar*, who was at a great distance, having receiv'd notice of this, quickly got together 7000 Men, and hasten'd to relieve *Cicero*. The Besiegers were aware of it, and went to meet him, with great Confidence that they should with ease devour such an handful of Men.. *Cæsar*, to nourish their Presumption, seem'd to avoid fighting, and still march'd off, till he found a Place conveniently situate for a few to engage against many, where he encamp'd. He kept his Soldiers from making any Incursion on the Enemy, and commanded them to raise a Bulwark, and to build strong Barricadoes, that by shew of fear, they might heighten the Enemies contempt of them; till at last they came without any order in great Security to make an

Attack, when he made a Sally, and put them to flight with the Loſs of many Men. This quieted many Commotions in theſe parts of *Gaul*, and *Cæſar* made his Progreſs through ſeveral parts of the Country, and with great vigilance provided againſt all Innovations. At that time there were Three Legions come to him by way of Recruits for the Men he had loſt; of which *Pompey* furniſh'd him with Two out of thoſe under his Command; the other was newly rais'd in that part of *Gaul* which is by the *Po*. After this the Seeds of War, which had long ſince been ſecretly ſown and ſcatter'd by the moſt powerful Men in thoſe warlike Nations, broke forth, and ripen'd into the greateſt and moſt dangerous War that ever was in thoſe parts, both for the number of Men, in the vigour of their Youth, and quantity of Arms, which were gather'd from all parts, and the vaſt Funds of Money laid up for this purpoſe, and the ſtrength of Towns, and ſituation of Places by which they were inacceſſible. It being Winter, the Rivers were frozen, the Woods cover'd with Snow, and the Fields overflow'd; ſo that in ſome Places the Ways were loſt through the depth of the Snow; in others, the overflowing of Bogs and Brooks made the Paſſage very dangerous: All which difficulties made it ſeem impracticable to *Cæſar* to make any Attempt upon the Rebels. Many States had revolted together; the chief

of

of them were the *Arverni*, and *Carnutes*; the General who had the Supreme Command in War was *Vercingetorix*, whoſe Father the *Gauls* had put to Death on ſuſpicion he affected abſolute Government. He having diſpos'd his Army in ſeveral Bodies, and ſet Officers over them, drew over to him all the Country round about as far as thoſe that lie upon *Arar*, and having Intelligence of the Oppoſition which *Cæſar*'s Affairs now found at *Rome*, thought to engage all *Gaul* in the War. Which if he had done a little later, when *Cæſar* was taken up with the Civil Wars, *Italy* had been put into as great fears, as before it was by the *Cimbri*. But at this time *Cæſar*, who was of a *Genius* naturally fitted to make a right uſe of all advantages in War, as ſoon as he heard of the Revolt, return'd immediately the ſame way he went, and ſhew'd the Barbarians, by the quickneſs of his march in ſuch a tempeſtuous Seaſon, that the Army which was advancing againſt them was invincible. For in time that one would have thought it ſcarce credible that a Courier, or Expreſs, ſhould have come ſo far, he appear'd with all his Army; in his march he ravag'd the Country, demoliſh'd the Forts, receiv'd into his Protection thoſe who declar'd for him; till at laſt the *Hedui* oppos'd him, who before had ſtyled themſelves Brethren to the *Romans*, and had been much honour'd by them, but now join'd the Rebels, to the great

Diſcouragement of *Cæſar*'s Army. Wherefore he remov'd thence, and paſt the Country of the *Lingones*, deſiring to touch upon the Territories of the *Sequani*, who were his Allies, and are ſituate next to *Italy* upon the Confines of *Gaul*. There the Enemy came upon him, and ſurrounded him with many Myriads, whom he was eager enough to engage; and had the advantage of them upon all Accounts, and at laſt, through the length of time, and terrour of his Name, quite defeated them. But he ſeems to have made ſome falſe Steps at firſt, and the *Arverni* ſhew you a Sword hanging up in a Temple, which they ſay was taken from *Cæſar*. This *Cæſar* ſaw afterwards, and ſmil'd at it, and when his Friends advis'd it ſhould be taken down, would not permit it, becauſe he look'd upon it as conſecrated. After the Defeat, a great part of thoſe who had eſcaped, fled with their King into a Town call'd *Alexia*, which *Cæſar* beſieged, though for the heighth of the Walls, and number of thoſe who were in Gariſon, it ſeem'd impregnable. During the Siege, he met with greater danger without the Town, than can be expreſt. For the choice Men of *Gaul*, pick'd out of each Nation, and well Arm'd, came to relieve *Alexia*, to the number of Three hundred thouſand; nor were there in the Town leſs than One hundred and ſeventy thouſand: So that *Cæſar* being ſhut up betwixt Two ſuch Armies, was forc'd to raiſe

raiſe two Walls, one towards the Town, the other againſt the new Supplies, as knowing if theſe Forces ſhould join, his Affairs would be intirely ruin'd. The Danger that he underwent before *Alexia*, did juſtly gain him great Honour; and gave him an Opportunity of ſhewing greater Inſtances of his Valour and Conduct, than any other Battle ever did. One would wonder very much how he ſhould engage and defeat ſo many Thouſands of Men without the Town, and not be perceiv'd by thoſe within: But much more, that the *Romans* themſelves, who guarded their Wall which was next the Town, ſhould be Strangers to it. For even they knew nothing of the Victory, till they heard the cries of the Men, and lamentations of the Women, who were in the Town, and had from thence ſeen the *Romans* at a diſtance carrying into their Camp a great quantity of Bucklers, adorn'd with Gold and Silver, many Breaſt-plates ſtain'd with Blood, beſides Cups and Tents made after the *Gallic* Mode. So ſoon was ſo vaſt an Army diſſipated, and vaniſh'd like a Ghoſt or Dream, the greateſt part of them being kill'd upon the Spot. Thoſe which were in *Alexia*, having given themſelves and *Cæſar* much trouble, ſurrendred at laſt; and *Vercingetorix*, who was the chief Spring of all the War, with his beſt Armour on, and well mounted, rode out of the Gates, and took a Turn about *Cæſar* as he was ſitting; then

quitted his Horſe, threw off his Armour, and laid himſelf quietly at *Cæſar*'s Feet, who committed him to Cuſtody to be reſerv'd for a Triumph.

Cæſar had long ſince deſign'd to ruine *Pompey*, and *Pompey* him; for *Craſſus*, who had hitherto kept them in Peace, being ſlain in *Parthia*, the one wanted nothing to make himſelf the greateſt Man in *Rome*, but the Fall of him who was ſo: Nor had the other any way to prevent his own Ruine, but by being before-hand with him whom he fear'd. But *Pompey* had not been long under ſuch Apprehenſions, having till that time deſpis'd *Cæſar*, as thinking it no difficult matter to cruſh him whom he himſelf had advanc'd. But *Cæſar* had entertain'd this Deſign from the beginning againſt his Rivals, and had retir'd like an expert Wreſtler, to prepare himſelf for the Combat: He had improv'd the ſtrength of his Soldiery by exerciſing 'em in the *Gallic* Wars, and had heighten'd his own Glory by his great Actions, ſo that he was look'd on, as one that vied with *Pompey*. Nor did he let go any of thoſe Advantages, which were now given him both by *Pompey* himſelf, and the Times, and the ill Government of *Rome*, whereby all who were Candidates for Offices publickly gave Money, and without any ſhame brib'd the People, who having receiv'd their pay, did not contend for their Benefactors with their bare Suffrages, but with

with Bows, Swords, and Slings; ſo that they ſeldom parted without having ſtain'd the Place of Election with the Blood of Men kill'd upon the Spot; by which the City was brought to confuſion like a Ship without a Pilot; ſo that the wiſer Part wiſh'd things which were carried on with ſo much Tumult and Fury, might end no worſe than in a Monarchy. Some were ſo bold as to declare openly, that the Government was incurable but by a Monarchy, and that they ought to take that Remedy from the Hands of the gentleſt Phyſician, meaning *Pompey*; who though in Words he pretended to decline it, yet in Reality he made his utmoſt Efforts to be declar'd Dictator. *Cato* perceiving his Deſign, prevail'd with the Senate to make him ſole Conſul, that he might not aim at the Dictatorſhip, being taken off with the offer of a more legal ſort of Monarchy. They over and above voted him the continuance of his Provinces; for he had Two, *Spain*, and all *Afric*, which he govern'd by his Deputies, and maintain'd Armies under him, at the yearly Charge of 10000 Talents out of the publick Treaſury. Upon this *Cæſar* alſo, by his Proxies, demanded the Conſulate, and the continuance of his Provinces. *Pompey* at firſt did not ſtir in it, but *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* oppos'd it, who had always hated *Cæſar*; and now did every thing, whether fit or unfit, which might diſgrace and expoſe him.

For

For they took away the Freedom of *Rome* from the *Neocomians*, who were a Colony that *Cæſar* had lately planted in *Gaul*; and *Marcellus*, who was then Conſul, order'd one of Senators of that City, then at *Rome*, to be whipt; and told him, he laid that Mark upon him to ſignify he was no Citizen of *Rome*, bidding him, when he went back again, to ſhew it *Cæſar*. After *Marcellus*'s Conſulate, *Cæſar* preſented largely all the great Stateſmen out of the Riches he had taken from the *Gauls*; diſcharg'd *Curio* the Tribune from his great Debts; gave *Paulus*, then Conſul, 1500 Talents, with which he built a noble Palace joining to the *Forum*, in the Place where that of *Fulvius* had ſtood. *Pompey*, jealous of theſe Preparations, did now openly practiſe both by himſelf, and his Friends, to have a Succeſſor declar'd to *Cæſar*, and ſent to redemand thoſe Soldiers whom he had lent him to carry on the Wars in *Gaul*. *Cæſar* return'd them, and gave each Soldier 250 Drachms. Thoſe who conducted them to *Pompey*, ſpread amongſt the People no very favourable report of *Cæſar*, and flatter'd *Pompey* himſelf with falſe Suggeſtions that he was wiſh'd for by *Cæſar*'s Army; and though his Affairs here were in an ill Poſture, through the Envy of ſome, and the ill State of the Government, yet there the Army was at his Command, and if they might paſs into *Italy*, would preſently declare for him; ſo uneaſy were they under

under *Cæſar*, who had engag'd them in ſo many Expeditions, and ſo ſuſpicious of him, as aſpiring to the Monarchy. Upon this *Pompey* grew careleſs, and neglected all warlike Preparations, as fearing no danger, but attack'd him with Words only, and Speeches, thinking to conquer by a Majority of Votes, which *Cæſar* ſlighted. For 'tis ſaid, that one of his Captains, who was ſent by him to *Rome*, ſtanding before the Senate-houſe one Day, and being told, that the Senate would not give *Cæſar* a longer time in his Government, clapt his Hand on the Hilt of his Sword, and ſaid, *But this ſhall.* Yet the Demands which *Cæſar* made had the faireſt Colours of Equity imaginable; for he propoſed to lay down his Arms, and that *Pompey* ſhould do the ſame, and both together ſhould become private Men, and each expect a Reward of his Services from the Publick; for that thoſe who went to diſarm him, and at the ſame time confirm'd *Pompey*'s Power, only ſuppreſt the one, to eſtabliſh the other in his Tyranny. When *Curio* made theſe Propoſals to the People in *Cæſar*'s Name, he was mightily applauded, and ſome threw Garlands towards him, and diſmiſt him as they do Wreſtlers, crown'd with Flowers. *Antony* being Tribune, produced a Letter ſent from *Cæſar* on this Occaſion, and read it, though the Conſuls did what they could to oppoſe it. But *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s Father-in-Law, propos'd

in

in the Senate, that if *Cæſar* did not lay down his Arms within ſuch a time, he ſhould be voted an Enemy; and the Conſuls putting it to the Queſtion, whether *Pompey* ſhould diſmiſs his Soldiers; and again, whether *Cæſar* ſhould disband his; very few aſſented to the firſt, but almoſt all to the latter. But *Antony* propoſing again, that both ſhould lay down their Commiſſions, all unanimouſly agreed to it. *Scipio* was upon this very violent, and *Lentulus* the Conſul cried aloud, That they had need of *Arms*, and not of *Suffrages* againſt a Robber; ſo that they were adjourn'd, and chang'd their Robes, in token of grief for the Diſſention. Afterwards there came other Letters from *Cæſar*, which ſeem'd yet more moderate; for he propoſed to quit every thing elſe, and only to have *Gallia Ciſalpina*, *Illyricum*, and Two Legions, till he ſhould ſtand a ſecond time for Conſul. *Cicero* the Orator, who was lately return'd from *Cilicia*, endeavour'd to reconcile Differences, and ſoften'd *Pompey*, who was willing to comply in other things, but not to allow him the Soldiers. At laſt *Cicero* prevail'd with *Cæſar*'s Friends, who were now more flexible to accept of the Provinces, and 6000 Soldiers only, and ſo to make up the Quarrel. *Pompey* gave way to this, but *Lentulus* the Conſul would not hearken to it, but drove *Antony* and *Curio* out of the Houſe with diſgrace; by which they afforded *Cæſar* the handſomeſt Pretence

Pretence that could be to enflame the Soldiers, by ſhewing them Two Perſons of ſuch Worth and Authority, who were forc'd to eſcape in a common Hackney-Coach, in the Habits of Slaves; for ſo they were glad to diſguiſe themſelves, when they fled out of *Rome*. Now there were not about him at that time above 300 Horſe, and 5000 Foot; for the reſt of his Army, which was left behind the *Alps*, was to be brought after him by Perſons Commiſſion'd for that purpoſe. But he thought the firſt Motion towards the deſign which he had then on foot, did not require many Forces at preſent, and that he ought to make his firſt Step ſo ſuddenly, as to ſurprize the adverſe Party into an Admiration of his Courage; for he eſteem'd it eaſier to aſtoniſh them, if he came unawares, than fairly to conquer them, if he had alarm'd them by his Preparations; and therefore he commanded his Captains, and other Officers, to go only with their Swords in their Hands, without any other Arms, and make themſelves Maſters of *Ariminum*, a great City of *Gaul*, with as little Noiſe and Bloodſhed as poſſible. He committed the Care of the Army to *Hortenſius*, and ſpent the Day in publick, as a Stander by, and Spectator of the Gladiators, who exercis'd before him. A little before Night he bath'd, and then vvent into the Hall, and converſt for ſome time vvith thoſe he had invited to Supper, till it began

to

to grow dusky; vvhen he roſe from Table, and having complimented the Company, and deſir'd 'em to ſtay till he came back, gave private Orders to ſome of his Confidents that they ſhould follow him, not all the ſame vvay; but ſome one way, ſome another. He himſelf got into an Hackney-Coach, and drove at firſt another vvay, but preſently turn towards *Ariminum*. When he came to the River *Rubicon*, vvhich parts *Gaul* that is vvithin the *Alps* from the reſt of *Italy*, his thoughts began to vvork; now he was juſt entring upon danger, and he vvaver'd much in his mind, vvhen he conſider'd coolly the difficulty of the Attempt. This ſtopt his career for a vvhile, and made him halt, vvhile he revolv'd vvith himſelf, and often chang'd his Opinion one vvay, and the other, vvithout ſpeaking a Word. When he could not fix his Reſolution, he diſcuſt the Matter very particularly vvith his Friends vvhich vvere about him, (of vvhich Number *Aſinius Pollio* was one) computing how many Calamities his paſſing that River vvould bring upon Mankind, and vvhat a Relation of it vvould be tranſmitted to Poſterity. At laſt, carried on by an extraordinary Impulſe, he left off Reaſoning, and truſted to the Event; uſing the Proverb frequently in their Mouths who enter upon dangerous and bold Attempts, *The Die is caſt*; with which Words he took the River. When he was over, he us'd all

expedition

expedition poſſible, and before it was Day reach'd *Ariminum*, and took it. 'Tis ſaid, that the Night before he paſt the River, he had an impious Dream, that he was unnaturally familiar with his own Mother. As ſoon as *Ariminum* was taken, there was as it were a wide Gate open'd to a War by Sea, as well as Land; and with the Limits of the *Provinces*, the Boundaries of the *Laws* were tranſgreſt: Nor would one have thought that the Inhabitants only, as at other times, fled from one place to other in great Conſternation, but that the very Towns themſelves left their Stations, and fled for ſuccour into each other: So that the City of *Rome* was overrun as it were with a Deluge, by the conflux of neighbouring People from all parts round about; and was neither eaſy under the Government of its Magiſtrates, nor to be quieted by the Eloquence of any Orator, in this great hurry and confuſion, but was in danger of ſinking by its own weight. For contrary Paſſions, and violent Motions, poſſeſt all places; nor were thoſe who were intereſted in theſe Changes wholly at peace; but frequently meeting, as in ſo great a City they needs muſt, with ſuch as ſhew'd themſelves fearful and dejected, brought quarrels on themſelves by their great confidence and preſumption. *Pompey* ſufficiently of himſelf diſturb'd, was yet more perplex'd by the clamours of others; ſome telling him that he

juſtly ſuffer'd for having arm'd *Cæſar* againſt himſelf, and the Government; others blaming him for permitting *Cæſar* to be inſolently us'd by *Lentulus*, when he made ſo large Conceſſions, and offer'd ſuch reaſonable Propoſals towards an Accommodation. *Favonius* bad him now ſtamp upon the Ground; for once talking big in the Senate, he deſir'd them not to trouble themſelves about making any Preparations for the War; for that he himſelf, with one Stamp of his Foot, would fill all *Italy* with Soldiers. Yet ſtill *Pompey* had more Forces than *Cæſar*, but he was not permitted to purſue his own thoughts; but being continually alarm'd with frightful and falſe Reports, as if the Enemy was juſt upon him, and Maſter of all, was forc'd to give way, and was born down by the common cry. In this diſtraction, it is reſolved to leave the City, and the Senators are commanded to follow him, with an Order, that no one ſhould ſtay behind who did not prefer Tyranny to their Country, and Liberty. The Conſuls preſently fled, without making the uſual Sacrifices; the ſame did moſt of the Senators, carrying off their own Goods in as much haſte as if they had been robbing their Neighbours. Some, who had formerly much favour'd *Cæſar*'s Cauſe, out of fear quitted their own Sentimentss, and without any proſpect of good to themſelves, were carried along by the common Stream.

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It was a very melancholy View to ſee the City toſt in theſe Tumults, like a Ship vvhoſe Pilot has given her over, and deſpairs of hindering her from being ſtruck on the next Rock. Thoſe, vvho left the City, though their departure was on ſo ſad an Occaſion, yet eſteem'd the place of their Exile to be their Countrey for *Pompey*'s ſake, and fled from *Rome*, as if it had been *Cæſar*'s Camp. At the ſame time *Labienus*, a Perſon who had been one of *Cæſar*'s beſt Friends, and his Lieutenant, and one who had fought by him very vigorouſly in the *Gallic* Wars, deſerted him, and went over to *Pompey*. *Cæſar* ſent all his Money, and Equipage after him, and then ſat down before *Corfinium*, which was Gariſon'd with 30 Soldiers under the Command of *Domitius*. He in deſpair order'd a Phyſician who attended him to give him Poiſon; and taking the Doſe drunk it, in hopes of being diſpatch'd by it: But ſoon after, vvhen he was told that *Cæſar* us'd a vvonderful Clemency towards thoſe he took Priſoners, lamented his Misfortune, and blam'd the haſtineſs of his own Reſolution. His Phyſician comforted him, vvhen he acquainted him that he had took a ſleeping, not a mortal Poiſon; vvith this he was very much pleaſed, and riſing from his bed, went preſently over to *Cæſar*, and kiſt his Hand, but afterwards revolted to *Pompey*. The Report of theſe things at *Rome* ſweetned thoſe who

were there, and ſome who had fled thence, return'd. *Cæſar* took into his Army *Domitius*'s Soldiers, as he did all thoſe whom he found in any Town liſted for *Pompey*'s Service. Being now ſtrong and formidable enough, he advanc'd againſt *Pompey* himſelf, who did not ſtay to receive him, but fled to *Brunduſium*, having ſent the Conſuls before with the Army to *Dyrrachium*. Soon after, upon *Cæſar*'s Approach, he ſet to Sea, as ſhall be more particularly related in his Life. *Cæſar* vvould have immediately purſued him, but vvanted Shipping, and therefore went back to *Rome*, having made himſelf Maſter of all *Italy* in the ſpace of 60 Days. When he came thither, he found the City more quiet than he expected, and many Senators upon the place, to vvhom he addreſt himſelf with great courteſy and deference, deſiring them to ſend to *Pompey* about any reaſonable Accommodations towards a Peace. But no Body complied with this Propoſal; vvhether out of fear of *Pompey*, whom they had deſerted, or that they thought *Cæſar* did not mean what he ſaid, but thought it his Intereſt to talk plauſibly. Afterwards, when *Metellus* the Tribune would have hinder'd him from taking Money out of the publick Treaſury, and produc'd ſome Laws againſt it; *Cæſar* replied, That *Arms and Laws did not well agree; and if you are diſpleas'd with what I do, at preſent, Sir, retreat quietly, for War doth not admit long Speeches: When I have laid down my Arms, and entred*

entred into Terms of Peace, then come and Harangue as you pleaſe: And this I tell you in diminution of my own juſt Right; for indeed you are my Subject, as are all thoſe who have appear'd againſt me, and are now in my Power. Having ſaid this to *Metellus*, he went to the Doors of the Treaſury, and the Keys being not to be found, ſent for Smiths to force them open. *Metellus* again making reſiſtance, and ſome encouraging him in it, *Cæſar* threatned to kill him, if he gave him any farther diſturbance: *And this*, ſaith he, *you know, young Man, is harder for me to ſay, then to do.* Theſe Words made *Metellus* withdraw for fear, and at the ſame time gave way to *Cæſar*'s being eaſily and readily ſupplied with all things neceſſary for the War. He was now going to make War in *Spain*, with a Reſolution firſt, to remove *Afranius* and *Varro*, *Pompey's* Lieutenants, and to make himſelf Maſter of the Army and Provinces under them, that he might more ſecurely advance againſt *Pompey*, when he had no Enemy left behind him. In this Expedition his Perſon was often in danger from Ambuſcades, and his Army by want of Proviſions; yet he did not deſiſt from purſuing the Enemy, provoking them to fight, and beſieging them, till by main force he made himſelf Maſter of their Camps, and their Forces: Only the Officers got off, and fled to *Pompey*. When *Cæſar* came back to *Rome*, *Piſo* his Father in Law advis'd him to

ſend Men to *Pompey*, to treat of a Peace; but *Iſauricus* to ingratiate himſelf with *Cæſar* ſpoke againſt it. *Cæſar* after this, being choſe *Dictator* by the Senate, called home the Exiles, advanced to Titles of Honour the Children of ſuch as had ſuffer'd under *Sylla*, and ſuch as were in debt by retrenching ſome part of the Intereſt, and touch'd upon ſome other Regulations like theſe, but not many: For within 11 Days he reſign'd his Dictatorſhip, and having declar'd himſelf Conſul, with *Servilius Iſauricus*, made haſte to the Camp again. He march'd ſo faſt, that he left all his Army behind him, except 600 choſen Horſe, and 5 Legions, with which he put to Sea in the very middle of Winter, about the beginning of the Month *January*, which the *Athenians* call *Poſideon*, and having paſt the *Ionian* Sea took *Oricum*, and *Apollonia*, and then ſent back the Ships to *Brunduſium*, to bring over the Soldiers, that were left behind in the march. Theſe Soldiers, as they were upon the Road, being very much waſted in their Bodies, and tir'd with the fatigue of ſo many Engagements, talkt againſt *Cæſar* after this manner. *When at laſt, and where will this* Cæſar *let us be quiet? He carries us from Place to Place, and uſes us, as if we were not to be worn out, and had no ſenſe of labour. Even our Iron itſelf is ſpent by blows, and we ought to have ſome pity on our Bucklers, and Breaſt-plates, which have been us'd ſo long. Doth not* Cæſar *gather from*

from our Wounds, that we are mortal Men, whom he commands? And that we are ſubject to the ſame Calamities, and Diſeaſes, as other Mortals are? 'Tis impoſſible for a God himſelf to force the Winter-Seaſon, or to hinder the Storms, when they rage: Yet he puſhes forward, as if he we were not purſuing, but flying from an Enemy. This was their Diſcourſe as they march'd leiſurely towards *Brunduſium*. But when they came thither, and found that *Cæſar* was gone off before them, they chang'd their Sentiments, and blam'd themſelves as Traitors to their General. They now rail'd at their Officers for marching ſo ſlowly, and placing themſelves on the Promontories by the Sea-ſide over againſt *Epirus*, lookt out to ſee if they could eſpy the Veſſels, which were to tranſport them to *Cæſar*. He in the mean time was poſted in *Apollonia*, but had not an Army with him able to fight the Enemy; the Forces from *Brunduſium* being ſo long a coming, which put him into a great Suſpence and Loſs what to do. At laſt he entred upon a dangerous Project, which was to go in a Veſſel of 12 Oars, without any one's knowledge, over to *Brunduſium*, though the Sea was at that time cover'd with a vaſt Fleet of the Enemies. He embark'd in the Night-time in the habit of a Slave, and throwing himſelf down like ſome inconſiderable Fellow, lay along at the bottom of the Veſſel. The River *Anius* was to carry them down to Sea, and

there us'd to blow a gentle Gale every Morning from the Land, which made it very calm towards the mouth of the River, by driving the Waves forward; but that Night there blew a ſtrong Wind from the Sea, which overpower'd that from the Land; ſo that betwixt the violence of the Tide, and the reſiſtance of the Waves againſt it, the River was very rough, and ſo uneven and dangerous, that the Pilot could not make good his Paſſage, but order'd his Sailors to tack about. *Cæſar* upon this diſcovers himſelf, and taking the Pilot by the Hand, who was ſurpriſed to ſee him there, ſaid, *Go on boldly, my Friend, and fear nothing; thou carrieſt* Cæſar, *and his Fortune along with thee.* The Mariners when they heard that, forgot the Storm; and laying all their Strength to their Oars, did what they could to force their way down the River. But when it was to no purpoſe, and the Veſſel now took in much Water, *Cæſar* finding himſelf in ſo great danger in the very mouth of the River, permitted the Maſter, though much againſt his Will, to turn back. When he was come to Land, his Soldiers ran to him in whole Troops, and expreſt how much they were troubled, that he ſhould think himſelf not ſtrong enough to get a Victory by their ſole Aſſiſtance, but muſt needs diſturb himſelf, and expoſe his Perſon for thoſe who were abſent, as if he could not truſt thoſe who were with him. After this, *Antony* came over

over with the Forces from *Brunduſium*, which encourag'd *Cæſar* to give *Pompey* Battle, though he was encamp'd very advantageouſly, and furniſh'd with plenty of Proviſions both by Sea and Land, whilſt he himſelf, who at firſt had been but ill ſtock'd, was now at laſt extremely pinch'd for want of Neceſſaries, ſo that his Soldiers were forc'd to dig up a kind of Root which grew there, and tempering it with Milk to feed on it. Sometimes they made Loaves, and in their Incurſions on the Enemies Out-guards, would throw in thoſe Loaves, telling them, That *as long as the Earth produced ſuch Roots they would not leave off to beſiege* Pompey. But *Pompey* took what care he could, that neither the Loaves, nor the Words, ſhould reach his Men; for they would have been diſheartned at the Fierceneſs and Hardineſs of their Enemies, and look'd upon them as a Kin to the ſavage Nature of Wild Beaſts. There were continual Skirmiſhes about *Pompey*'s Out-works, in all which *Cæſar* had the better, except one; when his Men were forc'd to fly in ſuch a manner, that he had like to have loſt his Camp. For *Pompey* made ſuch a vigorous Sally on them, that not a Man ſtood his ground; the Trenches were fill'd with dead Bodies; many fell upon their own Ramparts, and Bulwarks, being cloſely purſued by the Enemy. *Cæſar* met them, and would have turn'd them back, but could not. When he went to lay hold of the

Colours, thoſe who carried them threw them down, ſo that the Enemies took 32 of them. He himſelf narrowly eſcap'd; for taking hold of a bag luſty Fellow that was flying by him, he bid him ſtand, and face about; but the Fellow, full of Apprehenſions from the danger he was in, began to handle his Sword, as if he would ſtrike *Cæſar*; and had done it, had not *Cæſar*'s Armor-bearer prevented the Blow by chopping off the Man's Arm. *Cæſar*'s Affairs were ſo deſperate at that time, that when *Pompey*, either through Fear, or his ill Fortune, did not give the finiſhing Stroke to that great Action, but retreated after he had ſhut up the Enemy within their Camp; *Cæſar*, upon his return, ſaid to his Friends, *The Victory to Day had been on our Enemies Side, if they had had a General which knew how to conquer.* When he was retir'd into his Tent, he laid himſelf down to Sleep, but ſpent that Night the moſt melancholy that he ever did any, being perplext in his Thoughts for his ill Conduct in this War: For when he had a large Country before him, and all the wealthy Cities of *Macedonia*, and *Theſſaly*, he had neglected to carry the War thither, and had ſat down by the Sea-ſide, whilſt his Enemies had ſuch a powerful Fleet; ſo that he ſeem'd rather to be beſieg'd with want of Neceſſaries, than to beſiege others with his Arms. Being thus diſtracted in his Thoughts with the view of the ill Poſture he ſtood in, he

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rais'd his Camp with a deſign to advance towards *Scipio*, who lay in *Macedonia*; for he hop'd either to draw *Pompey* where he ſhould fight without the advantage he now had of ſupplies from the Sea, or over-power *Scipio*, if not aſſiſted. This animated *Pompey*'s Army, and Officers ſo far, that they were for purſuing *Cæſar*, as one that was worſted and flying. But *Pompey* was afraid to hazard a Battle, on which ſo much depended, and being himſelf provided with all Neceſſaries for a conſiderable time, thought to tire out, and waſte the vigor of *Cæſar*'s Army, which could not laſt long; for the beſt part of his Men, though they had much Experience, and ſhew'd an irreſiſtible Courage in all Engagements, yet by their frequent marches, changing their Camps, aſſaulting of Towns, and long Watches, were ſo broken, and ſo much exhauſted with Age, that their Bodies were unfit for Labour, and their Courage cool'd by their Years. Beſides, 'tis ſaid that a Peſtilential Diſeaſe occaſioned by their irregular Diet rag'd in *Cæſar*'s Army, and what was of greateſt moment, he was neither furniſh'd with Money, nor Proviſions, ſo that in a little time he muſt needs fall of himſelf. For theſe Reaſons *Pompey* had no mind to fight him, and was thank'd for it by none but *Cato*, who was pleas'd with it out of his zeal to preſerve his Fellow-Citizens. For when he ſaw the dead Bodies of thoſe which had faln in

the

the laſt Battle on *Cæſar*'s ſide to the number of a Thouſand, he went away, cover'd his Face, and wept. The reſt reproach'd *Pompey* for declining to fight, and call'd him *Agamemnon*, and the King of Kings, as One that had no mind to lay down his Sovereign Authority, but was pleas'd to ſee ſo many great Commanders attending on him, and paying their attendance at his Tent. *Favonius*, who affected *Cato*'s free way of ſpeaking his mind, complain'd bitterly, that they ſhould eat no Figs that Year at *Tuſculum* by reaſon of *Pompey*'s Ambition to be Monarch. *Afranius*, who vvho vvas lately return'd out of *Spain*, and by reaſon of the ill Campagne he had made, was ſuſpected by *Pompey* to have betray'd the Army for Money, ask'd him, *Why he did not fight that Merchant, who had made ſuch Purchaſes? Pompey* was compell'd by this kind of Language to give *Cæſar* Battle, though againſt his own Sentiments, and in order to it purſu'd him. *Cæſar* had found great difficulties in his march; for no Country would ſupply him with Proviſions, his Reputation being very much ſunk ſince his laſt Defeat. But when he came to *Gomphi*, a Town of *Theſſaly*, he not only found Proviſions for his Army, but Phyſick too. For there they met with plenty of Wine, which they took of very freely; heated with this, and fir'd with the God, they jollily danc'd along, and ſo ſhook off their Diſeaſe, and chang'd their whole Conſtitution. When the two Armies

Armies were come into *Pharſalia*, and both encamp'd there, *Pompey*'s thoughts ran the ſame way, as they had done before, againſt fighting, and the more, becauſe of ſome unlucky Preſages, and an odd Viſion he had in a Dream. Yet ſome who were about him were ſo confident of ſucceſs, that *Domitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, as if they had already conquer'd, quarrel'd which ſhould ſucceed *Cæſar* in the Pontificate; And many ſent to *Rome* to take Houſes fit to accommodate Conſuls and Prætors, as being ſure of entering upon thoſe Offices, as ſoon as the Battle was over. The Cavalry eſpecially were eager to fight, as being well Arm'd, and bravely mounted, and valuing themſelves upon the clean ſhapes of their Horſes, and the advantage of their numbers, for they were 5000 againſt 1000 of *Cæſar*'s. Nor was their Infantry better match'd, there being 45000 of *Pompey*'s, againſt 22000 of the Enemy. *Cæſar* drew up his Soldiers, and told 'em that *Cornificius* was coming up to them with two Legions, and that 15 Companies more under *Calenus* were poſted at *Megara*, and *Athens*, he ask'd 'em, whether they would ſtay till theſe join'd them, or would hazard the Battle by themſelves. They all cried out againſt delaying, and were eager to engage as ſoon as poſſible. When he ſacrificed to the Gods for the luſtration of his Army, upon the death of the firſt Victim, the Augur told him, within three days, he ſhould

come

come to a deciſive Action. *Cæſar* ask'd him, *Whether he ſaw any thing in the Entrails, which promis'd an happy Event? That*, ſaith the Prieſt, *you can beſt anſwer your ſelf; for the Gods ſignifie a great alteration from the preſent poſture of Affairs; if therefore you think your ſelf happy now, expect worſe Fortune; if unhappy, hope for better.* The Night before the Battle, as he walk'd the Rounds about Midnight, he ſaw a Light in the Heaven very bright and flaming, which ſeem'd to paſs over *Cæſar*'s Camp, and fall into *Pompey*'s; and when *Cæſar*'s Soldiers came to relieve the Watch in the Morning, they perceiv'd a Panic fear among the Enemies. However he did not expect to fight that Day, but decamp'd as if he deſign'd to march towards *Scotuſa*. But when the Tents were taken down, his Scouts rode up to him, and told him the Enemy would give him Battle. With this he was very much pleas'd, and having perform'd his Devotions to the Gods, ſet his Army in Battalia, dividing them into three Bodies. Over the middle-moſt he plac'd *Domitius-Calvinus*: *Antony* commanded the Left Wing, and he himſelf the Right, being reſolv'd to fight at the Head of the 10th Legion. But when he ſaw the Enemies Cavalry planted againſt him, being ſtruck with their Bravery, and their Number, he gave private Orders, That ſix Companies from the Reer of the Army ſhonld advance up to him, whom he poſted behind the Right Wing, and inſtructed

ſtructed them what they ſhould do, when the Enemies Horſe came to charge. On the other ſide, *Pompey* commanded the Right Wing, *Domitius* the Left, and *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s Father-in-law, the Main Body. The whole Weight of the Cavalry was in the Left Wing, who deſign'd to attack the Right Wing of the Enemy, and preſs that part moſt which the General himſelf commanded: For they thought no Body of Foot could be ſo deep as to bear ſuch a ſhock, but that they muſt neceſſarily be broken to peices upon the firſt impreſſion of ſo ſtrong a Cavalry. When they were ready on both ſides to give the ſignal for Battle, *Pompey* commanded his Foot who were in the Front, to ſtand their Ground, and without breaking their Order, receive quietly the Enemies firſt Attack, till they came within Javelins caſt. *Cæſar* blam'd this Conduct, and ſaid, *Pompey* was not aware that the firſt Charge, if it were brisk and fierce, gave weight to every ſtroke, and rais'd a general warmth of Soul, which was eaſily kept alive and improv'd by the concurrence of the whole Army. He was now advanc'd with his Forces, and juſt upon Action, when he found one of his Captains, a truſty and experienc'd Soldier, encouraging his Men to exert their utmoſt. *Cæſar* call'd him by his Name, and ſaid, *What hopes*, C. Craſſinius, *and what grounds for encouragement? Craſſinius* ſtretch'd out his Hand, and cried in a loud Voice: *We*

ſhall

ſhall conquer nobly, Cæſar; *and this day I'll deſerve your Praiſes either alive or dead.* With theſe Words he immediately ran in upon the Enemy, back'd only with ſix-ſcore Men, and preſently cut down the foremoſt, and ſtill preſs'd on forwards with much ſlaughter of the Enemy, till at laſt he was ſtruck back by the Wound of a Sword, which went in at his Mouth with ſuch force, that it came out at his Neck behind. Whilſt the Foot was thus ſharply engaged in the Main Battle, one Wing of *Pompey*'s Horſe march'd up confidently, and open'd their Ranks very wide, that they might ſurround the Right Wing of *Cæſar*: But before they engag'd, ſome Companies of *Cæſar*'s made up to them, and did not dart their Javelins at a diſtance, nor ſtrike at their Thighs and Legs as they us'd to do in cloſe Battle, but aim'd at their Faces; for thus *Cæſar* had inſtructed them, in hopes that Young Gentlemen, who had not convers'd much in Battles and Wounds, but were in the flower of their Age, and height of their Beauty, would be very apprehenſive of ſuch Blows, and not care for hazarding both a Danger at preſent, and a Blemiſh for the future. This Deſign took, for they were ſo far from bearing the ſtroke of the Javelins, that they could not ſtand the ſight of them, but turn'd about, and cover'd their Faces to ſecure them. In this great diſorder, they were at laſt forc'd to fly for it, and by this Confuſion ruin'd all; for thoſe who had beat

them

them back, preſently ſurrounded the Infantry, and falling on their Reer, cut them to pieces. *Pompey*, who commanded the other Wing of the Army, when he ſaw his Cavalry thus broke and flying, was no longer himſelf, nor did he now remember that he was *Pompey the Great*; but like one whom the Gods had depriv'd of his Senſes, and ſtruck with ſome fatal Blow, retir'd to his Tent without ſpeaking a Word, and there ſat to expect the Event, till the whole Army was defeated, and the Enemy appear'd upon the Works which were thrown up before his Camp, where they cloſely engag'd with his Men, who were poſted there to defend it. Then he firſt ſeem'd to have recover'd his Senſes; and when he had ſaid to himſelf, *What, into my Camp too?* he laid aſide his General's habit, and putting on ſuch Cloaths as might beſt favour his flight, ſtole off. What Fortune he met with afterwards, how he took ſhelter in *Ægypt*, and was Murder'd there, we tell you in his Life. *Cæſar*, when he came to view *Pompey*'s Camp, and ſaw ſome of his Enemies dead upon the ground, others dying, ſaid with a ſigh, ---- *This they would have; they brought me to this neceſſity, that I* Caius Cæſar *muſt have loſt the credit of all my former Succeſſes in War, if I had at laſt diſmiſs'd my Army.* *Aſinius Pollio* ſays that *Cæſar* ſpoke thoſe Words then in *Latin*, which he afterwards wrote in *Greek*; that thoſe who were killed at the taking of the Camp, were moſt of them Servants; and that there

there fell not above 6000 Soldiers. *Cæſar* incorporated moſt of the Foot whom he took Priſoners, with his own Legions, and pardoned ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and amongſt the reſt *Brutus*, who afterwards ſtabb'd him. He did not immediately appear after the Battle was over, which put *Cæſar* into a great Agony for him; nor was his Pleaſure leſs when he ſaw him ſafe, and at the ſame time coming over to him. There were many Prodigies that foretold this Victory; but the moſt ſignal was that at *Tralles*. In the Temple of Victory there ſtood *Cæſar*'s Statue; the Floor it ſelf was very firm, and the Stone with which it was pav'd ſtill harder; yet it is ſaid that a Palm-Tree ſhot it ſelf up near the Pedeſtal of this Statue. In the City of *Padua*, one *C. Cornelius*, who had the Character of a good Augur, fellow-Citizen and Friend of *Livie* the Hiſtorian, happen'd to make ſome Augural Obſervations that very day when the Battle was fought: And firſt, as *Livie* tells us, he pointed out the critical time of the Fight, and ſaid to thoſe who were by him, That juſt then the Action was hot, and the Men engag'd. When he look'd a ſecond time upon the Birds, and nicely obſerv'd the Omens, he leap'd as if he had been inſpir'd, and cry'd out, *Thou*, Cæſar, *art the Conqueror*. This mightily ſurpriz'd the ſtanders by; but he took the Crown, which he had on, from his Head, and ſwore he would never wear it again till the Event

ſhould

ſhould give Authority to his Art. This *Livie* poſitively affirms for a Truth.

Cæſar, as a Monument of his Victory, gave the *Theſſalians* great Immunities, and then went in purſuit of *Pompey*. When he was arrived at *Aſia*, to gratifie *Theopompus*, who had made a Collection of *Fables*, he enfranchis'd the *Guidians*, and remitted one third of the Tax to all the *Aſiatics*. When he came to *Alexandria*, where *Pompey* was already murder'd, he would not look upon *Theodotus*, who preſented him with his Head, but took his Signet and wept over it. Thoſe of *Pompey*'s Friends who had been taken by the King of *Ægypt* as they were ſtragling in thoſe parts, he obliged, and made his own. He wrote Letters to *Rome*, wherein he ſignified to his Friends, That the greateſt Advantage and Pleaſure he found by the Victory was, that he every day ſav'd ſeveral Citizens Lives who had fought againſt him. As to the War in *Ægypt*, ſome ſay it was dangerous and diſhonourable, and no ways neceſſary, but occaſion'd only by his Paſſion for *Cleopatra*: Others blam'd the Miniſters, and eſpecially the Eunuch *Photinus*, who was chief Favourite, had lately took of *Pompey*'s Head, baniſhed *Cleopatra* from Court, and was now thought to be privately carrying on the Deſtruction of *Cæſar*; to prevent which, *Cæſar* from that time began to ſit up whole Nights, under pretence of Drinking, for the greater ſecurity of his

Perſon. 'Tis certain, that he was intolerable in his open Affronts to *Cæſar*, both by his Words and Actions; for when *Cæſar*'s Soldiers had muſty and unwholſom Corn meaſur'd out to them, *Photinus* told them, They muſt like it, ſince they were fed at another's Coſt. He order'd that his Table ſhould be ſerv'd with Wooden and Earthen Diſhes, and ſaid, *Cæſar* had carried off all the Gold and Silver Plate, under pretence of Arrears of Debt. For the preſent King's Father ow'd *Cæſar* 1750 Myriads of Money; *Cæſar* had formerly remitted to his Children the reſt, but thought fit to demand the thouſand Myriads at that time, to maintain his Army. *Photinus* told him, That he had better go then, and attend his other Affairs of greater Conſequence, and that he ſhould receive his Money at another time with Thanks. *Cæſar* replied, That he did not want *Ægyptians* to be his Counſellors, and ſoon after privately ſent for *Cleopatra* from her Retirement. She took a little Skiff, and one of her Confidents, *Apollodorus*, along with her, and in the duſk of the Evening landed near the Palace. She was at a loſs how to get in undiſcover'd, till ſhe thought of putting her ſelf into the Coverlet of a Bed, and lying at length, whilſt *Apollodorus* bound up the Bedding, and carried it on his Back through the Caſtle-gates to *Cæſar*'s Apartment. *Cæſar* was firſt taken with this fetch of *Cleopatra*, as an Argument of her Wit; and was afterwards

wards ſo far charm'd with her Converſation and graceful Behaviour, that he reconcil'd her to her Brother, and made her Partner in the Government. A Feſtival was kept for joy of this Reconciliation, where *Cæſar*'s Barber, a buſie pragmatical Fellow, whoſe fear made him inquiſitive into every thing, diſcover'd that there was a Plot carrying on againſt *Cæſar* by *Achillas*, General of the King's Forces, and *Photinus* the Eunuch. *Cæſar* upon the firſt intelligence of it, ſet a Guard upon the Hall where the Feaſt was kept, and kill'd *Photinus*. *Achillas* eſcap'd to the Army, and rais'd a troubleſom War againſt *Cæſar*, which it was not eaſie for him to manage with ſo ſmall a Force againſt ſo powerful a State. The firſt difficulty he met with, was want of Water; for the Enemies had turned the Pipes. Another was, that when the Enemy endeavour'd to cut off his Communication by Sea, he was forc'd to divert that Danger by ſetting fire to his own Ships, which when it had burnt the Harbor, ſpread it ſelf ſo far as to deſtroy the famous Library of *Alexandria*. A third was, that in an Engagement near *Pharos* he leap'd from the Mole into a Skiff, to aſſiſt his Soldiers who were in danger: When the *Ægyptians* preſs'd him on every ſide, he threw himſelf into the Sea, and with much difficulty ſwam off. He had then many Papers in his Hand, which though he was continually darted at, and forc'd to keep his Head often under Water, yet he did not let go, but held them up ſafe from wetting

in one Hand, whilſt he ſwam with the other. His Skiff in the mean time was quickly ſunk. At laſt, the King having got off to *Achillas* and his Party, *Cæſar* engag'd and conquer'd them; many fell in that Battle, and the King himſelf was never ſeen after. Upon this, he makes *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*, who ſoon after had a Son by him, whom the *Alexandrians* call'd *Cæſarion*, and then departed for *Syria*. Thence he paſſed to *Aſia*, where he heard that *Domitius* was beaten by *Pharnaces*, Son of *Mithridates*, and fled out of *Pontus* with an handful of Men; and that *Pharnaces* purſu'd the Victory ſo eagerly, that though he was already Maſter of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, he had ſtill farther aims to take in *Armenia* the leſs; in order to which he invited all the Kings and Tetrarchs there to riſe. *Cæſar* immediately marched againſt him with three Legions, fought him near *Zela*, drove him out of *Pontus*, and totally defeated his Army. When he gave *Amintius*, a Friend of his at *Rome*, an Account of this Action, to expreſs the ſmartneſs and diſpatch of it, he uſed theſe three Words, *Veni*, *Vidi*, *Vici*; which *Latin* Words having all the ſame Cadence, carry with them an air of brevity, which in this place is very lucky and graceful. Hence he went for *Italy*, and came to *Rome* at the end of that Year, for which he was a ſecond time choſe Dictator, (though that Office had never before laſted ſo long) and was elected Conſul for the next. He

was

was ill ſpoke of, becauſe upon a Mutiny of Soldiers, who kill'd *Coſconius* and *Galba*, who had been Prætors, he gave them only that ſlight Reprimand of calling them *Citizens*, inſtead of *Fellow-Soldiers*, and after gave each Man a thouſand Drachms, beſides a ſhare of ſome Lands in *Italy*. He was alſo reflected on for *Dolabella*'s Extravagance, *Amintius*'s Covetouſneſs, *Anthony*'s Debauchery, and *Corſinius*'s Profuſeneſs, who pull'd down *Pompey*'s Houſe, and re-built it, as not Magnificent enough; for the *Romans* were much diſpleaſed with all theſe. But *Cæſar*, for the carrying on his Deſigns, though he knew their Characters, and diſapprov'd them, was forc'd to make uſe of ſuch Inſtruments. After the Battle of *Pharſalia*, *Cato* and *Scipio* fled into *Afric*, and there, with the Aſſiſtance of King *Juba*, got together a conſiderable Force, which *Cæſar* reſolv'd to engage. In order to it, he paſs'd into *Sicily* in the very midſt of Winter; and to remove from his Officers all hopes of delay there, encamp'd by the Sea-ſhoar, and as ſoon as ever he had a fair Wind put to Sea with 3000 Foot, and a few Horſe. When he had landed them, he went back privately under great apprehenſions for the better part of his Army; but met 'em upon the Sea, and brought them all to the ſame Camp. There he was inform'd, That the Enemies rely'd much upon an ancient Oracle, That

the Family of the *Scipioes* ſhould be always Victorious in *Afric.* There was in his Army a Fellow, otherwiſe mean and contemptible, but of the Houſe of the *Africani*, and his Name *Scipio Salluſtio:* This Man *Cæſar* put in the Head of his Army, with the Title of General; which he did either in raillery to ridicule *Scipio*, who commanded the Enemy, or ſeriouſly to bring over the Omen to his ſide. He was oblig'd often to ſet upon the Enemy, and skirmiſh with them; for he wanted both Victualling for his Men, and Forage for his Horſe: So that he was forc'd to feed 'em with a Sea-weed, which he mix'd with Graſs, to take off its Saltneſs, and to give it a more agreeable Taſte. He was forc'd to make this ſhift, becauſe the *Numidians*, in great Numbers, and well Hors'd, commanded the Country. *Cæſar*'s Cavalry being one day out of Employ, diverted themſelves with ſeeing an *African*, who entertain'd 'em with a Dance, and play'd upon the Pipe to admiration: They were ſo taken with this, that they lighted, and gave their Horſes to ſome Boys, when on a ſudden the Enemy briskly ſurrounded them, kill'd ſome, purſu'd the reſt, and fell in with 'em into their Camp; and had not *Cæſar* himſelf and *Aſinius Pollio* came in to their Aſſiſtance, and put a ſtop to their flight, the War had been then at an end. In another Engagement, where the Enemy had again the better, *Cæſar* took an Enſign, who was

was running away, by the Neck, and forcing him to face about, ſaid, *Look, that way is the Enemy! Scipio* fluſh'd with this Succeſs at firſt, had a mind to come to one deciſive Action. Wherefore he leaves *Afranius* and *Juba* in two diſtinct Bodies not far diſtant, and marches himſelf towards *Thapſacus*, where he built a Fort, which might ſerve for a Security to them, and a Retreat to himſelf. Whilſt *Scipio* was taken up with this matter, *Cæſar* with an incredible diſpatch made his way through thick Woods, and an unpaſſible Country, ſurrounded one Party of the Enemy, and charg'd the other in the Front. When he had defeated theſe, he improv'd this Opportunity, and the courſe of his good Fortune ſo far, that in one moment he took *Afranius*'s Camp, and deſtroy'd that of the *Numidians*, *Juba*, their King, being glad to ſave himſelf by flight; ſo that in a ſmall part of a day he made himſelf Maſter of three Camps, and kill'd 50000 of the Enemy, with the loſs only of 50 Men. This is the Account ſome give of that Fight: Others ſay, He was not in the Action, but that he was taken with his uſual Diſtemper juſt as he was ſetting his Army in Battalia. He perceiv'd the Approaches of it, before it had too far diſorder'd his Senſes; and as ſoon as he began to ſhake, took care to be remov'd into a neighbouring Fort, where he repos'd himſelf. Of the Great Men that were taken after the Fight, ſome *Cæſar* put to Death,

others prevented him by killing themſelves. *Cato* had undertaken to defend *Utica*, and for that reaſon was not in the Battle. The deſire which *Cæſar* had to take him alive, made him haſten thither; upon notice that he had diſpatch'd himſelf, 'tis certain *Cæſar* was much diſcompos'd, but for what reaſon is not ſo well agreed; yet this he ſaid; *Cato, I envy thee thy Death, becauſe thou enviedſt me the honour of ſaving thy Life.* Yet after all this, the Diſcourſe he wrote againſt *Cato* after his Death, is no great ſign of his kindneſs, or that he was thorowly reconciled to him. For how is it probable that he would have been tender of his *Life*, who was ſo bitter againſt his *Memory?* Yet from his Clemency to *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and many others who fought againſt him, ſome have gueſs'd that *Cæſar*'s Book was not compos'd ſo much out of hatred to *Cato*, as in his own Vindication. *Cicero*, it ſeems, had written an Encomium upon *Cato*, and call'd it by his Name; a Diſcourſe written by ſo great a Maſter, upon ſo excellent a Subject, was ſure to be in every ones Hands. This touch'd *Cæſar*, who look'd upan a *Panegyric* on his Enemy, as no better than a *Satyr* againſt himſelf; and therefore he made in his *Anti-Cato* a full Collection of whatever could be ſaid in that Great Man's derogation. Thoſe Diſcourſes had each of them their ſeveral Admirers, as men were differently inclin'd to the Parties. *Cæſar*, upon his return to *Rome*, did

did not forget to entertain the People with a large Account of his Victory, telling them, That he had ſubdu'd a Country, which would ſupply the Publick every Year with 200000 Buſhels of Corn, and 3000000 weight of Oyl. He was allow'd three Triumphs, for *Ægypt*, *Pontus*, and *Afric*; the laſt, not for the Conqueſt of *Scipio*, but *Juba*, whoſe little Son was then led in Triumph, the happieſt Captive that ever was, who of a barbarous *Numidian* came by this means to be reckon'd among the moſt Learned Hiſtorians of all *Greece*. After theſe Triumphs, he diſtributed Rewards to his Soldiers, and treated the People with Feaſting and Shews: At one Feaſt he had 22000 Tables, and entertain'd the People with Gladiators and Sea-Fights in honour to his Daughter *Julia*, long ſince dead. When thoſe Shews were over, an Account was taken of the People, who from 320000 were now reduc'd to 150000. So great a waſte had the Civil War made in *Rome* alone, not to mention what the other parts of *Italy* and the Provinces ſuffer'd. He was now choſen a fourth time Conſul, and went into *Spain* againſt *Pompey*'s Sons; they were but young, yet had got together a great Army, and ſhew'd they had Courage and Conduct to command it, ſo that *Cæſar* was in extreme danger. The great Battle was near *Munda*, in which *Cæſar* ſeeing his Men hard preſs'd, and making but a weak Reſiſtance, ran through the Ranks among the Soldiers, and

and crying out, ask'd them, Whether they were not aſhamed to deliver him into the Hands of Boys? At laſt, with great difficulty, and the beſt efforts he could make, he forced back the Enemy, killing 30000 of them, though with the loſs of 1000 of his beſt Men. When he came back from the Fight, he told his Friends, that he had often fought for *Victory*, but this was the firſt time that he had ever fought for *Life*. This Battle was won on the Feaſt of the *Bacchanals*, the very day in which *Pompey*, four years before, had ſet out for the War. The younger of *Pompey*'s Sons eſcap'd, and *Didius* ſome days after the Fight brought the elder's Head to *Cæſar*. This was the laſt Battle he was engag'd in. The Triumph he made for this Victory diſpleas'd the *Romans* beyond any thing: For he had not defeated foreign Generals, and barbarous Kings, but had ruin'd the Children and Family of one of the greateſt Men of *Rome*, though unfortunate; and it did not look well to triumph over the Calamities of his Country, and to rejoyce in thoſe things for which no better Apology could be made to the Gods and Men, than their being abſolutely neceſſary. Beſides, that hitherto he had never ſent Letter or Expreſs of any Victory over his Fellow-Citizens, but he had ſeem'd rather to be aſham'd of the Action, than to expect Honour from it. For all this, the *Romans* taking the ſame ſide with Fortune, gave the Rein into his

his Hands, and hoping that the Government of a ſingle Perſon would give them time to breathe after ſo many Civil Wars and Calamities, made him Dictator for Life. This was a down-right Tyranny; for his Power now was not only *abſolute*, but *perpetual* too. *Cicero* propos'd to the Senate to confer ſuch Honours upon him as were indeed in ſome meaſure within the Bounds of Modeſty: Others ſtriving which ſhould deſerve moſt, carried them ſo exceſſively high, that they made *Cæſar* odious to the moſt indifferent and moderate ſort of Men, by the haughtineſs and extravagance of thoſe Titles which they decreed him. His *Enemies* are thought to have had ſome Share in this, as well as his *Flatterers*: It gave them more Advantage againſt him, and laid him more open to their Calumnies; for ſince the Civil Wars were ended, he had nothing elſe that he could be charg'd with. And they had good Reaſon to decree a Temple to *Clemency*, in token of their Thanks for this mild Uſe he made of this Victory; for he not only pardon'd many of thoſe who fought againſt him, but farther to ſome gave Honours and Offices: As particularly to *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who both of them were Prætors; *Pompey*'s Images that were thrown down, he ſet up again; upon which *Cicero* ſaid, That *by raiſing* Pompey's *Statues he had fixed his own.* When his Friends advis'd him to a Guard, and ſeveral offer'd their

their Service, he would not hear of it; but ſaid, It was better to ſuffer Death once, than always to live in fear of it. He look'd upon the Affections of the People to be the beſt and ſureſt Guard, and therefore entertain'd them again with publick Feaſting, and general Diſtributions of Corn; and to gratify his Army, he ſent out many Colonies to ſeveral Places, of which the moſt remarkable were *Carthage* and *Corinth*; which, as before they had been ruin'd at the ſame time, ſo now they were reſtor'd and peopl'd together. As for the Men of Quality, he promis'd ſome that they ſhould be *Conſuls* or *Prætors*; others he ſatisfied with Offices or Titles; to all he gave hopes of his Favour, as being deſirous to rule by Love: So that upon the Death of *Maximus*, one Day before his Conſulate was ended, he made *Caninius Rebellius* Conſul for that Day. When many went to pay their Complements to the new Conſul, as is uſual; *Cicero* ſaid, by way of Raillery, *Let us make haſte, leſt the Man be gone out of his Office before we come.* *Cæſar* was born to do great Things, and had a love of Honour; nor did the many noble Exploits he had done invite him to ſit ſtill, and reap the Fruit of his paſt Labours; but were Incentives and Encouragements to go on, and rais'd in his Soul the Ideas of ſtill greater Actions, and a deſire of new Glory, as if the preſent were all ſpent. This Paſſion

was

was a kind of æmulous Struggle with himſelf, as it had been with another, how he might out-do his *paſt* Actions by his *future*. In purſuit of theſe thoughts, he reſolv'd to make War upon the *Parthians*, and when he had ſubdu'd them, to paſs through *Hircania*; thence to march along by the *Caſpian* Sea to Mount *Caucaſus*, and ſo on about *Pontus*, till he came into *Scythia*; then to over-run all the Countries about *Germany*, and *Germany* itſelf; and to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*, till he had finiſhed the whole Circle of his intended Empire, and bounded it on every ſide by the Ocean. While Preparations were making for this Expedition, he attempted to dig through the *Iſthmus* on which *Corinth* ſtands. After that, he had a Deſign to divert the Rivers *Apien* and *Tiber*, and to carry them by a deep Channel directly from *Rome* to *Circæum*, and ſo into the Sea near *Tarracina*, that there might be a ſafe and eaſy Paſſage for all Merchants who traded to *Rome*. Beſides this, he intended to drain all the Marſhes by *Nomentum* and *Setium*, and gain ground enough from the Water to employ many Thouſand of Men in Tillage. He propos'd farther to make great Mounds on the Shoar nigheſt *Rome*, to hinder the Sea from breaking in upon the Land; to cleanſe the *Oſtian* Shoar of ſuch hidden Shelves and Rocks as made it unſafe for Shipping, and to build

Ports

Ports and Harbors fit to receive ſuch large Veſſels as uſed to ride thereabouts. Theſe Things were deſign'd without taking effect: But his Reformation of the Kalendar, in order to rectify the irregularity of Time, was not only ingeniouſly contriv'd, but brought to perfection by him, and prov'd of very great uſe: For it was not only in Ancient Times that the *Romans* wanted a certain Rule to make the Revolutions of their Months fall in with the Courſe of the Year, (whereby their Feſtivals and Solemn Days for Sacrifice were remov'd by little and little, till at laſt they came to be kept at a Seaſon quite contrary to what they had been formerly) but even at this time, the People had no way of computing right the Courſe of the Sun; only the Prieſts had the knack, and at their pleaſure, without giving any notice, clapt in an intercalary Month, which they call'd *Marcedonius*. *Numa* was the firſt who put in this Month, but his Invention was too narrow and ſhort, to correct all the Errors that roſe from their Computation of the Year, as we have ſhewn in his Life. *Cæſar* call'd in the beſt Philoſophers and Mathematicians of his Time, to ſettle this Point; and upon Principles there propos'd, eſtabliſhed a more exact and proper Method of correcting the Kalendar; which the *Romans* uſe to this Day, and ſeem to err leſs than any other Nation in the Re-

Reduction of this inequality of Months to the Year. Yet even this gave Offence to thoſe who envy'd his Grandeur, and were weary of his Power; for *Cicero* the Orator, when one of the Company chanc'd to ſay, *The next Morning* Lyra *would riſe*; reply'd, *Yes, by virtue of the Edict*; as if Men were forc'd by Authority to receive this new Scheme. But that which brought upon him the moſt apparent and mortal hatred, was his Affectation of being King; which gave the common People the firſt Occaſion to quarrel with him, and prov'd the moſt ſpecious Pretence to thoſe who had been his ſecret Enemies all along. Thoſe, who would have procur'd him that Title, gave it out, That 'twas foretold in the *Sybils* Books, that the *Romans* ſhould conquer the *Parthians* when they fought againſt them under the Conduct of a King, but not before. And one Day, as *Cæſar* was going from *Alba* to *Rome*, ſome were ſo bold as to ſalute him by the Name of King; but he finding the People diſreliſh it, ſeem'd to reſent it himſelf, and ſaid, *His Title was Cæſar, not King*. Upon this, they forbore their Acclamations, and he paſt on with an Air that expreſs'd much Sullenneſs and Diſſatisfaction. Another time, when the Senate had conferr'd on him ſome extravagant Honours, he chanced to receive the Meſſage as he was ſitting on the *Roſtra*, where, though the Conſuls and

and Prætors themſelves waited on him, attended by the whole Body of the Senate, he did not riſe, but behav'd himſelf to them as if they had been private Men; and told them, His Honours wanted rather to be retrench'd, than increas'd. This Carriage of his offended not only the Senate, but Commonalty too; for they thought the Affront upon the Senate equally reflected upon the whole Republick; ſo that all who could decently leave him went off much dejected. *Cæſar* perceiving the falſe Step he had made, immediately retir'd home; and laying his Throat bare, told his Friends, That he was ready to ſtand fair for any Man that would do him the kind Office: Afterwards he excus'd his ſitting by his Diſtemper, under pretence that thoſe who are affected with it have their Senſes diſcompos'd, if they talk much ſtanding; that they preſently grow Giddy, fall into Convulſions, and quite loſe their Reaſon. But all this was feign'd; for he would willingly have ſtood up to the Senate, had not *Cornelius Balbus*, one of his Friends, or rather Flatterers, hinder'd him. *Don't you remember*, ſaith he, *you are* Cæſar; *and will you abate any thing of that Honour which is due to your Dignity?* He gave ſtill a freſh Occaſion of Reſentment by his Affront to the Tribunes. The *Lupercalia* were then celebrated, a Feaſt at the firſt Inſtitution peculiar;

liar, as ſome Writers ſay, to the Shepherds; much of the ſame Nature with the *Arcadian Lycæa*: Many young Noblemen and Magiſtrates run up and down the City naked, ſtriking all they meet with leathern Thongs, by way of ſport; many Women of the beſt Quality place themſelves in the way, and hold out their Hands to the Laſh, as Boys in a School do to the *Ferula*, out of an Opinion that it procures an eaſie Labour to thoſe who are with Child, and makes thoſe conceive who are barren. *Cæſar* dreſt in a Triumphal Robe, ſeated himſelf in a golden Chair upon the *Roſtra*, to view this Ceremony. *Anthony*, as Conſul, was one of thoſe who ran this Courſe; when he came into the *Forum*, the People made way for him, whilſt he preſented *Cæſar* with a Diadem wreath'd with Lawrel. Upon this, there was a ſmall Shout, made only by thoſe few who were planted there for that purpoſe; but when *Cæſar* refus'd it, there was an univerſal Applauſe. Upon the Second offer, very few; and upon the Second Refuſal, all again clapp'd. *Cæſar* finding it would not take, roſe up, and order'd the Crown to be carried into the Capitol. *Cæſar*'s Statues were afterwards found with Royal Diadems on their Heads: *Flavius* and *Marullus*, two Tribunes of the People, went preſently and pull'd them off; and having apprehended thoſe who firſt ſaluted *Cæſar* as *King*, committed them: The

People follow'd them with Acclamations, and call'd them *Brutus*'s, becauſe *Brutus* was the firſt who cut off the Succeſſion of Kings, and tranferr'd the Power which before was lodg'd in *One*, into the Hands of the Senate and People. *Cæſar* ſo far reſented this, that he diſplac'd *Marullus* and *Flavius*; and as he inveigh'd againſt them, at the ſame time ridicul'd the People; telling them, He confeſs'd thoſe Men were indeed properly call'd *Bruti* and *Cumæi* [Beaſts and Sots.] This made the Multitude place their hopes on *M. Brutus*, who by his Father's Side was thought to be deſcended from that firſt *Brutus*, and by his Mother's Side from the *Servilii*, another Noble Family; being beſides Nephew and Son-in-Law to *Cato*. But the Honours and Favours he had receiv'd from *Cæſar*, took off the Edge from thoſe eager Deſires he naturally had to ſubvert the Monarchy; for he had not only been pardon'd himſelf after *Pompey*'s Defeat at *Pharſalia*, and had procur'd the ſame Grace for many of his Friends, but was one in whom *Cæſar* had a particular Confidence. He had at that time the moſt honourable Prætorſhip of the Year, and was nam'd for the Conſulſhip Four Years after, being preferr'd before *Caſſius* his Competitor. Upon the Diſpute between them, *Cæſar* ſaid, That *Caſſius* had the faireſt Pretenſions, but that he could not paſs by *Brutus*. Nor did he afterwards hearken to thoſe who accus'd *Brutus*,

Brutus, as engag'd in a Conſpiracy againſt him; but laying his Hand on his Body, ſaid to the Informers, Brutus *will ſtay for this Skin of mine*; intimating, that he was worthy of Empire on account of his Vertue, but would not be baſe and ungrateful to gain one. But thoſe who deſir'd a Change, and look'd on Him as the *only*, or at leaſt the *moſt proper Perſon* to effect it, durſt not Diſcourſe the Matter with him; but in the Night-time laid Papers about his Chair of State, where he us'd to ſit and determine Cauſes, with Sentences in them to this import: *You are aſleep*, Brutus; *you are no longer* Brutus. *Caſſius*, when he perceiv'd his ambitious Soul a little rais'd upon this, was more inſtant than before to work him yet farther, having himſelf a private Grudge againſt *Cæſar*, for ſome Reaſons that we have mention'd in the Life of *Brutus*. Nor was *Cæſar* without ſuſpicions of him, ſo that he took occaſion to ſay to his Friends, *What do you think* Caſſius *drives at? I don't well like him, he looks ſo pale.* And when it was told him, that *Anthony* and *Dolabella* were in a Plot againſt him, he ſaid, *He did not fear ſuch fat, jolly Men, but rather the pale, lean Fellows*; meaning *Caſſius* and *Brutus*. But neither was his Fate ſo much unexpected, as it was unavoidable; for there were many ſtrange Prodigies and Apparitions which were Preſages of it. As to the Lights in the Heavens, the Phantoms which walk'd

in the Night, and the wild Birds which perch'd upon the *Forum*, theſe are not perhaps worth taking notice of in ſo great a Caſe as this. *Strabo* the Philoſopher tells us, that many as they went along ſeem'd to be all on fire; and that a Soldier's Servant ſeem'd to throw a great quantity of Flame out of his Hand, ſo that they who ſaw it thought he muſt be burnt, but that after all he had no hurt. As *Cæſar* was ſacrificing, the Victim was ſeen to want an Heart, which was a very ill Omen, becauſe a Creature can't ſubſiſt without an Heart. Many add, that a Soothſayer bid him prepare for ſome great Danger on the *Ides of March*: When the Day was come, *Cæſar* as he went to the Senate met this Soothſayer, and ſaid to him by way of Raillery, *The Ides of March are come*; who anſwer'd him calmly, *Yes, they are come, but they are not paſt.* The Day before this Aſſaſſination, he ſupp'd with *M. Lepidus*; as he was ſigning ſome Letters, there aroſe a Diſpute what ſort of Death was the beſt? At which he immediately, before any one could ſpeak, ſaid, *A ſudden one.*

After this, as he was in Bed with his Wife, all the Doors and Windows of the Houſe flew open together; he was ſtartled at the Noiſe, and the Light which brake into the Room, and ſat up in his Bed, where by the Moonſhine he perceived *Calpurnia* faſt aſleep, but heard

heard her utter in her Dream ſome indiſtinct Words, and inarticulate Groans. She fancied at that time ſhe was weeping over *Cæſar*, and holding him butcher'd in her Arms. Others ſay, This was not her Dream; but that ſhe dreamt a Pinacle (which the Senate had order'd to be rais'd on *Cæſar*'s Houſe by way of Ornament and Grandeur) was broken down, which was the occaſion of her Tears and Groans. When it was Day, ſhe begg'd of *Cæſar*, if it were poſſible, not to ſtir out, but to adjourn the Senate to another time; and if he ſlighted her Dreams, that he would be pleas'd to conſult his Fate by Sacrifices, and other kinds of Divination. Nor was he himſelf without ſome Suſpicion and Fears; for he never before diſcover'd in *Calpurnia* any Womaniſh Superſtition, whom he now ſaw under ſuch terrible Apprehenſions. Upon the Report which the Prieſts made to him, that they had kill'd ſeveral Sacrifices, and ſtill found them inauſpicious, he was reſolv'd to ſend *Anthony* to diſmiſs the Senate. *D. Brutus*, whoſe Sirname was *Albinus*, (one whom *Cæſar* had ſuch confidence in, that he made him his Second Heir, though at the ſame time he was engag'd in the Conſpiracy with the other *Brutus* and *Caſſius*) fearing, leſt if *Cæſar* ſhould put off the Senate to another Day, the Buſineſs might get wind, took care to expoſe the Pretenders to Divination, and blam'd *Cæſar* for giving the Senate ſo juſt Occaſions

of quarrelling with him, by caſting ſuch a ſlur on them; for that they were met upon his Summons, and were ready to vote unanimouſly, that he ſhould be declared King of all the Provinces without *Italy*, and might wear a Diadem in any other Place but *Italy*, by Sea or Land. If any one ſhould be ſent to tell 'em they might break up for the preſent, and meet again when *Calpurnia* ſhould chance to have better Dreams; what would his Enemies ſay? Or who could with any Patience hear his Friends, if they ſhould pretend to defend his Government as not Arbitrary and Tyrannical? But if he was poſſeſs'd ſo far as to think this Day unfortunate, yet it were more decent to go himſelf to the Senate, and to adjourn it in his own Perſon. *Brutus*, as he ſpoke theſe Words, took *Cæſar* by the Hand, and conducted him forth: He was not gone far from the Door, when a Servant made towards him; but not being able to come up to him, by reaſon of the Crowd who preſs'd about him, he made ſhift to get into the Houſe, and committed himſelf to *Calpurnia*, begging of her to ſecure him till *Cæſar* return'd, becauſe he had Matters of great importance to communicate to him. *Artemidorus*, a *Cnidian*, who taught the Art of Sophiſtry in *Greek*, and by that means was ſo far acquainted with ſome about *Brutus*, that he had got into the Secret, brought *Cæſar* in a little Schedule the Heads of what he had to de-

depoſe. He had obſerv'd that *Cæſar* as he receiv'd any Papers, preſently gave 'em to the Servants who attended on him; and therefore came as near to him as he could, and ſaid, *Read this*, Cæſar *alone, and quickly; for it contains great Buſineſs, and ſuch as concerns you.* *Cæſar* receiv'd it, and went to read it ſeveral times, but was ſtill hindred by the Crowd of thoſe who came to ſpeak to him. However, he kept it in his Hand by it ſelf, till he came into the Senate. Some ſay it was another who gave *Cæſar* this Note, and that *Artemidorus* could not get to him, being all along kept off by the Crowd. All theſe Things might happen by Chance: But the Place where the Senate met, which was choſe out for the Scene of this Murther, was the ſame in which *Pompey*'s Statue ſtood, and was one of the Edifices which *Pompey* had rais'd and dedicated with his Theatre to the uſe of the Publick; which plainly ſhew'd, that there was ſomething of a *Deity* which guided the Action, and order'd it to be in that particular Place. *Caſſius* juſt before the Aſſaſſination look'd towards *Pompey*'s Statue, and ſilently implor'd his Aſſiſtance; though he was an *Epicurean* in his Principles: But this Occaſion, and the inſtant Danger, ſhook his former Notions, and made him a perfect Enthuſiaſt. As for *Anthony*, who was firm to *Cæſar*, and a luſty Perſon, *Brutus Abinus* kept him without the Houſe, and entertain'd

him with a long Diſcourſe contriv'd on purpoſe. When *Cæſar* entred into the Houſe, the Senate ſtood up in reſpect to him; of *Brutus*'s Confederates ſome came about his Chair, and ſtood behind it; others met him, pretending to ſupplicate with *Metellus Cimber*, in behalf of his Brother who was in Exile; and they follow'd him with their joint Petitions till he came to his Seat. When he was ſat down, he refus'd to comply with their Requeſts, and upon their urging him farther, reprimanded them ſeverally: When *Metellus* laying hold of his Robe with both his Hands, pull'd it over his Neck, which was the Signal for the Aſſault. *Caſca* gave him the firſt Cut in the Neck, which was not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one who at the beginning of ſuch a bold Action was probably very much diſturb'd. *Cæſar* immediately turn'd about, and laid his Hand upon his Dagger; and both of 'em at the ſame time cry'd out: He that receiv'd the Blow, in *Latin*, *Wicked* Caſca! *what doſt thou mean?* And he that gave it, in *Greek*, to his Brother, *Brother, help!* Upon the firſt Onſet, thoſe who were not conſcious to the Deſign were aſtoniſh'd; and their Horror at the Action was ſo great, that they durſt not fly, nor aſſiſt *Cæſar*, nor as much as ſpeak a Word. But thoſe who came prepar'd for the Buſineſs, encloſed him on every ſide with their naked Daggers in their Hands: Which way ſoever he

he turn'd, he met with Blows, and ſaw their Swords levell'd at his Face and Eyes, and was baited on all Sides, like a Beaſt taken in a Toil. For it was agreed they ſhould each of them make a Thruſt at him, and fleſh themſelves with his Blood; wherefore *Brutus* gave him one Stab in the Groin. Some ſay that he fought and reſiſted all the reſt, and mov'd off from one Place to another, calling out for Help: But when he ſaw *Brutus*'s Sword drawn, he cover'd his Face with his Robe, and quietly ſurrendred himſelf, till he was puſh'd, either by Chance, or by Deſign of the Murtherers, to the Pedeſtal on which *Pompey*'s Statue ſtood, which by that means was much ſtain'd with his Blood; ſo that *Pompey* himſelf may ſeem to have had his Share in the Revenge of his Enemy, who fell at his Feet, and breath'd out his Soul through his multitude of Wounds; for they ſay he received Three and twenty. The Aſſaſſinates themſelves were many of them wounded by each other, whilſt they all levelled their Blows at the ſame Perſon.

When *Cæſar* was diſpatch'd, *Brutus* ſtood forth to give a Reaſon for what they had done; but the Senate would not hear him, but flew out of Doors in all haſte, and fill'd the People with ſo much Fear and Diſtraction, that ſome ſhut up Houſe, others left their Counters and Shops. All ran one way or other; ſome to the Place, to ſee the ſad Specta-

Spectacle; others back again, after they had ſeen it. *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, *Cæſar*'s beſt Friends, got off privately, and abſconded themſelves in ſome Friends Houſes. *Brutus*, and his Followers, being yet hot with the Murther, marched in a Body from the Senate-Houſe to the Capitol with their drawn Swords, not like Perſons who thought of eſcaping, but with an Air of Confidence and Aſſurance. As they went along, they call'd to the People to reſume their Liberty, and complimented thoſe of better Quality, which they met. Some of thoſe went along with them, and join'd Company with the Conſpirators, pretending to the Honour of the Action, as if they had born a part in it. Of this number was *C. Octavius*, and *Lentulus Spinther*: Theſe ſuffer'd afterwards for their Vanity, being taken off by *Anthony*, and the younger *Cæſar*; but they loſt the Honour they deſired, as well as their Lives, which it coſt them, ſince no one believ'd they had any Share in the Action; for neither did thoſe who puniſhed them revenge the *Fact*, but *the ill Will*. The Day after, *Brutus* with the reſt came down from the Capitol, and made a Speech to the People, who attended to it, without expreſſing either any Pleaſure or Reſentment, but ſhewed by their deep ſilence, that they pitied *Cæſar*, and reverenc'd *Brutus*. The Senate made Acts of Oblivion for what was paſt, and took healing Meaſures to reconcile

concile all Parties : They order'd that *Cæſar* ſhould be worſhipped as a God, and that not any the leaſt thing ſhould be alter'd which he had enacted during his Government : At the ſame time, they gave *Brutus* and his Followers the Command of Provinces, and other conſiderable Poſts : So that all People now thought things were well ſettled, and put into a very good Poſture. But when *Cæſar*'s Will was open'd, and it was found that he had left a conſiderable Legacy to each one of the *Roman* Citizens ; and when his Body was ſeen carried through the Market-place all mangled with Wounds, the Multitude could no longer contain themſelves within the Bounds of Decency and Order, but heap'd together a Pile of Benches, Bars, and Tables, which they placed the Corps on, and ſetting Fire to it, burnt them. Then they took Firebrands, and ran ſome to fire the Houſes of the Aſſaſſinates, others up and down the City, to find out the Men, and Limb them ; but they met with none of them, they having taken effectual Care to ſecure themſelves.

One *Cinna*, a Confident of *Cæſar*'s, chanc'd the Night before to have an odd Dream : He fancied that *Cæſar* invited him to Supper ; and that upon his Refuſal to go with him, *Cæſar* took him by the Hand, and forc'd him, though he hung back. Upon Notice that *Cæſar*'s Body was burning in the Market-place, he got up, and went thither, out of reſpect to his

his Memory, though his Dream gave him ſome ill Apprehenſions; and though he was at the ſame time Feveriſh. One of the Rabble who ſaw him there, ask'd another, Who that was? And having learnt his Name, told it to his next Neighbour: It preſently went for currant, that he was one of *Cæſar*'s Murtherers; and indeed there was one *Cinna* a Conſpirator: They taking this to be the Man, immediately Seized him, and tore him Limb from Limb upon the Spot.

Brutus and *Caſſius*, frighted at this, within a few Days retir'd out of the City. What they afterwards did and ſuffer'd, and how they dy'd, is written in the Life of *Brutus*. *Cæſar* dy'd in his Fifty ſixth Year, not having ſurviv'd *Pompey* above Four Years: That Empire and Power which he had purſued through the whole Courſe of his Life with ſo much Hazard, he did at laſt with much difficulty compaſs; but reap'd no other Fruits from it than an empty Name, and invidious Title. But that happy Genius, which was propitious to him during his Life, ſeems to have ſtuck to him after his Death, as the Revenger of his Murther; for it purſu'd by Sea and Land all thoſe who were concern'd in it, and ſuffer'd none to eſcape, but reach'd all who were either actually engaged in the Fact, or by their Counſels any way promoted it.

The moſt ſignal Accident of all here *below*, was that which befel *Caſſius*; who when he was

was conquer'd at *Philippi*, kill'd himſelf with the ſame Dagger which he had made uſe of againſt *Cæſar*. The moſt remarkable Appearance in the *Heavens* was a great Comet, which ſhone very bright for ſeven Nights after *Cæſar*'s Death, and then diſappear'd. There was alſo a very faint Light in the Sun; for the Orb of it was pale for the ſpace of a Year, nor did it riſe with its uſual Brightneſs and Vigour. Hence it gave but a weak and feeble Heat, and conſequently the Air was damp and groſs, for want of ſtronger Rays to open and rarify it: The Fruits, for that Reaſon, were crude and unconcocted, ſo that they rotted and decay'd through the chilneſs of the Air. Above all, the Phantom which appear'd to *Brutus*, ſhew'd the Murther was not pleaſing to the Gods. The Story of it is this.

Brutus being to paſs his Army from *Abydos* to the Continent on the other ſide, laid himſelf down one Night, as he uſed to do, in his Tent, and was not a-ſleep; but thinking of his Affairs, and what Events he might expect: For he was naturally of a watchful Conſtitution, and very little inclin'd to Sleep. He thought he heard a Noiſe at the Door of his Tent, and looking that way, by the Light of his Lamp, which was almoſt out, ſaw a terrible Figure, like that of a Man, but of an extraordinary Bulk, and grim Countenance. He was ſomewhat frighted at firſt: But ſeeing it neither did nor ſpoke any thing to him, only

only ſtood ſilently by his Bed-ſide; he ask'd it at laſt, *Who it was?* The Spectre anſwer'd him, *I am thy Evil Genius*, Brutus, *and thou ſhalt ſee me by* Philippi. *Brutus* anſwer'd very courageouſly, *Well, I will ſee you there*; and immediately the Ghoſt vaniſh'd. When the time was come, he drew up his Army near *Philippi* againſt *Anthony* and *Cæſar*, and in the firſt Battle got the Day, routed the Enemy, and plunder'd *Cæſar*'s Camp. The Night before the Second Battle, the ſame Ghoſt appear'd to him again, but ſpoke not a Word. He preſently underſtood his Death was near, and expos'd himſelf to all the Danger of the Battle: Yet he did not die in the Fight; but ſeeing his Men defeated, got up to the top of a Rock, and there preſenting his Sword to his naked Breaſt, and aſſiſted, as they ſay, by a Friend, who helpt him to give the Thruſt, died upon the Spot.

FINIS.

BSM

PHOCION.



MBurgh. sculp.

THE LIFE OF PHOCION.

Engliſhed from the Greek, By *Ph. Fowke*, M. D.

Demades the Orator, a powerful Man at that time in *Athens*, managing Matters in favour of *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*, being neceſſitated to write and ſpeak many things below the Dignity, and contrary to the Uſage of the City, was wont to excuſe himſelf, by ſaying, *He ſteer'd only the Shipwrecks of the Commonwealth.* This hardy Saying of his might have ſome appearance of truth,

truth, if apply'd to *Phocion*'s Government; for *Demades* indeed himſelf was the Ruin of his Country, living and ruling ſo diſſolutely, which gave *Antipater* occaſion to ſay of him, (being now grown old) *That he was like a ſacrificed Beaſt, all conſumed, ſave his Tongue and his Paunch.* But *Phocion*'s was a ſteady Vertue, depreſs'd only by too great a Counterpoiſe, the Fate of *Greece* conſpiring with that Juncture of Time, to render it more obſcure and inglorious; yet *Sophocles* too much weakens the force of Vertue, by ſaying,

Nor do our Minds with adverſe Fate ſurrounded,
Maintain their tenour, but are ſhockt, confounded.

Thus much indeed muſt be granted to happen in the Conteſts between good Men and ill Fortune, that inſtead of due Returns to their good Management, the People, by unjuſt Surmiſes and Obloquies, often ſully the Luſtre, and endeavour to blaſt the Reputation of their Vertue. And although it be commonly ſaid, That the Populace is moſt inſulting and contumelious to great Men, when they are puff'd up with Proſperity and Succeſs, the contrary often happens; Afflictions and publick Calamities naturally eagering and ſowring the Minds and Manners of Men, and diſpoſing them to ſuch Peeviſhneſs and

and *Chagrin*, that hardly can any one carry himſelf ſo ſwimmingly in his Words or Actions, but they will be apt to take pett: He that remonſtrates to their Miſcarriages, is interpreted to inſult over their Misfortunes, and even the mildeſt Expoſtulations are conſtru'd Contempt: Honey it ſelf is ſearching in ſore and ulcerated Parts; and the wiſeſt, though ſoft Counſels, may prove to be provoking to diſtemper'd Minds, that have not well prepar'd Ears to entertain them. This made the Poet expreſs ſuch Applications, by a Word ſignifying a grateful and *eaſy touch* upon the Mind, without harſhneſs or offence: Inflamed Eyes require a retreat into gloomy and dusky Places, amongſt Colours of the deepeſt Shades, unable to endure the vigorous and glaring Light: So fares it in the Body politick, when heated with Factions and Irreſolution; there is a certain Niceneſs and touchy Humour prevails in the Minds of Men, and an unaccountable Jealouſy of any Perſon, that with openneſs and freedom offers to ſcan their Actions, even when the neceſſity of their Affairs moſt require ſuch Plain-dealing. And ſurely ſuch a condition of State is moſt tickliſh, when thoſe who endeavour to ſtem the popular Torrent, are in danger to be run down by them, and thoſe who humour them, to be ſwallow'd up with them in the common Ruine.

Aſtronomers tell us, the Sun's Motion is neither exactly parallel with the reſt of the Orbs, nor yet directly and diametrically oppoſite to them; but deſcribing an oblique Line, with inſenſible declination, he ſteers his courſe ſo, to diſpenſe his Light and Influence, in his annual Revolution, at ſeveral Seaſons, in equal Proportions, to the whole Creation: So it happens in political Affairs, that if the Motions of Rulers be conſtantly oppoſite and croſs to the *Genius* and Inclination of the People, they will be ſtomach'd as arbitrary and tyrannical; as on the other ſide, too much Deference and *Indulgence* to the Subjects Levity and Wantonneſs, has oft proved dangerous and fatal; but the gratifying them in reaſonable and fair Requeſts, when they are not maſterly and inſolent, may prove for the honour and ſafety of the Government: Yet it muſt be confeſs'd it is a nice Point, and extreme difficult, ſo to temper this *Lenity*, as to preſerve the *Authority* of the Government, that it may not be expoſed to the Peoples Affront and Contempt. But if ſuch a bleſſed Mixture and Temperament may be obtain'd, it ſeems to be the moſt regular and harmonious of all other; for thus we are taught even God governs the World, not by irreſiſtible force, but perſwaſive Arguments, and gentle Inſinuations into our Minds, bending them to compliance with his eternal Purpoſes.

Thus

Thus it befel *Cato* the younger, whoſe Manners were ſo little agreeable or acceptable to the People, that he received very ſlender Marks of their Favour; witneſs his Repulſe in the Pretences he made to the Conſulat, behaving himſelf, as *Cicero* obſerves, rather like a Citizen of *Plato*'s Commonwealth, than among the Lees of *Romulus*'s Poſterity: The ſame Thing happening to him, in my Opinion, as we obſerve in Fruits ripe before their Seaſon, which we rather gaze at and admire, than uſe; ſo much was his old-faſhion'd Vertue out of preſent Mode, conſidering the depraved Cuſtoms, Time and Luxury had introduc'd, that it appear'd (indeed) ſightly and ſplendid, but ſuited not the preſent Exigencies, being ſo diſproportion'd to the Manners in vogue, and the Guiſe of the preſent Times. Yet his Circumſtances were not altogether like *Phocion*'s, who came to the Helm when the publick Bottom was juſt upon ſinking. *Cato*'s Time was, indeed, ſtormy and tempeſtuous, yet ſo as he was able to aſſiſt in managing the Sails, and lend his helping Hand to thoſe that ſteer'd: His manly Reſolution gave Fortune a Task of Time and Difficulty in ruining the Commonwealth, in which he, and his Friends, had almoſt prevail'd againſt her, which yet, by other aſſiſtance, with long time and tugging, by ſlow degrees was afterwards effected.

Now we compare *Phocion* to him, not only in the common Reſemblances that appear amongſt great Men, and States-men; for indeed there is ſome difference among Vertues of the ſame Denomination, as the Valour of *Alcibiades* and *Epaminondas*, the Prudence of *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides*, the Juſtice of *Numa* and *Ageſilaus*. But theſe Men's Vertues are the ſame, even to the moſt minute Differences, having the ſame Colour, Stamp, and Character impreſſed upon them, ſo as not to be diſtinguiſhable; whether you look upon them in the exact mixture of Lenity on the one Hand, with Auſterity on the other; their Gallantry upon ſome Occaſions, and Caution on others; their extreme Solicitude for the Publick, and perfect Neglect of themſelves; their fixt and immovable bent to all vertuous and honeſt Actions, accompanied with an extreme tenderneſs and ſcrupuloſity of doing any Thing might appear Mean or Unworthy: So that in theſe, as in Two Inſtruments exactly tuned to each other, he muſt have a nice Ear that can perceive any Diſcord.

As to *Cato*'s Extraction, it's confeſs'd by all to be illuſtrious, (as ſhall be ſaid hereafter) nor was *Phocion*'s (I'm well aſſured) obſcure or ignoble; for had he been the Son of a Turner, (as *Idomeneus* reports) it had certainly not been forgot to his Diſparagement, by *Hyperides* the Son of *Glaucippus*, who heaped up a Thouſand ſpiteful Things againſt him:

him: Nor indeed was it poſſible for him, in ſuch Circumſtances, to have had ſuch liberal Education in his Youth, as to be firſt *Plato*'s, and afterwards *Xenocrates*'s Scholar in the Academy, and in whatever gentile Accompliſhments, to have been all along emulous of the very beſt of his Contemporaries. His Countenance was ſo compoſed, that ſcarce was he ever ſeen by the *Athenians* laughing, or in tears; he indulged not himſelf in the Luxury of the publick Baths, (as *Douris* reports) nor ever had his Hands without his Cloak, when he appear'd dreſs'd in publick: Abroad, and in the Camp, he was ſo hardy to go always thin clad and bare-foot, except the Froſt was vehement and intolerable, that the Soldiers uſed to ſay in Merriment, that it was a hard Winter like to be, when *Phocion* wore his Shoos. Although he was of moſt eaſy Converſation and great Humanity, his Appearance was moroſe and ſowr, ſo that he was ſeldom accoſted by any that were Strangers to him: Upon which Occaſion, *Chares*, upon a time jeering his ſupercilious Look, and the *Athenians* applauding him for it, *Phocion* replied, *My Sullenneſs never made any of you ſad, but theſe Mens Jollity have given you ſorrow enough.* In like manner *Phocion*'s Diſcourſe was grave and pithy, full of uſeful Remarks, with a ſententious Brevity awful and auſtere, however unpleaſant: After the manner as *Zeno* ſays a Philoſopher ſhould

ſpeak, his Words throughly tinctur'd with the inward ſenſe of his Mind; ſuch was *Phocion*'s, who crowded much into little room: And to this probably *Polyeuctus* the *Sphettian* had regard, when he ſaid, that *Demoſthenes* was indeed the beſt Orator of his time, but *Phocion* the moſt powerful Speaker; whoſe Words were to be eſtimated like ſmaller Coins from the intrinſick Value of the Mettal, not from the Bulk. He was obſerved ſometimes, when the Theatre was fill'd with Spectators, to walk muſing alone behind the Scenes, which one of his Friends once taking notice of, ſaid; Phocion, *you ſeem to be thoughtful*; *Yes verily*, replied he, *I am conſidering wherein I may retrench what I am to ſay to the* Athenians. Even *Demoſthenes* himſelf, who uſed to deſpiſe the reſt of the *Haranguers* when he roſe up, was wont to ſay preſently to thoſe about him, *Now mark*, ſays he, *the Pruning-hook of my Periods*. But this perhaps may be referr'd to the Authority of the Man; ſince not only a Word, but even a Nod, from a Perſon had in reverence, is of more force than the moſt ſtudied and elaborate Speeches of others. In his Youth he ſerv'd under *Chabrias*, at that time General, whom he greatly honour'd, and by him was abundantly inſtructed in military Knowledge; and, in return, help'd to correct his Humour, which was odd and capricious: For being otherways naturally heavy and flegmatick, he

he was ſo fired and tranſported in heat of Fight, that he threw himſelf headlong into danger beyond the forwardeſt; which indeed coſt him his Life in the Iſland of *Chio*, having preſs'd his own Ship foremoſt, to force a deſcent into the Haven. But *Phocion* being a Man of Temper as well as Courage, had the dexterity at ſome times to warm the General's Flegm, and at others to moderate and cool the impetuouſneſs of his unſeaſonable Fury. Upon which account *Chabrias*, being a good-natur'd Man, loved him extremely, and preferr'd him to Offices and Commands, and effectually recommended him to the *Athenians*, uſing his aſſiſtance, and taking his advice in all his Affairs of moment: Particularly the Sea-fight at *Naxus*, made not a little to *Phocion*'s Reputation; for having the left Squadron committed to him by *Chabrias*, he ſo managed the Matter, that the Controverſy was quickly decided in their favour by a ſpeedy Victory: And this being the firſt proſperous Diſpute the City had with the *Græcians*, by its ſingle force, ſince it was under Hatches, *Chabrias* the General was mightily adored, and *Phocion* magnified as a Man worthy of the greateſt Truſt and Command. This Victory happen'd at the great Solemnities, and *Chabrias* appointed an Anniverſary to commemorate it on the 16*th*. of *Auguſt*, on which it was obtained, and diſtributed a Largeſs of Wine among the *Athe-*

nians. Much about this time *Chabrias* ſent *Phocion* to demand their *Quota* of the Charges of the War from the *Iſlanders*, and proffering him a Guard of 20 Sail, he told him, If he intended him to go againſt them as Enemies, that force was inſignificant; if as to Friends and Allies, one Veſſel was ſufficient: So he took one ſingle Galley, and having viſited the Cities, and treated with the Governours friendly and apertly; he return'd with a good number of Ships, ſent by the Confederates to *Athens*, with ſupplies for their maintenance. Neither did his Friendſhip to *Chabrias* determine with his Life, but after his deceaſe was religiouſly maintained to all that related to him, chiefly his Son *Cteſippus* he labour'd to bring into ſome decorum, and although he was a very ſtupid and unhewn young Fellow, he ceaſed not, what in him lay, to correct and cover his Faults and Follies; once when the Youngſter was very impertinent and troubleſom to him in the Camp, about ordering the Army, ſtill ſhooting his Bolt, interrupting him with idle Queſtions, and documentizing *Phocion* with his ſilly Opinions in the Matter, he could not forbear crying out, *O* Chabrias, Chabrias, *this is the greateſt teſt of my Friendſhip to thee, to endure this Blockhead!*

Upon looking into publick Matters, and the Managers of them, he obſerved they had ſhared the adminiſtration of Affairs among them-

themſelves, as it were by Lot; the Sword-men, and thoſe of the long Robe, ſo as not to interfere with each other: Theſe were to mange the Aſſemblies, regiſter their Votes, and publiſh their Acts and Edicts, of whom were *Eubulus*, *Ariſtophon*, *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus* and *Hyperides*; this was a gainful Trade among them, and the Men of the Blade, as *Diopithes*, *Meneſtheus*, *Leoſthenes* and *Charetas*, by their Military Employs, carved out fair Proportions for themſelves out of the Publick Stock. Now *Phocion* was of opinion, that ſuch a model of Government as that of *Pericles*, *Ariſtides* aud *Solon*, wherein the ſame Perſon acted both Parts, in propounding Laws and ordering the Militia, was a more perfect, uniform, and regular Mixture, and would redound moſt to the common Good and Safety; each of theſe Perſons being well qualifi'd for both Purpoſes, that I may uſe *Archilochus*'s Words:---

Mars *and the* Muſes *Friends alike deſign'd,*
To Arts and Arms indifferently inclin'd.

Minerva being ſtyl'd the Patroneſs and Protectreſs of Arts both Civil and Military.

Phocion having thus conſider'd with himſelf, his Inclinations and Genius were always for Peace and Quietneſs, yet was he engag'd in more Wars than any of his Predeceſſors; never indeed promoting or encouraging ſuch Deſigns,

Deſigns, nor, on the other hand, ſhunning or declining any Enterprize, when he was call'd to it by the publick neceſſity of the State. And thus much is well known, that he was no leſs than 45 ſeveral times choſen General, when he was never once of thoſe times preſent in the Aſſembly; but the Command, in his abſence, by common Suffrage, conferr'd on him, and he ſent for on purpoſe to undertake it; inſomuch that it amazed thoſe that did not well conſider, to ſee the People always prefer *Phocion*, who was ſo far from humouring them, or courting their Favour, that he always thwarted and oppoſed them. But ſo it was, as great Men and Princes uſe their Buffoons and Jeſters after Meals, for their Diſport and Meriment, ſo the *Athenians* upon ſlight occaſions, entertain'd and diverted themſelves with their ſpruce Speakers and trim Orators; but when it came to dint of Action, they were ſo ſober and conſiderative to mark out the Graveſt and Wiſeſt for publick Employment, however oppoſite to their Sentiments. This he made no ſcruple to own, upon the occaſion of the Oracle of *Delphos* being read, which informed them, that the reſt of the Citizens being unanimous, there was one only Perſon ſo preſumptuous to abound in his own ſenſe, which he frankly told them was himſelf, bidding them look no further, for he indeed was nothing ſatisfied in all their proceedings. Happening afterwards to ſpeak his

his own opinion, to the general approbation of the Aſſembly, turning to ſome of his Friends, he demanded of them, *What fooliſh thing had eſcaped him unawares to merit their Applauſe?*

Upon occaſion of a publick Feſtivity, being ſolicited for his Contribution, by the example of others, and preſſing him much, he bid them apply themſelves to the Wealthy, for his part he ſhould bluſh to be ſo prodigal to throw away any thing, whilſt he was in the Uſurer's Books, pointing to *Callicles* the Scrivener. Being ſtill clamour'd on and importun'd, he told them this Tale: *A certain white-liver'd Fellow intending for the Wars, hearing the Ravens croak in his paſſage, threw down his Arms, reſolving to be quiet; recollecting himſelf after, he adventur'd out again, but hearing the ſame Muſick, made a full ſtop, ſaying, they might tear their Throats (if they pleas'd) for joy of ſmelling a Feaſt, but for his part he was reſolv'd to ſave his Skin.*

The *Athenians* urging him at an unſeaſonable time to fall upon the Enemy, he peremptorily refuſed, and being upbraided by them with Cowardiſe and Puſillanimity, he told them, *Gentlemen, we underſtand one another very well; you cannot make me valiant at this time, nor I you wiſe.* In time of ſecurity, the People were very pert and ſevere upon him, demanding a ſtrict account how the publick Treaſure had been employed, and the like: He bid them

firſt be aſſured of their ſafety, and after mind their good Husbandry; in effect, the paſſions of the *Mobile* alter'd with their Affairs, being extreme timorous and ſubmiſs in times of danger; when that was blown over, inſolent and over-bearing, clamouring upon *Phocion*, as one that envied them the honour of Victory. To all which he made only this Anſwer, *My Friends, you are happy that have a Leader that knows your humours, or you had long ſince been undone.*

Having a Controverſie with the *Bœotians* about Boundaries, which he counſell'd them to decide by Treaty, they inclined to Blows; He told them, *Gentlemen, for my part I think it adviſeable for you to have a tryal of skill at the Weapons you can beſt manage (your Tongues) and not your Hands, in which your are inferiour.* Once when he was ſpeaking, they run him down with noiſe, not ſuffering him to go on, or enduring to hear him: *Well Sirs*, quoth he, *you may overpower me to do what I would not, but you ſhall never force me to ſay any thing contrary to my ſenſe.* The whole Crew of Haranguers upon a time bandying againſt him, *Demoſthenes* ſaid, *Phocion, the* Athenians *will tear thee piece-meal, if once they grow enraged; and thee*, ſays he, *when they return to their right minds.* Obſerving *Polyeuctus* the *Sphettian*, a very corpulent Man, with earneſtneſs, till he wanted Breath, and dropt again with Sweat, labouring the Aſſembly for a War againſt King *Philip*; *This*

indeed

indeed, ſays he, *is a proper Perſon to perſwade you to Action, and will doubtleſs behave himſelf notably in Back and Breaſt, that with talking only has almoſt melted his Greaſe.* When *Lycurgus* had ſpoken many reflecting and ſcurrilous things againſt him, cloſing with that of his adviſing them to deliver ten of the Citizens for Hoſtages, which *Alexander* had demanded; he coolly reply'd, That he had been the Author of much ſafe and wholſom Counſel, which had not been follow'd. There was a Man call'd *Achibiades*, nick-named the *Lacedomonian*, affecting their Gravity, by wearing an over-grown moſſie Beard, an old Leaguer Cloak, with a very formal Countenance: *Phocion* being teaſed by the reſt, made ſure of this Man for his Advocate and Compurgator; but finding him when he began to ſpeak, ſmoothing and wheadling with the predominant Faction, taking him by the Beard, he cry'd, *Nay Friend, if you turn Courtier, by all means off with your Gravity.* *Ariſtogeiton* the Sycophant, was a terrible Man of War within the Doors of the Houſe, always ſounding to Horſe, and inflaming them to Battle; but when the Muſter-roll came to be produc'd, where every ones Name was that was fit for Service, he came limping with his Crutch to the Meeting, with a world of Bandage on his Leg, like a maimed Soldier: *Phocion* ſpy'd him afar off, coming in, and cry'd out to the Clerk, *Set down* Ariſtogeiton *too for a counterfeit*

feit Cripple. It was a little to be admired, how a Man ſo ſevere and ſmart upon all occaſions as *Phocion* was, ſhould notwithſtanding maintain his Reſpect and Reputation with the People; yet though difficult, it is not impoſſible a Man's Temper, like ſome Wines, may have a ſweetneſs mixt with ſome harſhneſs alſo, not at all ungrateful; as on the contrary, ſome are ſo extreme luſcious, they are both untaſty and unwholſom. *Hyperides* who was ſowr and ſarcaſtical, uſed to excuſe it to the *Athenians*, by ſaying, *Conſider, I pray, whether I have deſigned any advantage by my bitterneſs*; as though a covetous Deſign were the only unſupportable Grievance, and not alſo Men may juſtly render themſelves obnoxious to Cenſure, by abuſing their Authority, with Pride and Paſſion to prevail upon the weakneſs, and awe the minds of the Vulgar. But *Phocion* had no perſonal Pique nor Spleen to any Man, nor indeed reputed any Man his Enemy, but who contravened his Propoſals for the Weal Publick; in which Argument he was moſt tenacious, ſturdy and uncontrollable; for his general Converſation, it was eaſie, courteous and obliging to all, to that point, as to befriend all ſorts in diſtreſs, and even eſpouſe the Cauſe of thoſe who differ'd moſt from him, when they needed his Patronage. His Friends reproaching him for pleading in behalf of an in ill Man, he told them, *The Innocent had no occaſion for an Advocate.*

cate. *Ariſtogeiton* the Sycophant, we mention'd before, having after Sentence paſs'd upon him, ſent earneſtly to *Phocion* to ſpeak with him in the Priſon, his Friends diſſwaded him from going; *Why, by your favour*, ſays he, *where ſhould I rather chooſe to make* Ariſtogeiton *a Viſit?*

As for the Friends and Allies of the *Athenians* the *Iſlanders*, when ever any Admiral beſides *Phocion* was ſent, they treated him as an Enemy ſuſpect, barricado'd their Gates, block'd up their Havens, drove the Country of their Cattle, Slaves, Wives and Children, and put them in Garriſon; but upon *Phocion*'s Arrival, they went out to welcome him in their Shallops and Barges, with Streamers and Garlands, and received him at Landing, with all demonſtrations of Joy and Triumph. At this time King *Philip* made a deſcent into *Eubœa*, bringing thither an Army from *Macedonia*, endeavouring to gain the Cities to his Intereſt, by the means of their Governours: *Plutarch* of *Eretria* (a City in *Eubœa*) was ſent to pray Aid of the *Athenians*, toward the the relief of the Iſland, that was in imminent danger of being ſurprized by the *Macedonians*. *Phocion* was ſent thither with a handful of Men (in compariſon) in expectation the Country would flock in amain to him; but when he came he found all things in confuſion, the Country betray'd, all corrupted by Bribery, and bought and ſold by the Penſioners

oners to King *Philip*, inſomuch that he ran the greateſt riſque imaginable. To ſecure himſelf the beſt he could, he poſſeſt himſelf of a ſmall riſing Ground, which was divided from the Camp about *Tamynas*, by a large Trench, in which he encloſed the choiceſt of his Army; for the Praters and idle Vagabonds that ſtraggled from the Camp, and forſook their Colours, he bid his Officers not regard them, for that they would not only be diſorderly and ungovernable themſelves, but be a hindrance to the reſt; and further being conſcious to themſelves of the neglect of their duty, they would be leſs apt to prate and miſrepreſent the Action, or beſpatter them at their return home. When the Enemy drew nigh, he commanded them to ſtand to their Arms, whilſt he went to ſacrifice; in which he ſpent a conſiderable time, either by the tediouſneſs of the thing it ſelf, or on purpoſe to invite the Enemy nearer. *Plutarch* interpreting this tardineſs as a failure in his Courage, fell on alone with the Auxiliaries; which the Cavalry perceiving, could not be contained, but iſſuing alſo out of the Camp, confuſedly and diſorderly, ſpurr'd up to the Enemy. The Van by this meanes was worſted, the reſt were eaſily diſperſed, and *Plutarch* himſelf ſhow'd a fair pair of Heels, as judging the whole Army had been routed. But by this time, the Sacrifice being over, thoſe within the Camp made a Head, and fell upon them

that

that were got to the Ditch, and putting them to flight, and cutting many of them in pieces; and *Phocion* having order'd a particular Squadron to watch their motions, and purſue thoſe that firſt gave way in the Skirmiſh, himſelf afterwards, with a reſerve of his beſt Men, engaged the whole Body of the Enemy in a ſharp and bloody Fight, in which all of them behaved themſelves with remarkable Courage and Gallantry. *Thallus* the Son of *Cineas*, and *Glaucus* of *Polymedes*, that fought near the General, ſignalized themſelves; ſo did alſo *Cleophanes* merit the Reputation of a brave Man, having every where laid about him, and call'd upon the Horſe that were wheeling to ſuccour the General, who was in danger, he made them face about, ſo as to confirm the Victory already obtained by the Infantry. By which means *Plutarch* was driven out of *Eretria*, and the commodious Caſtle of it was taken, being ſituated in that part of the Iſland, where it is narrowed into a ſmall neck of Land, the reſt of the Iſland being ſurrounded other-where by the Sea.

He would not permit them to take any of the *Greeks* Priſoners, for fear the Orators at *Athens* ſhould inflame the People againſt them, to determine ſomething to their prejudice.

This Affair thus diſpatch'd and ſettled, *Phocion* ſet Sail homewards, having given moſt manifeſt tokens of his Juſtice and Hu-

manity to the *Allies*, and to the *Athenians* indiſputable proofs of his Courage and Conduct. His Succeſſor *Moloſſus* had worſe fate to fall alive into the Enemies hands, which inſpired *Philip* with great thoughts and deſigns to move with all his force into the *Helleſpont*, ſo to the *Cherſoneſus* and *Perinthus*, and on to *Byzantium*. The *Athenians* raiſing Recruits to relieve them, the *Demagogues* made it their buſineſs to prefer *Chares* to be General, who ſailing thither, effected nothing worthy of ſuch an Equipage; nor would the Confederates harbour his Fleet, having jealouſie of him, ſo that he did nothing but Pirate about, pillaging their Friends, and deſpiſed by their Enemies. Upon this occaſion, the People being chafed by the Orators, were in great Ferment, and highly enraged they had been ſo fool'd, to ſend any Succour to the *Byzantines*; whereupon *Phocion* riſing up, told them, *My Maſters, you have not ſo much reaſon to be concern'd at the Jealouſies of your Friends, as the Unfaithfulneſs of your own Generals, who render you ſuſpected, even to thoſe who yet can't poſſibly ſubſiſt without your Succours.* The Aſſembly being moved with this Speech of his, chang'd their Minds on the ſudden, and commanded him immediately to raiſe more Force, and aſſiſt their Confederates in the *Helleſpont*, which would be of the greateſt moment for the ſecurity of *Byzantium*.

At

At this time *Phocion*'s Name was up, and an old Acquaintance of his, who had been his fellow-Student in the Academy, *Cleon*, a Man of higheſt renown for Vertue among the *Byzantines*, having vouch'd for *Phocion* to the City, they opened their Gates to receive him, not permitting him (though he deſired it) to incamp without the Walls, but entertained him and all the *Athenians* with entire Reſpect; and they to requite their Confidence, converſed with their new Hoſts, not only ſoberly and inoffenſively, but behaved themſelves on all occaſions with great chearfulneſs and reſolution for their defence. Thus came King *Philip* to be driven out of the *Helleſpont*, and deſpiſed to boot, who was till now thought impoſſible to be match'd, and even apprehended invincible. *Phocion* alſo took ſome of his Ships, and retook ſome of the Places he had garriſon'd, making beſides ſeveral Inrodes into the Country, which he plunder'd and over-run, until ſuch time as he happen'd to be wounded by ſome of them that came to his aſſiſtance, he made off towards home.

The *Magaræans* at this time privately praying Aid of the *Athenians*, *Phocion* fearing leſt the *Bœotians* being aware of it, ſhould prevent them, call'd an Aſſembly very early in the Morning, and backing the *Bœotions* Petition, it was put to the Queſtion, and voted in their favour. As ſoon as ever it was done, he made

Proclamation immediately, by ſound of Trumpet, and led them off ſtrait from the Aſſembly, to arm and put themſelves in poſture. The *Megaræans* received them joyfully, they help'd them to fortifie *Niſæa*, and build two new Bulwarks on each ſide, from the City to the Haven, and ſo joyn'd it to the Sea; ſo that being ſufficiently defended on the Land-ſide from the Aſſailants, it was ſecured to the *Athenians*.

Now was the time that the Liberty of *Greece* was openly diſputed with King *Philip*, and at *Athens* ſuch Chiefs choſen in *Phocion*'s abſence, that at his arival from the Iſlands, he dealt earneſtly with the *Athenians*, (being deeply poſſeſs'd what danger might enſue) that ſince *Philip* ſhow'd ſome peaceable Inclinations towards them, they would conſent to a Treaty, being contradicted in this by a prating pick-thank Fellow, of thoſe ſort of Vermin that haunt the Places of publick Aſſembly, (this was a famous Place of the *Athenians* meeting open to the Air.) This ſawcy Companion asking *Phocion*, if he durſt preſume to perſwade the *Athenians* to Peace, now their Swords were in their Hands? *Yes*, ſaid he, *I dare, though I'm ſatisfied I ſhall be thy Maſter in time of War, and thou (perhaps) mine in time of Peace.* Since he could not prevail, and *Demoſthenes*'s Opinion carry'd it, adviſing them to make War as far off home as poſſible, (that was to the far ſide of *Attica*) *Phocion* argued, that in

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theſe Matters the Place was not ſo much to be conſidered, as the probability of Succeſs, for by this the diſtance of War was to be meaſured; to be ſure, thoſe that were worſted, would have it quickly brought home to their Doors. Accordingly Matters ſucceeding ill, the Innovators and Incendiaries haling up *Charidemus* to the Tribunal, to be nominated to the Command, the beſt of the Senators were in a panick fear, and call'd a Meeting of the People at *Areopagus*, where with Entreaties and Tears they hardly prevail'd to have *Phocion* preferr'd and intruſted with the care of the City. He was of opinion, that the fair Terms *Philip* propoſed, were to be accepted; yet after *Demades* had propounded, that the City ſhould receive the ſelf-ſame Conditions, that were tender'd to the reſt of the States of *Greece*, he oppoſed it, till it were known what the Particulars were King *Philip* had demanded. Being over-born in this Advice at that juncture of time, preſently after the *Athenians* ſufficiently repented it, when they underſtood that by thoſe Articles, they were obliged to furniſh *Philip* both with Horſe and Shipping: *This Gentlemen*, ſays he, *I foreſaw, and therefore oppoſed; but ſince you have now articled, make the beſt on't, be courageous, and bear it as well as you can, remembring that your Anceſtors uſing their Fortune indifferently, ſometimes giving Laws, at other times truckling, perform'd each*

part with decorum, and preſerved not only their own City, but the reſt of Greece.

Upon the news of *Philip*'s Death, he would not ſuffer the People to make Bonfires, or other publick demonſtrations of Joy and Jubilee, minding them how ungenerous it was to inſult upon ſuch an Occaſion, and that the Army that had fought them at *Cheronæa*, was leſſened by one Man only.

When *Demoſthenes* made Invectives againſt *Alexander*, who was now ſet down before *Thebes*, he repeated thoſe Verſes of *Homer*:

What mean'ſt thou, Fool, with rage to ſwell his
Breaſt,
Already full, with glorious hopes poſſeſt?

What's this but adding freſh fuel to the Fire, and puſhing your ſelves forwards into the Flames, that are already devouring the Neighbourhood; for my part (ſays he) *I will not be conſenting to your deſtroying your ſelves, though you ſhould court me to it, and for this end only have I continued my Command.*

After *Thebes* was loſt, and *Alexander* had demanded *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides* and *Charidemus* to be deliver'd up, the whole Aſſembly turning their Eyes frequently and intently upon him, and calling on him alſo by Name to deliver his Opinion; at laſt he roſe up, laying hold upon one of his moſt dear

and

and intimate Friends, that he loved and confided in above all others, telling them, *Sirs, you have brought things amongſt you to that paſs, that for my part ſhould he demand this my Friend* Nicocles, *I would not refuſe him, and ſhould think it the greateſt happineſs my ſelf to ſacrifice my own Life and Fortune for your ſafety; for truly,* ſays he, *it pierces my Heart to ſee thoſe who are fled hither for Succour from the deſolation of* Thebes; *and ſurely it will be more for the common Intereſt, that we rather depracate the Conqueror, and interceed for both, than run the hazard of another Battle.*

When this was decreed by the Commonalty, *Alexander* is ſaid to have rejected their firſt Addreſs when it was preſented, throwing it back ſcornfully, and turning his back on the Ambaſſadors, they departed; but the ſecond which was preſented by *Phocion*, he graciouſly receiv'd, underſtanding by the grave Seniors, how much *Philip* always held him in the higheſt Eſteem and Veneration; and not only accepted his Memorial and Petition, but alſo permitted him to adviſe him; which he did to this effect, that if his Deſigns were for Peace and Quietneſs, he ſhould put a ſtop to his Career; if the *glory of his Arms* were his aim, he ſhould do well to divert them from *Greece*, and turn them on the *Barbarians*. With divers ſuch Inſinuations, dextrouſly fitted to the Humour and Genius of *Alexander*, he ſo won upon him, and ſoftned his

Temper, that he was heard to ſay, The *Athenians* ought to value themſelves, for if any thing amiſs betided him, they only were worthy of the Soveraignty. Converſing thus with *Phocion* as his Friend and Confident, he did him that Honour, which few of thoſe that were next his Perſon ever received; inſomuch that *Douris* reports, when he grew great and high, after the Defeat of *Darius*, he left off the word *Greeting* in all his Letters, except only thoſe that were directed to *Phocion* and *Antipater* he condeſcended to uſe it, which alſo is comfirmed by *Chares*. As for his Munificence to him, it is well known he ſent him a Preſent at one time of 100 Talents, which being brought to *Athens*, *Phocion* demanded of the Bearers, how it came to paſs, that among all the reſt of the *Athenians*, he alone ſhould be ſo highly obliged to his Bounty? And being told, that *Alexander* eſteemed him (only) a Perſon of Honour and Worth: *May it pleaſe him then*, (ſaid he) *to permit me to continue ſo, and be ſtill ſo reputed.* Following him to his Houſe, and obſerving his ſimple and plain way of Living, his Wife imploy'd in the Paſtry-work with her own Hands, himſelf pumping Water to waſh his Feet; they preſs'd him to accept it, with ſome Indignation, being aſhamed, (as they ſaid) that *Alexander*'s Friend ſhould live ſo poorly and pitifully. *Phocion* taking notice of a poor old Fellow, in a tatter'd Coat, paſſing by, asked them, *If they thought him in*

worſe

worſe condition than that poor Wretch? They begg'd his pardon for the Compariſon; *yet*, ſays he, *this Man has leſs to live upon than I, and is content; and in ſhort, I muſt tell you, if this ſumm be more than I can uſe, it is altogether ſuperfluous; if I live up to it, I ſhall give cauſe of jealouſie both of your Maſter and my ſelf to the reſt of the Citizens.* So the Treaſure was returned back from *Athens*, giving the *Græcians* an illuſtrious Example, how much truly richer the Man is, who by contracting his mind, has no occaſion for more, than him who by the largeneſs of his Fortunes is capable of the largeſt Munificence. *Alexander* was diſpleaſed at this, and writ to him again, acquainting him, *That he could not eſteem thoſe his Friends, who thought much to be obliged by him.* Yet neither would this prevail with *Phocion* to accept the Money, but he made uſe of his favour to intercede for *Echecratides* the Sophiſt, and *Athenodorus* the *Imbrian*, as alſo for *Demaratus* and *Sparton*, two *Rhodians*, that had been convicted of certain Crimes, and were in cuſtody at *Sardis*, that he would pleaſe to enlarge them: This was preſently granted by *Alexander*, and they were ſet at liberty. Afterwards ſending *Craterus* into *Macedonia*, he commanded him to make him an Offer of four Cities in *Aſia*, *Cio*, *Gergetho*, *Mylaſſis* and *Elæa*, any of which, at his choice, ſhould be delivered to him; being inſtant with him, and declaring he ſhould reſent it, ſhould he continue obſti-

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nate in his refuſal; but *Phocion* was not to be prevail'd with at all, and preſently after *Alexander* died.

Phocion's Houſe is ſhown to this day in a Village call'd *Melita*, beautify'd with Tyles of Copper, otherways plain and homely. Concerning his Wives; of the firſt of them there is little ſaid, ſave only that ſhe was Siſter of *Cephiſdotus* the Statuary: The other was a Matron of no leſs Reputation for Vertue and good Houſewifery among the *Athenians*, than *Phocion* was for Probity. It happen'd once when the People were entertained with a new Tragedy, he that was to rigg out the Queen and her Attendants, wanted ſome fine Habits and Accoutrements for the purpoſe, to make them appear ſplendid; which not being provided, the Player was ſullen and refuſed to Act, but kept them in expectation, till *Melanthius*, the Maſter of the Revels, puſh'd him on the Stage, crying out aloud, *What Sirrah, don't you take notice that* Phocion's *Wife goes conſtantly attended with one only waiting Woman, but you muſt debauch the Sex, and fill the Womens Heads with nothing but Pride and Vanity?* This free Speech of his was received with wonderful Applauſe, and clapp'd by the Audience round the Theater. The ſame plain Lady, entertaining at her Houſe a Stranger, a ſpruce Dame of *Ionia*, who ſhow'd her all her Finery of gold Embroidery, rich Jewels, Bracelets, Necklaces, and the like: *For my*

part

part, Madam, ſays ſhe, *all my Ornament is my good Man* Phocion, *who has commanded the* Athenians *now this* 20 *Years. Phocion*'s Son had an ambition to make one at the Exerciſes performed at *Athens* in honour of *Minerva* every 5*th.* Year, which he permitted him to do, not ſo much to have the Garlands of Victory, (if he approved himſelf) but for his Health, and to invigorate his Body by manly Labour and Abſtinence, the young Man being at other times Intemperate and a Pot-companion. Having ſucceeded in the Sports, many offer'd their ſervice to treat his Son with the uſual Complements to the Victor, which Honour he refuſed to all, except one Gentleman. When he came to the Treat, and found it very extravagant upon all accounts, even the Water brought to waſh the Gueſts Feet mingled with Wine and Spices, he reprimanded his Son, asking him, *Why he would ſo far permit his Friend to ſully the Honour of his Victory*; and endeavouring wholly to wean the Youngſter from ſuch Courſes and Company, he ſent him to *Lacedæmon*, and plac'd him among the Youth that were educated according to the cuſtom of that Country. This the *Athenians* took offence at, as though he ſlighted and contemned the Education at home; and *Demades* twitted him with it publickly, telling him, *Why*, Phocion, *do not we perſwade the* Athenians *to receive the* Laconian *Manners and Diſcipline? If you pleaſe to have it ſo, I am ready*

to

to propound ſuch a Law. Yes indeed, ſaid Phocion, *it would exceedingly become you that are ſo Powder'd and Perfum'd, with that Reveling Habit on your Back, to Speech it in praiſe of* Lycurgus, *and invite the* Athenians *to Colledge Commons.*

When *Alexander* had demanded the Galleys they had agreed to furniſh him withal, the Orators oppoſed the ſending them, and the Council demanded *Phocion*'s ſence, he told them freely, *Sirs, I would either have you make ſure of the Victory, or a Friend of the Victor.* About that time one *Pytheas*, a confident talking Fellow, begun to be very impertinent and troubleſom with his often prating: Him *Phocion* check'd, telling him, *That it would be better manners for him to be ſilent, who was but of Yeſterday among them.* At that time *Harpalus* came from *Alexander* out of *Aſia* into *Attica*, with a vaſt ſumm of Money; at whoſe arrival the little People of thoſe that uſe to be hangers on upon the Court, flock'd about him to get ſomething of him; amongſt whom he ſcattered ſome ſmall largeſſes to gain them, and tye them by the Teeth: But to *Phocion* he made an offer of no leſs than 700 Talents, and all manner of other advantages he pleas'd to demand; with the Complement from *Alexander*, that he would entirely commit himſelf and all his Affairs to his diſpoſal: To which *Phocion* anſwer'd ſharply, *That if he took ſuch meaſures, he ſhould dearly repent his projects*

jects of corrupting and debauching the Citizens: Upon which he deſiſted with regret. After, while the *Athenians* were deliberating in Council about him, he found thoſe that had received Penſions from him, to be his greateſt Enemies, urging and aggravating matters againſt him, to prevent themſelves being diſcover'd: But *Phocion* who had clean Hands, and whoſe chief aim was always the Wealpublick, to have ſome regard alſo to his particular ſecurity. This incourag'd him once more to feel his Pulſe, and attack him; but he found him like a ſtrong Forteſs, every way ſo defended, that even the Golden Key could gain no admittance, on all ſides inacceſſible and impregnable: Yet having made a particular Friendſhip with *Phocion*'s Son in Law *Charicles*, and uſing him with intire confidence in all his Affairs, he brought him into ſome ſuſpicion: Upon the occaſion of *Pythonica* the Curteſans dying, who was *Harpalus*'s Miſtreſs, for whom he had a great fondneſs, and had a Child by her; he reſolv'd to build her a ſumptuous Monument, and committed the care of it to his Friend *Charicles*. This deſign, vain enough in it ſelf, was yet further diſparag'd by the Workmanſhip, after it was finiſhed (for it is yet to be ſeen in *Hermio*, as we go from *Athens* to *Eluſina*) there appearing nothing anſwerable to the ſum of 30 Talents, ſaid to be accounted by *Charicles* as expended about it. After *Harpalus*'s own deceaſe, his Daughter

Daughter was educated by *Phocion* and *Charicles* with great care; but *Charicles* being queſtion'd by ſome of *Harpalus*'s Relations about his concerns, and intreating his Father in Law's Protection, and that he would appear for him in the Court; *Phocion* refuſed him peremptorily, telling him, *He would eſpouſe his cauſe, as his Son in Law, only in things worthy and honourable.*

About this time *Aſclepiades* the Son of *Hipparchus*, brought the firſt tidings of *Alexander*'s Death to *Athens*, which *Demades* told them was not to be credited; for were it true, the whole World would feel the ſtink of the dead Carcaſs. *Phocion* perceiving his deſign of innovating and ſtirring the People to Sedition, endeavoured to prevent and reſtrain them, but many of them crowding up to the Bench, and crying aloud that it was true what *Aſclepiades* had related; *Well then, ſuppoſe it*, ſays he, *if it be true to Day, it will be as true to Morrow and the next Day; ſo that we have leiſure quietly and treatably to conſult our ſecurity. Leoſthenes* had a deſign of imbarquing the *Athenians* in the *Græcian* War, which *Phocion* could not brook, nor forbear him: He ask'd *Phocion* ſcoffingly, what the State had been benefited by his Miniſtry now ſo many Years? *Truly not a little*, ſaid he, *methinks that the Citizens have been quietly laid up in their own Sepulchres*: But *Leoſthenes* continuing to huff and ſwagger in the Aſſembly, *Young Man*, ſays Phocion, *your*

your Language is like Cypreſs Trees, tall and topping, but without Fruit. After him *Hyperides* ſet upon him, demanding of *Phocion* when the time would come, he would adviſe the *Athenians* to make War? *Why truly*, ſays he, *when I ſhall find the Younger ſort tractable and obſervant of Diſcipline, the Wealthy forward in their Contributions, and the Lawyers forbear pillaging and robbing the Publick Exchequer.* After, when many admired the Forces raiſed, and the Preparations for War that were made by *Leoſthenes*; they ask'd *Phocion* how he approved of the new Levies? *Very well*, ſays he, *for a courſe, but I apprehend the ſucceſs of a War, the Commonwealth being wholly deſtitute both of Treaſure, Shipping and Seamen for the Expedition:* And the Event juſtify'd his Prognoſtick; yet at firſt all things appear'd fair and promiſing, *Leoſthenes* gain'd Reputation by worſting the *Bœotians* in Battle, and driving *Antipater* within the Walls of *Lamia*; and the Citizens were ſo tranſported with the firſt Succeſſes, that they kept ſolemn Feſtivities for them, and inſtituted publick Sacrifices to the Gods of Victory: So that ſome, to reproach *Phocion* for being of contrary ſentiments, ask'd him whether now he would not willingly be Author of this ſucceſsful Action to the Publick? *Yes verily*, ſays he, *moſt gladly, but alſo of the former Counſel.* When one Expreſs after another came from the Camp, confirming and magnifying the Victories, *Nay then*, ſays he, *ſure we ſhall never have*

done

done killing and ſlaying. *Leoſthenes* died ſoon after, and thoſe that feared leſt if *Phocion* obtain'd the Command, he would put an end to the War, dealt with an obſcure Fellow in the Aſſembly, who ſhould ſtand up and pretend himſelf to be a Friend and old Crony of *Phocion*'s, and perſwade the People to ſpare him at this time, and reſerve him for a more preſſing Occaſion, having none comparable to him for Conduct at a pinch; but now to ſend *Antiphilus* with the Command of the Army. This pleas'd the Generality; but *Phocion* made it appear, he was ſo far from having any Friendſhip with him of old ſtanding, that he had not ſo much as the leaſt familiarity with him: *Yet now, Sir,* ſays he, *give me leave to put you down among the Number of my Friends and Familiars, having adviſed in my Concerns, ſo much to my Advantage.*

Still the *Athenians* being violent to engage againſt the *Bœotians*, *Phocion* was the firſt oppos'd it; and his Friends telling him the People would kill him, for always running counter to them; *Truly,* ſays he, *it will be hard Meaſure if I adviſe them honeſtly; if not, let me ſuffer.* Whilſt they were loud and hot upon't, he commanded the Cryer to make Proclamation, that all the *Athenians* from 16 to 60, ſhould preſently prepare themſelves with Five Days Proviſion, and immediately follow him from the Aſſembly. This cauſed a great Tumult:

mult: Thoſe in Years were ſtartled, and clamour'd againſt the Order; he demanded wherein he injur'd them, *For I*, ſays he, *am now Fourſcore, and am ready to lead you.* This diverted them, and pacified them for the preſent; in the mean time *Micion*, with a great Force of *Macedonians* and Mercenaries, was ravaging and pillaging the Sea-coaſt, making a Deſcent into *Ramnunta*, and waſting the Country. Againſt him *Phocion* was ſent, and drew out his Army, where ſome Stragglers pragmatically intermeddling in the Marſhalling of it, would needs be tutoring him how he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of ſuch a Hill, and diſpoſe of the Cavalry in ſuch a Place, and ſo and ſo to range the Battalions to the beſt advantage: *O Hercules*, ſays he, *how many Generals have we here, and how few Soldiers?* Afterward, having form'd the Battle, one that would ſeem forward, advanc'd out of his Order before the reſt; but the Enemy approaching, his Heart fail'd him, and he retir'd back into his Rank. Him he reproach'd, telling him, *Youngſter, are you not aſhamed twice in one Day to deſert your Station, both where I had placed you, and you had plac'd your ſelf?* But falling on the Enemy, with great Bravery and Reſolution, he routed them, killing *Micion* and many more upon the Spot; and afterwards he overcame the *Græcian* Army that was in *Theſſaly*, wherein *Leonatus* had join'd himſelf with *Antipater*, and the *Macedonians*

that came out of *Aſia: Leonatus* was kill'd in the Fight, *Antiphilus* commanding the Foot, and *Menon*, the *Theſſalian*, the Horſe. Not long after, *Craterus* coming out of *Aſia* with a great Force, another Skirmiſh happen'd in *Cranon*, wherein the *Græcians* were worſted, but the Loſs was not very conſiderable, nor the Number of the ſlain; yet with their Reſtiveneſs to their Governors, who were young Men, and too mild and indulgent. *Antipater*, in the mean ſeaſon, alſo under-hand tampering with the Cities, the *Græcians* utterly loſt themſelves, and ſhamefully betrayed the Liberty of their Country.

Upon the News of *Antipater*'s approaching *Athens* with all his Force, *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides* deſerted the City; and *Demades*, who was altogether inſolvent for any part of the Fines that had been laid upon him by the City, (for he had been condemn'd no leſs than Seven times for falſe Judgments contrary to the known Laws) and having loſt his Reputation to that degree, that he was not permitted to Vote in the Aſſembly, laid hold on this favourable Juncture, to bring in a Bill for ſending Embaſſadors with plenipotentiary Power to *Antipater*, to treat about a Peace; but the People diſtruſting him, and calling upon *Phocion* to give his Opinion, as the Perſon they only and entirely confided in, he ſaid; *My Maſters, if my former Counſels had been any Thing prevalent with you, we had not*

been

been reduc'd to ſuch Straits as we now labour under in our Deliberations about theſe Matters. However, the Vote paſs'd; and a Decree was made, and he, with others, deputed to go to *Antipater*, who lay now incamped in the *Theban* Territories, but intended ſuddenly to diſlodge, and paſs into *Attica*. His firſt Propoſal was, That the Treaty might begin whilſt he ſtaid in that Country: This was cry'd out upon as unreaſonably propounded by *Phocion* (by *Craterus*) to oppreſs the Country of their Friends and Allies by their ſtay, ſince they might rather uſe that of their Enemies, for Proviſions and Support of their Army. But *Antipater* taking him by the Hand, ſaid, *'Tis true, but let us grant this Boon out of reſpect to* Phocion: And for the reſt, he bid them return to their Principals, and acquaint them that he would grant them no other Terms, than what he himſelf had received from *Leoſthenes*, then General, when he was ſhut up in *Lamia*.

When *Phocion* had return'd to the City, and acquainted them with this Anſwer, they made a Vertue of Neceſſity at this Juncture, and comply'd, ſince it would be no better: So *Phocion* return'd to *Thebes* with other Embaſſadors, and among the reſt, *Zenocrates* the Philoſopher, the Reputation of whoſe Prudence and Wiſdom was ſo great and celebrated among the *Athenians*, that they co[illegible]v'd there could not be any thing of Mankind ſo

brutal and barbarous, or devoid of common Humanity, that even his Meen and Aſpect would not gain upon and create a reſpect for him: But the contrary happen'd by the Inſolence and Ferity of *Antipater*'s Diſpoſition, who imbracing all the reſt of his Companions, paſs'd *Zenocrates*, by not deigning ſo much as to ſalute him, or take the leaſt notice of him: Upon which Occaſion, *Zenocrates* ſaid, *He was well ſatisfied he uſed him ſo ſcurvily, ſince he had the ſame Intentions to the whole City.* As ſoon as ever he began to ſpeak, *Antipater* thwarted and interrupted him, not ſuffering him to proceed, but enjoined him ſilence: But when *Phocion* had declar'd the purport of their Embaſſy, he replied ſhort and peremptorily, he would make a League with the *Athenians* on theſe Conditions, and no others: *That* Demoſthenes *and* Hyperides *be delivered up to him: That the ancient way of Raiſing Taxes in the City be obſerved: That they ſhould receive a Gariſon from him into* Mynichia: *Defray the Charges of the War, and Damages ſuſtain'd, and put themſelves under Contribution for it.* As Things ſtood, theſe Terms were judg'd tolerable by the reſt of the Embaſſadors: *Zenocrates* ſaid, *Truly if* Antipater *reputed them as already Slaves, they were indifferent; but if he conſidered them ſtill as Free, they were inſufferable.* *Phocion* preſs'd him with much Earneſtneſs only to ſpare the Gariſon, and uſed many Arguments and Intreaties: *Antipater* replied,

replied, *He ſhould find him compliant in any thing to his Requeſt, that did not inevitably tend to the Ruine of them both.* Others report it differently, that *Antipater* ſhould ask *Phocion*, *If he remitted the Gariſon to the* Athenians, *he would ſtand Surety for the City to demean themſelves peaceably, and endeavour no Innovations?* To which when he demurr'd, and made no return; on the ſudden *Callimedon* the *Carabian*, a hot Man, and a profeſs'd Enemy to Free-States, roſe up, asking *Antipater* if he would ſuffer himſelf to be juggled withal, and have his Confidence abuſed ſo far, as not to act what he thought moſt expedient? So the *Athenians* receiv'd the Gariſon, and *Menyllus* for the Governour, a fair-condition'd Man, and one of *Phocion*'s Acquaintance.

This Proceeding ſeem'd ſufficiently imperious and arbitrary, indeed rather a ſpiteful inſulting and oſtentation of Power, than that the poſſeſſing himſelf of that Fortreſs, would be of any real advantage to his Affairs. The Reſentment of this Uſage was heightned by the Time it happen'd in: For it fortun'd the Gariſon was brought in in the Month of *Auguſt*, juſt at the Time of the great Feſtival, when *Bacchus* was carried with ſolemn Pomp from the City to *Eleuſina*; ſo that the Solemnity being diſturb'd, many began to recollect what had happen'd at the Time of thoſe Rites, both anciently and modernly: For of old, in their greateſt Proſpe-

rity, there had been odd Appearances ſeen, and Voices heard at the Time of their Celebration, which ſtrook terror and amazement into their Enemies; but now, at the ſame Seaſon, the Gods themſelves ſtood Witneſſes of the extreme Oppreſſions of *Greece*; the Holy Time being prophan'd, and their greateſt Jubilee made the unlucky Date of their moſt extreme Calamity. Not many Years before, they had brought an Advertiſement from the Oracle at *Dodona*, That they ſhould carefully Guard the Promontory of *Diana*'s Temple, and ſecure it from the Poſſeſſion of Strangers: And about the ſame Time when they dy'd the Ribbonds and Garlands, with which they adorn'd the Pageants in devotion to her; inſtead of a Purple, they receiv'd only a faint dead Colour; and which added to the Omen, all thoſe Things that were dyed for common Uſe, took the natural Colour. Alſo a Sacrificer waſhing a Porket in the Haven, whilſt it was calm, a *Shark* ſeiz'd on him, bit off all his hinder Parts to the Belly, and devoured them; by which they imagin'd the God gave them apparently to underſtand, that having already loſt the lower Parts of their Territories, towards the Seacoaſt, they ſhould more carefully guard thoſe towards the City.

Now the Gariſon under *Menyllus* was no ways offenſive to thoſe of the better ſort, but of the meaner ſort; the Number of whom

whom (who by reaſon of their Poverty were not taxed) were reckon'd in the City to be above 12000; thoſe that remain'd in the City thought themſelves oppreſſed and affronted, and thoſe that had gone away into *Thrace*, on whom *Antipater* had beſtow'd a Town, and ſome Territories to inhabit, accounted themſelves only as a Colony of Slaves and Exiles. *Demoſthenes* died at that Time in *Calabria*, and *Hyperides* at *Cleona*, a City of *Greece*, (as we have elſewhere related) which put the Citizens in mind of the Death of *Philip* and *Alexander*, and almoſt wiſhing the return of thoſe Times. Juſt as after *Antigonus* was ſlain, and thoſe that had taken him off, afterwards more grievouſly afflicting and oppreſſing the People; a Country-man in *Phrygia*, digging in the Fields, was ask'd what he was doing? *I am*, ſays he, (fetching a deep Sigh) *ſearching again for* Antigonus. So ſaid many that remembred thoſe Days, and the Diſputes they had with thoſe Kings, whoſe Anger, however great, was yet generous and placable; whereas *Antipater*, with the counterfeit Humilty of appearing like a private Man, in the meanneſs of his Habit and homely Fare, covered the haughtineſs of his Mind, and inſolently abuſing his Power, was indeed inſufferable to thoſe under his Command, being extreme Lordly and Tyrannical. Yet *Phocion* had intereſt with him to recal many from Baniſhment by his in-

treaty, and prevail'd alſo for thoſe that fled away, that they might not, like others, be hurried beyond *Fœnarus*, and the Mountains of *Ceraunia*, but remain in *Greece*, and plant themſelves in *Peloponneſus*, of which Number was *Agnonides* the Sycophant. He no leſs ſtudiouſly manag'd the Affairs within the City, with ſignal Equity and Moderation, preferring conſtantly thoſe that were Men of Worth and Temper to the Magiſtracy; keeping out the factious and turbulent, leſt they ſhould abuſe their Power to raiſe Stirs; and thoſe that were decay'd, he advis'd to retire into the Country, and mind tillage. Obſerving that *Zenocrates* payed his Aſſeſſments as a Foreigner, he would have perſwaded him to accept of his Freedom; which he refus'd, ſaying; *He could not receive it from that City, whoſe Liberties and Franchiſes were doomed, when he himſelf was one of the Embaſſadors.* *Menyllus* offered *Phocion* a conſiderable Sum of Money, who, thanking him, ſaid; *Neither was he greater than* Alexander, *nor his own Occaſions more urgent to receive it now, who then refuſed it from him:* But ſtill preſſing him to permit his Son *Phocus* to receive it; he replied, *If my Son returns to his right Mind, his Patrimony is ſufficient; if not, in the Courſes he now takes, all Supplies will be inſignificant.* But to *Antipater* he anſwered more tartly, who would have him engaged in ſomething Diſhonourable: *Antipater*, ſays he, *can't uſe me both as a Friend, and a Flatterer.*

And

And indeed *Antipater* was wont to ſay, he he had Two Friends at *Athens*, *Phocion* and *Demades*; the one would never ſuffer him to gratify him at all, the other would never be ſatisfied. For *Phocion's* Vertue made his Poverty appear reputable, having ſo oft been Commander in Chief of the *Athenians*, and admitted to the Friendſhip of ſo many Potentates, he had yet grown old and poor in the Service of the Commonwealth: But *Demades* prided himſelf by laviſhing his Wealth, to break in upon the Publick Conſtitutions, and affront them: For there having been an Order that no Foreigner ſhould be entertain'd to Dance at the publick Shows, on the Penalty of 1000 *Drachma*'s to be levied on him that ſhould exhibit them; his Vanity was ſo great, to hire 100 Strangers, and paid the Fine for them all in ready Caſh upon the Stage. Marrying his Son *Demeas* at that time, he told, him with the like Vanity; *Son, when I married your Mother, it was done ſo privately it was not known to the next Neighbours; but Kings and Princes ſhow themſelves forward to preſent you at your Nuptials.*

Still this Gariſon was a grievous Eye-ſore to the Commonalty among the *Athenians*, and they ceaſed not clamouring upon *Phocion*, to prevail with *Antipater* for its Removal; but when he deſpair'd of effecting it, or rather obſerved the People more governable, and behaving themſelves more orderly, by the Awe

Awe that was upon them, he conſtantly declined that Office; yet as to the Money-matter, effectually obtained of him, not to demand the Subſidy agreed on, but prolonged the time of its Payment. So the People, leaving him off, applied themſelves to *Demades*, who readily undertook the Employment, and took along with him his Son alſo into *Macedonia*; the Devil, as it ſeem'd, owing him a Shame, he came juſt at that nick of Time when *Antipater* was ſeized with Sickneſs, and *Caſſander* taking upon himſelf the Command, had found a Letter of *Demades*'s, formerly writ by him to *Antigonus* in *Aſia*, moving him to take upon himſelf the Empire of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, which now ſtood upon an old and rotten Stalk, ſo rallying *Antipater*.

So when *Caſſander* heard of his coming, he ſeiz'd him; and having cauſed his Son to be brought before his Face, ſlew him; ſo ordering it, that the Son's Blood ſhould fly upon the Father, and bedaub him: After bitterly taunting and upbraiding him with his Ingratitude and Treachery, he diſpatch'd him.

Antipater, (having nominated *Polyperchon* General, and *Caſſander* Colonel) being dead, *Caſſander* preſently ſet up for himſelf, and immediately diſpatch'd *Nicanor* to *Menyllus*, to be his Succeſſor in the *Athenian* Gariſon, commanding him to poſſeſs himſelf of it, before

before the News of *Antipater*'s Death ſhould be bruited abroad. Which being done, and ſome Days after the *Athenians* hearing the Report of it, *Phocion* was taxt, as privy to it before, and cenſured heavily for diſſembling it, as a Friend and Confederate of *Nicanor*'s: But he ſlighted their tittle-tattle, and meeting oft, and conferring with *Nicanor*, made it his Buſineſs to render him civil and obliging to the *Athenians*, and not only ſo, but perſwaded him to ſome Expence upon them, and have ſome Shows at his own Charge to entertain the People. In the mean time, *Polyperchon*, to whoſe Care the chief Affairs were committed, to countermine *Caſſander*, writ a cunning Letter to the City, declaring, That they were reſtored to their ancient Privileges and Immunities, and were at entire Liberty to govern their Commonwealth, according to their ancient Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions. The bottom of theſe Pretences was meer Stratagem and Trick, levell'd principally againſt *Phocion*, as the Event manifeſted it ſelf; for *Polyperchon*'s Deſign being to poſſeſs himſelf of the City, he deſpaired altogether of bringing it to paſs, whilſt *Phocion* lived, and in Credit: But the moſt certain way to ruine him, would be again to bring into play the *Demagogues*, who had been put out of Office for Seditious Practices, and reſtore them to their Places of Truſt, both in the Courts of Judicature, and *their Votes in Common-Council.*

Thus

Thus the *Populace* being let looſe, preſently great Commotions happen'd in *Athens*, which *Nicanor* endeavouring to compoſe, call'd the Senate together into the *Pyræum*, and came thither himſelf, committing himſelf to *Phocion* for his Security ; but one *Dercyllus*, a Captain of the Train-bands in the Suburbs, attempting to ſeize him, he having ſome hint of it, withdrew himſelf, giving out that he would ſuddenly right himſelf upon the City for this Affront. *Phocion* was accuſed for being near him, and not ſeizing him, as he was required ; but he defended himſelf, ſaying, That he had no manner of miſtruſt of *Nicanor*, nor the leaſt reaſon to expect any miſchief from him; but ſhould it prove otherways, for his part he would have them all know, he had rather receive, than do an ill Thing to any Man. This Carriage of *Phocion*'s, fairly and ſimply conſidered, would appear extreme Generous, and Gentlemanlike ; yet looking upon a Man ſtanding in relation to his Country, now endanger'd,and that in the higheſt Station of Power and Authority, there is ſomething (methinks) of prior Conſideration, and original Obligation of Juſtice, in diſcharging the Truſt repoſed in him, to be regarded, much rather than ſuch Points of Honour : For it is not a ſatisfactory Pretence to ſay, That he dreaded the involving the City in War, by ſeizing *Nicanor*; nor that in Honour and Juſtice he could not

not lay Hands on a Man, who had given him all the Aſſurance and Security in the World, that he would no ways moleſt or diſturb the *Athenian* State: But it was, *indeed*, his Credulity and Confidence in him, and an over-weening Opinion of his Sincerity, that impoſed upon him. So that notwithſtanding the ſundry Intimations he had from thoſe that accuſed him of having Deſigns on the *Pyræum*, and ſending Numbers of Mercenaries into *Salamina*, beſides his tampering with, and endeavouring to corrupt thoſe of *Pyræum*, (where his Gariſon ſtood) he would (notwithſtanding all this Evidence) never be perſwaded to believe it. Nay further, although *Philomedes*, the Son of *Lampres*, had got a Decree paſs'd, that all the *Athenians* ſhould ſtand to their Arms, and be ready to follow *Phocion* their General, he yet ſate ſtill and ſecure; till ſuch time as *Nicanor* had actually brought down Arms and Ammunition from *Mynichia* to *Pyræum*, and begun to draw Trenches round it. Whilſt theſe Things were tranſacted, when *Phocion* (at laſt) would have led out the *Athenians*, they mutined againſt him, and ſlighted his Orders.

Alexander, the Son of *Polyperchon*, was at Hand with a conſiderable Force, pretended to be for Succour of the City againſt *Nicanor*, but intended nothing leſs (if poſſible) than to ſurprize the City, whilſt they were in Tumult, and divided among themſelves:

For

For thoſe that had been baniſhed, getting into the City, to whom the Foreigners joined themſelves, and all the Rabble-rout thronging into them, they made up an odd irregular mixt Convention, wherein they preſently diveſted *Phocion* of all Power, and choſe to themſelves other Commanders; and if by chance *Alexander* had not been ſpy'd from the Walls, alone, and in cloſe Conſult with *Nicanor*, and given the *Athenians* juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion, certainly the City at that Moment had run a great Riſque. Immediately the Orator *Agnonides* fell foul upon *Phocion*, and impeach'd him of Treaſon: *Callimedon* and *Pericles* fearing the worſt, conſulted their own Security, by flying from the City: *Phocion*, with a few of his Friends that ſtay'd with him. went over to *Polyperchon*, and out of Reſpect *Solon* of *Platæa*, and *Dinarchus* of *Corinth*, accompany'd him, being reputed Friends and Confidents of *Polyperchon*. But *Dinarchus* enjoying ill Health, they remained many Days in *Elatæa*, a City of *Phocis*, ſituate near the Mountain *Acrorium*. During which time *Agnonides* promoting it, *Archeſtratus* procured a Decree, that the People ſhould ſend Delegates thither to accuſe *Phocion*: So both of them waited upon *Polyperchon*, who was with the *King* viewing the Country, and was then at a ſmall Village of *Phocis*, *Pharygas*, now call'd *Galate*.

There

There *Polyperchon* having pitch'd a *Royal Tent of Cloth of Gold* for the *King* and his Friends, cauſed *Dinarchus* to be brought without further Ceremony, and having firſt tormented him, cauſed him to be ſlain; then he gave Audience to the Embaſſadors, who filled the Place with Noiſe and Tumult, peaching and accuſing one another; *Agnonides* approaching, entreated they might all be ſhut up together in an iron Grate, and convey'd to *Athens*, there to decide the Controverſy: At that the *King* could not forbear Smiling; but the Company that attended, *Macedonians* and *Strangers*, that now had leiſure enough, were eager to ſee the Scuffle, and hear them pelt one another, made Signs to the Delegates to go on with their Accuſations. But it was far from a fair Hearing, nothing equitable could be obtained; *Polyperchon* frequently interrupted *Phocion*, and at laſt knocked with his Batoon on the Ground, refuſed him abſolutely, and commanded him Silence. *Hegemon* appeal'd to *Polyperchon* himſelf, as one that well knew how ſtudious he had been of the Intereſt of the People: To which he replied furiouſly, *Forbear to bely me before the King*. The King, ſtarting up, was about to have darted him through with his Javelin, but *Polyperchon* interpoſed and hinder'd him; ſo the Aſſembly was diſſolved.

Phocion then, and thoſe about him, were put into Cuſtody; but thoſe of his Friends that

that were at ſome diſtance, obſerving this, hiding their Faces, endeavour'd to ſave themſelves by Flight: But *Clitus* perceived them, and brought them back to *Athens*, pretendedly, to purge themſelves; but, in truth, as Men already ſentenced to die. The Manner of conveying them was indeed extreme moving; they were carried in Chariots through *Ceramicum*, ſtraight to the Place of Judicature, where *Clitus* ſecured them till they had call'd a Hall, which was open to all Comers; neither Foreigners, nor Slaves, nor any of the Raſcality, being refuſed Admittance, but was free to all, Men, Women, and Children being allowed to ſeat themſelves in the Court, and even upon the Bench: Where having read the *King*'s Letters, wherein he declared, he was abundantly ſatisfied that theſe Men were Traytors; however, they being a free City, he willingly indulged them the Grace of trying and judging them according to their own Laws; *Clitus* brought in his Priſoners. The Men of higheſt Quality bluſh'd at the Sight of *Phocion*, and hanging down their Heads could not forbear Tears: One of them was ſo hardy to ſay, Since the *King* was ſo Gracious to permit them Freedom in Judgment, he thought it reaſonable to diſmiſs the Strangers, and thoſe of ſervile Condition from the Aſſembly; but the Populace would not endure it, crying out, They were Enemies to the Commonwealth, and

and Betrayers of the Liberty of the People, and deſerved to be ſtoned, that ſided with the Nobility; after which no Man durſt offer any thing further in *Phocion*'s behalf. He was ſcarce ſuffer'd to be heard, when he demanded, If they intended to put them to death by form of Law, or not? Some anſwered, According to Law. He replied, How ſhould that be done, except we have a fair Hearing? But when they were deaf to all he ſaid, approaching nearer, *As to my ſelf*, ſays he, *I confeſs the Crime, and ſubmit my ſelf to the Judgment of the Law*; *but for theſe my Friends, O ye Men of* Athens, *what have they done to deſerve the Sentence, having in nothing offended you?* The Rabble cry'd out, They were his Friends and Complices, that was enough. Hearing this, he drew back as one ſtruck dumb.

Then *Agnonides* read the Bill of *Attainder*, whereby the People were impowred to have a Poll for majority of Voices, whether they judged them *Guilty*; and if ſo, it ſhould be found, to be ſentenced to Death. The Names being read, ſome were ſo brutiſh to deſire it might be added to the Sentence, That *Phocion* ſhould not only die a ſimple Death, but be tortured alſo, and that the Rack ſhould be produced with the Tormentors: But *Agnonides* perceiving even *Clitus* himſelf to diſlike this, eſteeming it a Thing moſt horrid and barbarous; ſays he, *If we can take that Villain*

Callimedon, *O ye* Athenians! *let us ſerve him ſo with all my Heart, but I can't conſent* Phocion *ſhould be uſed ſo:* And one of thoſe that were better minded, roſe up, ſaying, *Thou art in the right, if* Phocion *be tortured, what doſt thou deſerve thy ſelf?* So the Sentence was ratified, taking every Man's Vote ſingly, no Man ſitting down, but all riſing up, and ſome with Garlands on their Heads condemn'd them all to death.

There were with *Phocion*, *Nicocles*, *Theudippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Pythocles*; moreover *Demetrius* the *Phalarean*, *Callimedon*, *Charicles*, and ſome others, were in the ſame Condemnation, being abſent. After the Aſſembly was diſmiſt, they were remanded to Priſon; ſome of their Friends following them, embracing and weeping over them, and making great Lamentation. *Phocion*'s Countenance was not chang'd, but went with the ſame undaunted Look, he uſed to be followed from the Court to the Camp, whilſt he was their General; that moſt Men admired the Bravery and Magnanimity of the Man, yet ſome ſneaking Fellows of his Enemies inſulted over him, reviling and abuſing him as he paſs'd: And one coming up to him, ſpit in his Face; at which *Phocion*, turning to the Officers, only ſaid, *Will no body correct this Fellow's Rudeneſs?* *Theudippus*, when he obſerved the Executioner tempering the Poyſon, and preparing it for them, was diſorder'd, and began

began to bemoan his Condition, and the hard meaſure he received ſo unjuſtly to ſuffer upon *Phocion*'s Account: *What*, ſays he, *doſt not thou think it creditable to run the ſame Fate with* Phocion? One of his Friends that ſtood by, askt him, If he would have any thing to his Son? *Yes, by all means*, ſays he, *command him from me to forget the* Athenians *ill Treatment of his Father.* Then *Nicocles*, the deareſt and moſt faithful of his Friends, begg'd of him firſt to drink the Poyſon: *Ah! my Friend*, ſays he, *this is the moſt harſh and ungrateful Requeſt thou ever madeſt me; but ſince through my whole Life, I have never deny'd thee any thing, I muſt gratify thee in this alſo.* Having all drunk, there wanted of the due Proportion, and the Executioner refuſed to prepare more, except they would pay him 12 Drachma's, to defray the Charge of a *full Draught.* Some delay was made, and the time ſpent; *Phocion* call'd one of his Friends that ſtood by: *What*, ſays he, *can't a Man die on Free-coſt among the* Athenians? And bid him give him a ſmall Spill of Money.

It was the 19*th.* Day of the Month *Mynithion*, when there was accuſtomed to be ſolemn Proceſſions in the City, in Honour of *Jupiter*: The Horſemen, as they paſs'd by, ſome of them threw away their Garlands, others ſtopt at the Priſon-doors, bitterly weeping, and caſting moſt doleful Looks towards the Place of Execution; and as many

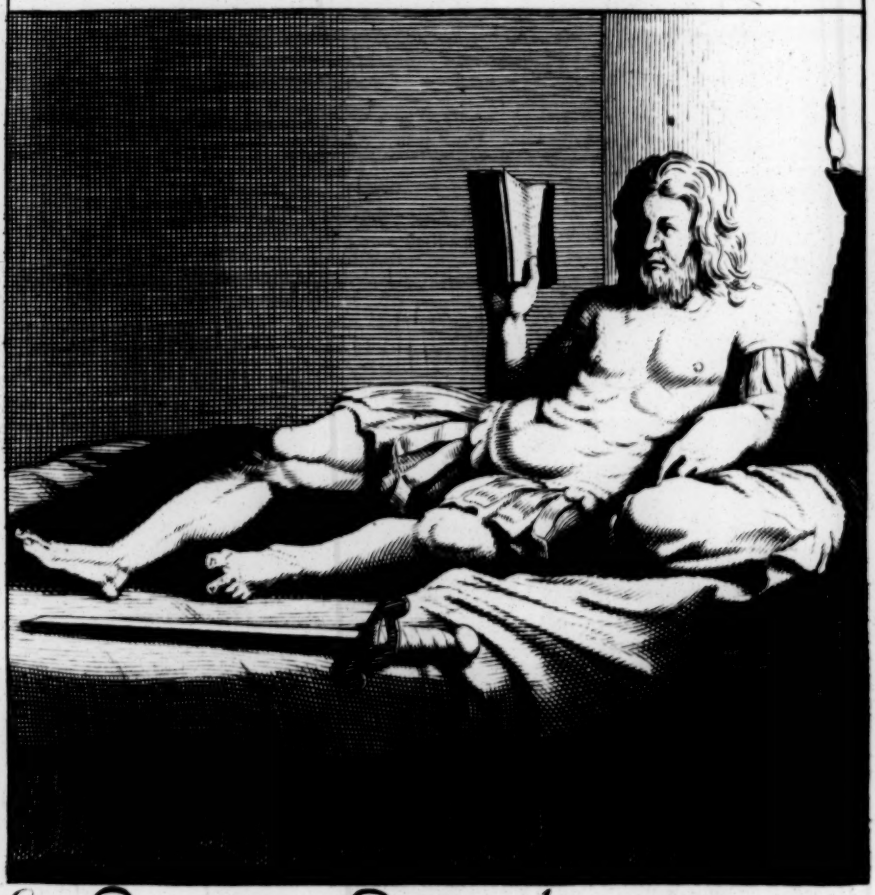
of the reſt, whoſe Minds were not abſolutely debauch't by Spight and Paſſion, or had any ſpark of Humanity left, acknowledged it to be moſt wicked and ungodly; at leaſt, not to have reprieved them that Day, and purge the City from Blood and Slaughter at the ſolemn Feſtival. But as if all this had been ſmall Game, the Malice of *Phocion*'s Enemies went yet higher, to endeavour that his dead Corps might be thrown out of the City-boundaries; none of the *Athenians* daring to light a Funeral Pile, to burn the Body, after their manner; neither durſt any of his Friends preſume to concern themſelves about his Body; only one *Conopion*, a Man accuſtomed to thoſe Offices, having procured the Body, at his own Expence, to be carry'd beyond *Eleuſina*, borrowed Fire from a Woman of *Megæra*, and burnt it; the Woman her ſelf, with her Servant-maids, being preſent and aſſiſtant at the Solemnity, caſting up a ſmall Monument for him, performed the cuſtomary Offerings; and gathering up his Bones in her Lap, and carrying them by Night, digg'd a Place by the Fire-ſide in her Houſe, ſaying, *Dear Gods, Guardians of this Place, here I depoſite the Remains of this excellent Perſon; and you, I beſeech you, protect and reſtore them to the Sepulchre of his Anceſtors, when the* Athenians *return again to their right Minds.*

And, indeed, a very little Time, and their own ſad Experience, ſoon informed them, what

what an excellent Governour, and how great an Example and Patron of Juſtice, and all Vertue, they had bereft themſelves of: And now they decreed him a Statue of Braſs, and his Bones to be buried honourably at the publick Charge; and for his Accuſers, *Agnonides* they took themſelves, and cauſed him to be put to Death; *Epicurus* and *Demophilus*, that fled from the City for fear, his Son met with, and took his Revenge upon them. This Son of his they report not otherways to be conſiderable, only a Man of Pleaſure, that was enamour'd of a Wench kept by a common Bawd; and happening one Day to hear *Theodorus* the Atheiſt talking at this rate, that if a Man might venture to reſcue his Friend, why not his Miſtreſs? And if not one, why the other? The Argument hitting his Humour, encouraged him to take away the Girl by force. But this Fate of *Phocion*'s, revived the Memory of *Socrates* among the *Græcians*, their Caſe being exactly parallel, both their Deaths being alike, the moſt ſhameful Fault, and heavy Misfortune of the People of *Athens*.


30
70
JAN

CATO IUNIOR.



Ecce Parens Verus Patriæ: dignissimus aris
Roma tuis. —— Nil causâ fecit in armis
Ipse suâ: Studiis Odiisque carens:
At frustrá Leges et inania Jura tuenti
Scire Mori Sors optima.

MBurg. sculp. Lucan:

THE LIFE OF CATO The Younger.

Engliſhed from the Greek.

THE Houſe of *Cato* derived its Luſtre and Glory from his Great Grandfather *Cato*; one that by his Vertue gained a very great Reputation and Authority among the *Romans*, as we have written in his Life.

This *Cato* was, by the Loſs of both his Parents, left an Orphan, together with his Brother *Cæpio*, and his Siſter *Porcia*; *Servilia* alſo was his Siſter by the Mother's ſide. All theſe lived together, and were bred up in the Houſe of *Livius Druſus*, their Uncle by the Mother; who at that time had a great ſhare in the Government; for he was very Eloquent, remarkably Juſt, and in Wiſdom not inferior to any of the *Romans*.

'Tis ſaid of *Cato*, that he did, even from his Infancy, in his Speech, his Countenance, and all his childiſh Paſtimes, diſcover an inflexible Temper, unmoved by any Paſſion, and firm in every thing.

He would force himſelf, much beyond the ſtrength of his Age, to go through with what ever he undertook. He was rough and ungentle toward them that flattered him; but yet more ſtubborn and untractable to thoſe who threatned him. He was very difficultly moved to laugh; and was rarely ſeen to ſmile. Not quickly or eaſily provoked to Anger; but if once incenſed, he was no leſs difficultly pacified.

When he began to learn, he proved dull, and ſlow to apprehend; but what he once conceived, he very faithfully retained. And truly 'tis uſual in Nature, that Men of quick Apprehenſions have not the beſt Memories; but thoſe who receive Things with moſt pains and difficulty, remember them with

moſt exactneſs: For every new Thing that is learnt, ſeems to make ſome new Impreſſion upon the Mind. Hence the difficulty there was in *Cato* to be moved, made it the more difficult for him to be taught; for to learn is to ſuffer a kind of Alteration: And it happens, that thoſe are moſt eaſily wrought upon, who have leaſt ſtrength to oppoſe what is offered. Hence young Men are ſooner perſwaded, than thoſe that are more in Years; and Sick-men, than thoſe that are well in Health: In fine, where the Reſiſtance is leaſt powerful, the Impreſſion is moſt eaſily made. Yet *Cato* (they ſay) was very obedient to his School-maſter, and would do what-ever he was commanded; but he would alſo ask the Reaſon, and enquire the Cauſe of every thing: And indeed his School-maſter was a very courteous Man, more ready to inſtruct, than to beat his Scholars; his Name was *Sarpedo.*

When *Cato* was a Child, the Allies of the *Romans* ſued to be made free Citizens of *Rome.* *Pompædius Sillo*, one of their Deputies, a brave Soldier, and a Man of great worth, who had contracted a Friendſhip with *Druſus*, lodged at his Houſe for ſeveral Days, in which Time being grown familiar with the Children, *Well*, (ſaid he to them) *will you intreat your Uncle to be-friend us in our Buſineſs?* *Cæpio* ſmiling, ſeem'd to conſent; but *Cato* made no Anſwer, only he looked ſtedfaſtly and fiercely on the Strangers:

Strangers: Then ſaid *Pompædius*, *And you, young Man, what ſay you to us? Will not you, as well as your Brother, intercede with your Uncle in our behalf?* *Cato* continued ſtill unmoved; but by his Silence and his Countenance ſeeming to deny their Petition, *Pompædius* ſnatch'd him up to the Window, as if he would throw him out: Then he urged him to conſent, or he would fling him down; and ſpeaking in a harſher Tone, held his Body out of the Window, and ſhook him ſeveral times. When *Cato* had ſuffered this a good while, unmoved and unconcerned, *Pompædius* ſetting him down, ſaid ſoftly to his Friends, *What a Bleſſing is this Child to* Italy? *If he were a Man, I believe we ſhould not gain one Voice among the People.* Another time, one of his Relations, on his Birth-day, invited *Cato* and ſome other Children to Supper, who diverting themſelves in a part of the Houſe, were at Play all together, the Elder and the Younger; their Play was to act the Pleadings before the Judges, accuſing one another, and carrying away the Condemned to Priſon. Among theſe, a very beautiful young Child being bound, and carried by a bigger into Priſon, he cry'd out to *Cato*; who preſently run to the Door, and thruſting away thoſe who ſtood there as a Guard, took out the Youth, and went home in great Anger, followed by all his Companions.

Cato

Cato at length grew ſo Famous among them, that when *Sylla* deſigned to exhibit the Game of young Men riding Races on Horſe-back, which they called the *Trojan Courſe*, having got together all the Youth of Quality, he appointed Two for their Leaders. One of them they accepted for his Mother's ſake, which was the Son of *Metella*, the Wife of *Sylla*; but for the other, which was *Sextus*, the Nephew of *Pompey*, they would not be led by him, nor exerciſed under him: Then *Sylla* asking, Whom they would have? They all cry'd out, *Cato*; and *Sextus* willingly yielded the Honour to him, as the more worthy Perſon.

Sylla, having had a Friendſhip with their Father, did often ſend for *Cato* and his Brother, and would talk familiarly with them; a Favour which he ſhewed to very Few, by reaſon of the great Power and high Station, which he had gotten. *Sarpedo*, conſidering the Advantage hereof, as well for the Honour as the Safety of his Scholars, did often bring *Cato* to wait upon *Sylla* at his Houſe, which, for the Multitude of thoſe that were ſlain, impriſoned, and tormented there, looked like a Place of Execution. *Cato* was then about Fourteen Years old; now ſeeing the Heads of great Men brought thither, and obſerving the ſecret Sighs of thoſe that were preſent, he asked his School-maſter, *Why does no Body kill this Man? Becauſe* (ſaid he) *they fear him, Child,*

Child, more than they hate him: Why then (replied *Cato*) *do you not give me a Sword, that I may ſtab him, and free my Country from this Slavery? Sarpedo* hearing this, and at the ſame time ſeeing his Countenance full of Anger and Fury, took care thence-forward to watch him ſtrictly, leſt he ſhould fall into any deſperate Attempt.

While he was yet very young; to ſome that asked him, Whom he loved beſt? He anſwered, His Brother. And being asked, Whom next? He replied, His Brother again. So likewiſe the third time; and ſtill the ſame, till they left off to ask any farther. As he grew in Age, this Love to his Brother increaſed; for when he was about Twenty Years old, he never ſupped, never went out of Town, nor into the *Forum*, without *Cæpio*; but when his Brother made uſe of Ointments and Perfumes, theſe *Cato* rejected: And he was, in the whole courſe of his Life, very regular and auſtere; ſo that when *Cæpio* was admired for his Moderation and Temperance, he would acknowledge, that indeed he might be accounted ſuch, in reſpect of ſome other Men; *but* (ſaid he) *when I compare my ſelf with* Cato, *methinks I differ not at all from* Sippius; one at that time notorious for Softneſs and Luxury.

Cato, being made one of *Apollo*'s Prieſts, chang'd his Habitation, took his Portion of their paternal Inheritance, and began to live

yet

yet more ſeverely than before. Having gained an intimate Acquaintance with *Antipater*, the Stoick Philoſopher, he bent himſelf chiefly to the Study of Moral Philoſophy and Politicks.

He was carried, as it were, by a kind of Inſpiration, to embrace every Vertue; but moſt inclined to delight in a ſort of ſteady Juſtice, that was not to be wrought upon by Favour or Compaſſion. He learned alſo the Art of Speaking in publick; which he looked upon as a Thing no leſs requiſite for governing, than the Art of War for defending a City. But he would never recite his Speeches before Company; nor was he ever heard declame: And to one that told him, Men blamed his Silence; *but I hope not my Life*, (ſaid he) *and I will then begin to ſpeak, when I think I can ſay ſomething that is worth being ſpoken.*

There was a great Hall, which had been built and dedicated to the Publick by old *Cato*; here the *Tribunes* of the People uſed to keep Court, and becauſe a certain Pillar ſeemed not to ſtand well for the convenience of their Benches, they deliberated, whether it were beſt to remove it only, or to take it away. This Buſineſs firſt drew *Cato* into the *Forum*, though much againſt his Will; for he therein oppoſed the *Tribunes*, and at the ſame time gave an admirable Specimen both of his Courage and his Eloquence. His Speech had nothing

thing in it of childiſh or affected, but was Rough, Vehement, and full of Senſe; beſides he had a certain Grace in Speaking, which charmed the Ear, and agreed well with the ſhortneſs of his Sentences, and ſomething of Mirth and Raillery mingled with the Gravity of his Temper, was not unpleaſant to his Auditors. His Voice was full, ſounding, and ſufficient to be heard by ſo great a Multitude. His Vigour, and the ſtrength of his Body, indefatigable; for he could ſpeak a whole Day, and never be weary.

When he had carried this Cauſe, he betook himſelf again to his Study and Retirement; where he accuſtomed his Body to Labour, and violent Exerciſe; would uſe himſelf to go bare-headed both in hot and cold Weather. When he went abroad with any of his Friends, though they were on Horſe-back, and he on Foot, yet he would often join now one, then another, and diſcourſe with them on the way.

In Sickneſs, admirable was the Patience he ſhewed in ſupporting; and the Abſtinence he uſed, for curing his Diſtempers. One time when he had an Ague, he would be alone all the Day long, and ſuffer no Body to ſee him, till he began to recover, and found the Fit was over. At Supper, when he threw Dice for the choice of the Meſſes, and loſt, the Company offered him nevertheleſs his choice;

choice; but he refuſed, ſaying, ‖ *Venus forbids.*

At firſt he was wont to drink only once after Supper, and then go away; but in proceſs of time he grew to drink more, inſomuch that oftentimes he would continue at Table till Morning. This his Friends excuſed; for that the State-Affairs took him up all Day, and he being deſirous of Knowledge, did paſs the Night at Table in the Converſation of Philoſophers. Hence one *Memmius* ſaying in Company, That *Cato* ſpent whole Nights in Drinking; *but you cannot ſay* (replied *Cicero*) *that he ſpends whole Days in Playing.*

Cato eſteemed the Cuſtoms and Manners of Men at that time ſo corrupt, and a Reformation in them ſo neceſſary, that he thought it requiſite, in many Things, to go contrary to the ordinary way of the World. Wherefore ſeeing the lighteſt and gayeſt Colours were moſt in faſhion, he would always wear Black: And he would often go out of Doors without either Shoes or Coat; not that he ſought Vain-glory from ſuch Novelties, but he would accuſtom himſelf to be aſhamed only of what deſerves Shame, and to deſpiſe all other ſorts of Diſgrace.

The Eſtate of one *Cato*, his Couſin-German (which was worth 100 Talents) falling to

‖ Alluding to the lucky Chance, called *Venus*.

him,

him, he turned it all into ready Money, which he kept by him for any of his Friends that ſhould happen to want, to whom he would lend it without Uſe; for ſome of them, he ſuffered his own Land and his Slaves to be mortgaged to the publick Treaſury.

When he thought himſelf of an Age fit to Marry, having never before known any Woman, he was contracted to *Lepida*, who had before been contracted to *Metellus Scipio*; but he having quitted her, the Contract was diſſolved, and ſhe at Liberty: Yet *Scipio* afterward repenting himſelf, did all he could to regain her, before the Marriage with *Cato* was compleat; and therein ſucceeded. At which *Cato* was very much incenſed, and reſolved to go to Law about it; but his Friends perſwaded him to the contrary: However he was ſo moved by the heat of Youth and Paſſion, that he writ Iambicks againſt *Scipio*, which had all the Wit and Satyr of *Archilochus*, without his Impudence and Scurrility. After this he Married *Atilia*, the Daughter of *Sorranus*, which was the firſt, but not the only Woman he ever knew; in this much leſs happy than *Lelius*, the Friend of *Scipio*, who in the whole courſe of ſo long a Life never knew but one Woman.

In the War made by the Rebellion of the Slaves, (which was named from *Spartacus* their Ring-leader) *Gellius* was General; and *Cato* went a Voluntier, for the ſake of his Brother

ther *Cæpio*, who was a Colonel in that Army. But *Cato* could find no opportunity to ſhew his Courage, or exerciſe his Valour, by reaſon of the ill Conduct of the General; however amidſt the Corruption and Diſorders of that Army, he ſhewed ſuch a love of Diſcipline, ſo much Bravery upon occaſion, and ſo much Wiſdom in every thing, that it appeared he would not be any way inferiour to the old *Cato*. Whereupon *Gellius* offered him great Rewards, and would have decreed him conſiderable Honours; which he refuſed, ſaying, He had done nothing that deſerved them; and this made him be thought a Man of a very odd Humour.

There was a Law, That the Candidates who ſtood for any Office, ſhould not have Prompters to tell them the Names of the Citizens. *Cato*, when he ſued to be elected *Military Tribune*, was the only Man that obeyed that Law; he took great pains to ſalute thoſe he met, and call them by their Names. Yet for theſe things he was envied, even by thoſe who praiſed him; for the more they conſidered the Excellency of what he did, the more they were grieved at the difficulty they found to do the like. Now being choſen *Military Tribune*, he was ſent into *Macedon* after *Rubrius*, who was General there. It is ſaid, that his Wife ſhewing much Concern, and weeping at his Departure, *Munatius*, one of *Cato*'s Friends, ſaid to her, *Do not trouble your ſelf*, Atilia, *I'll*

take care to keep him for you; *ay, by all means*, replied *Cato*. When they had gone one Days Journey together; *Well*, ſaid he to *Munatius*, *that you may be ſure to keep your promiſe to* Atilia, *you muſt not leave me Day nor Night*; and then ordered two Beds to be made in his own Chamber, that *Munatius* might lye there: So that he ſeemed rather to be kept by *Cato*. There went with him fifteen Slaves, two Free'd-men, and four of his Friends; theſe rode on Horſeback, but *Cato* always went on Foot, yet would he keep by them, and diſcourſe with them on the way.

When he came to the Army, which conſiſted of many Legions, the General gave him the Command of one; but *Cato* looked upon it as a ſmall matter, and not worthy a Command, to make his own ſingle Valour appear only; therefore he deſired to make his Souldiers like himſelf. Yet he did not thereby loſe the Reverence due to his Command, but joyned Reaſon to his Authority; for he perſwaded and inſtructed every one in particular, and on all beſtowed Rewards or Puniſhments according to deſert. At length his Men were ſo well Diſciplined, that it was hard to ſay, whether they were more Peaceable, or more Warlike; more Valiant, or more Juſt: They were dreadful to their Enemies, and courteous to their Companions; fearful to do Wrong, and forward to gain Honour. Thus *Cato*, tho' he never ſought, yet eaſily acquired Glory

Glory and Repute; was highly eſteemed by all Men, but entirely beloved by the Souldiers. What-ever he commanded to be done, he himſelf took part in the performing. In his Apparel, his Diet and Labour, he was more like a common Souldier than an Officer; but in Vertue, Courage and Wiſdom, he far exceeded all that had the Name of Commanders. By theſe means he made himſelf greatly beloved, and was therefore the more willingly followed; for the true love of Vertue is in all Men produced by the Love and Reſpect they bear to him that teaches it; and thoſe who praiſe good Men, yet do not love them, may extol their Glory, but will never imitate their Vertue.

At that time there dwelt in *Pergamum*, one *Athenodorus*, ſirnamed *Cordylio*, a Man very well verſed in the Stoick Philoſophy, who was now grown old, and had always refuſed the Friendſhip and Acquaintance of Princes and great Men. *Cato* underſtood this; ſo that imagining he ſhould not be able to prevail with him by ſending or writing; and being by the Laws allowed two Months abſence from the Army, he reſolved to go into *Aſia*, to ſee *Athenodorus*: And conſidering the great worth of the Man, he hoped he ſhould not loſe his labour. When *Cato* had diſcourſed with him, and perſwaded him from his former Reſolutions, he returned and brought him to the Army, as joyful and as proud of this Succeſs, as

if he had done ſome heroick Exploit, greater than any of thoſe of *Pompey* or *Lucullus*, who at that time ſubdued ſo many Nations and Kingdoms.

While *Cato* was yet in the Army, his Brother, on a Journey toward *Aſia*, fell ſick at *Ænus* in *Thrace*, and immediately diſpatched Letters to him. The Sea was very rough, and no convenient great Veſſel to be had, yet *Cato* getting into a little Paſſage-boat, with only two of his Friends, and three Servants, ſet Sail from *Theſſalonica*, and having very narrowly eſcaped Drowning, he arrived at *Ænus* juſt as *Cæpio* expired. Upon this occaſion *Cato* ſhewed himſelf more a fond Brother than a Philoſopher, not only in the exceſs of Grief, bewailing and embracing the dead Body, but alſo in the extravagant Expences of the Funeral, wherein a vaſt quantity of rich Perfumes and coſtly Garments were burnt with the Corps; beſides he erected in the *Forum* of the *Ænians*, a Monument of *Thaſſian* Marble, which coſt eight Talents. This ſome blamed, as not ſuiting with *Cato*'s uſual Moderation in other things; but they did not conſider, that though he were ſtedfaſt, firm, and inflexible to Pleaſure, Fear, or fond Entreaties, yet he was full of natural Tenderneſs, and brotherly Affection. Divers of the Cities and Governours of the Country, ſent him many Preſents, to honour the Funerals of his Brother; but he took none of their Money, only the

Perfumes

Perfumes and Ornaments he received, and paid for them alſo. Afterward, when the Eſtate was divided between him and *Cæpio*'s Daughter, he did not require the Funeral Expences to be diſcharged. Notwithſtanding all this, a certain Writer has affirmed, that he made his Brother's Aſhes be paſſed through a Sieve, to find the Gold that was melted down with the Body; But ſurely that * Perſon thought his Writings, as well as his Actions, ſhould never be ſubject to Examination.

The time of *Cato*'s Service in the Army being expired, he received at his departure, not only the Prayers and Praiſes, but the Tears and Embraces of the Souldiers, who ſpread their Garments at his Feet, and kiſſed his Hand as he paſſed; an Honour which the *Romans* ſhewed to very few of their Generals.

Cato having left the Army, reſolved, before he would return home, and apply himſelf to the management of State-Affairs, to travel over *Aſia*, and their obſerve the Manners, the Cuſtoms, and the Strength of every Province. He was alſo willing to gratifie the Importunity of *Deiotarus*, King of *Galatia*, who having had great Familiarity and Friendſhip with his Father, did earneſtly invite him thither.

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* He means *Julius Cæſar.*

Cato took care to order his Journeys in this manner: Early in the Morning he ſent out his Baker and his Cook towards the Place where he deſign'd to lodge the next Night: Theſe went civilly and quietly into the Town, in which if there happened to be no Friend nor Acquaintance of *Cato* or his Family, they provided for him in an Inn, and gave no diſturbance to any Body; but if there were no Inn, they went to the Magiſtrates, and deſired them to help them to Lodgings, and were always ſatisfied with what was allotted to them. His Servants thus behaving themſelves towards the Magiſtrates, without noiſe and threatning, were often not credited, or neglected by them; ſo that *Cato* did many times arrive before any thing was provided for him. And indeed he himſelf was often deſpiſed, and made little account of; for ſitting ſilent by himſelf on his Carriages, he was looked upon as a contemptible Man, and one of a mean Spirit; therefore he would ſometimes call the Townſmen together, and ſay, *Ye ill-natured Men, lay aſide this inhoſpitable Humour; you ſhould by Courteſie endeavour to break the power of thoſe Men, who deſire but a pretence to take from you by force, what you give with ſuch Reluctance.*

While he travelled in this manner, a pleaſant Accident befel him in *Syria*. As he was going into *Antioch*, he ſaw a great multitude of People without the Gates, ranked in order

on

on either ſide the way; here the young Men with long Cloaks, there the Children decently dreſs'd; others wore Crowns and white Garments, which were the Prieſts and Magiſtrates. *Cato*, preſently imagining all this was to do him Honour, and for his Reception, began to be angry with his Servants that were ſent before, for ſuffering it to be done; then making his Friends alight, he walked along with them on Foot. As ſoon as he came near the Gate, a reverend old Man, who ſeemed to be Maſter of theſe Ceremonies, with a Staff and a Crown in his Hand, comes up to *Cato*, and without ſaluting him, asked him, Where he had left *Demetrius*, and how ſoon he thought he would be there? This *Demetrius* was *Pompey*'s Servant, and by all thoſe who hoped for any Favour from *Pompey*, he was highly honoured, not for his own deſert, but for his great Power with his Maſter. Upon this *Cato*'s Friends fell out into ſuch a Laughter, that they could not reſtrain themſelves while they paſſed through the Crowd; he himſelf much out of Countenance, cryed, *O unhappy City!* and ſaid no more; yet afterwards he uſed to tell this Story, and laugh at it himſelf.

Pompey likewiſe after that made the People aſhamed of their Ignorance and Folly; for *Cato*, in his Journey to *Epheſus*, went to pay his Reſpects to him, who was the elder Man, had gained much Honour, and was then Ge-

neral of a great Army. Yet *Pompey* would not receive him ſitting; but as ſoon as he ſaw him, roſe up, and going to meet him, as the more honourable Perſon, gave him his Hand, and embraced him very kindly. He ſaid many things alſo in commendation of *Cato*'s Vertue, both in his preſence, and when he was gone away. So that now all Men began to reſpect *Cato*, and admired him for the ſame things for which they deſpiſed him before; having well conſidered the mildneſs of his Temper, and the greatneſs of his Spirit. Moreover, the Civility that *Pompey* himſelf ſhewed him, appeared to come from one that rather honoured than loved him. And it was obſerved, he was very kind to *Cato* while he was preſent with him, but very glad when he was gone from him; for when other young Men came to ſee him, he uſually importuned and entreated them to continue with him: Now he did not at all invite *Cato* to ſtay, but as if his own Power were leſſened by the others Preſence, he very willingly diſmiſs'd him. Yet to *Cato* alone, of all thoſe who went for *Rome*, he recommended his Children and his Wife, who was alſo her ſelf allied to *Cato*.

After this, all the Cities through which he paſſed, ſtrove and emulated each other in ſhewing him Reſpect and Honour. They invited him to great Entertainments; at which he deſired his Friends to be preſent,

and

and take care of him, leſt he ſhould make good what was ſaid by *Curio*, who though he were his familiar Friend, yet diſliking the auſterity of his Temper, asked him one Day, If when he left the Army, he deſigned to ſee *Aſia?* And *Cato* anſwering, *Yes, by all means: You do well*, replied *Curio, and I hope you will return thence a little more ſoftned, and leſs an Enemy to Pleaſure.* Thoſe were his Words.

Deiotarus being now an old Man, had ſent for *Cato*, with deſign to recommend his Children and Family to his Protection; and as ſoon as he came, brought him Preſents of all ſorts of things, which he begg'd and entreated him to accept. This ſo diſpleaſed *Cato*, that though he came but in the Evening, he ſtay'd only that Night, and went away early the next Morning. After he was gone one Days Journey, he found at *Peſſinuns* a greater number of Preſents provided for him there, and alſo Letters from *Deiotarus* entreating him to receive them, or at leaſt to permit his Friends to take them, who for his ſake deſerved ſomething; and indeed *Cato*'s own Eſtate was not very great: Yet he would not ſuffer it, though he ſaw ſome of them very willing to receive ſuch Gifts, and ready to complain of his Severity; but he told them, That at this rate Corruption would never want pretence, and for his Friends, they ſhould ſhare with him in what-ever he could get juſtly

juſtly and honeſtly; ſo he returned the Preſents to *Deiotarus*.

When he took Ship for *Brunduſium*, his Friends would have perſwaded him to put his Brother's Aſhes into another Veſſel; but he ſaid, He would ſooner part with his Life than leave them; and ſo he ſet Sail. 'Tis ſaid, he paſſed the Sea not without ſome danger, tho' others at the ſame time went over very ſafely.

After he was returned to *Rome*, he ſpent his Time for the moſt part either at home, in Converſation with *Athenodorus*, or at the *Forum*, in the ſervice of his Friends.

When the Office of *Queſtor* fell to him, he would not take the Place, till he had perfectly ſtudied the Laws concerning it, and diligently enquired of experienced Men the Duty and Authority belonging to it. Being thus inſtructed, as ſoon as he came into the Office, he made a great Reformation among the Clerks and under-Officers of the Treaſury; for they being well verſed in the Records and Methods of the Office, into which continually ſucceeded new *Quæſtors*, who for their Ignorance and Unskilfulneſs were fit only to learn, and not able to manage the Buſineſs. Theſe Officers therefore had taken to themſelves all the Power, and were in effect the Treaſurers, till *Cato*, applying himſelf roundly to the Work, had not only the Title and Honour of a *Quæſtor*, but an inſight and underſtanding of whatever

ever belonged to the Office. So that he uſed the Clerks and under-Officers like Servants, as they were reprehending them that were corrupt, and inſtructing thoſe that were ignorant; yet being bold impudent Fellows, they flattered the other *Queſtors* his Collegues, and by their means made great oppoſition againſt *Cato.* But he caught the chiefeſt of them dealing diſhoneſtly in the diviſion of an Eſtate, and turned him out of the Treaſury. A ſecond he accuſed of forging a Will; who was defended by *Luctatius Catulus*, at that time *Cenſor*, a Man very conſiderable for his Office, but more for his Vertue, and was eminent above all the *Romans* of that Age, for his Wiſdom and Integrity: He had alſo an intimate Acquaintance with *Cato*, and much commended his way of Living. *Catulus*, perceiving he could not bring off his Client, if he ſtood a fair Tryal, fell to Prayers and and Entreaties; but *Cato* would not ſuffer him to proceed therein; and when he continued ſtill importunate; *'Tis a ſhame*, (ſaid he to *Catulus*) *that you who are to judge of our Lives, ſhould thus let your own be diſhonoured by defending the Faults of our Servants.* At this expreſſion *Catulus* looked as if he would have made ſome Anſwer; but he ſaid nothing, and either through Anger or Shame went away ſilent, and out of Countenance. Nevertheleſs the Man was not caſt; for the Voices that quitted him were but one in number leſs than thoſe that

that condemned him; and *Marcus Lollius* one of *Cato*'s Colleagues, was abſent by reaſon of Sickneſs; to him *Catulus* ſent, and entreated him to come and aſſiſt his Client: So *Lollius* was brought into Court in a Chair, and gave his Voice alſo for acquitting the Man. Yet *Cato* never after made uſe of that Clerk, and never paid him his Salary, nor would he make any account of that Voice of *Lollius*. Having thus humbled the Clerks, and brought them to be at Command, he made uſe of the Books and Regiſters as he thought fit, and in a little while reduced the Treaſury into as good order as any other Court; and all Men ſaid, *Cato* had made the Office of a *Quæſtor* equal to the Dignity of a *Conſul*. When he found many indebted to the State upon old Accounts, and the State alſo in debt to many private Perſons, he took care that the Publick might neither do nor ſuffer wrong; for he ſeverely and punctually exacted what was due to the Treaſury, but as freely and ſpeedily paid all thoſe to whom it was indebted. This made the People much reverence *Cato*, when they ſaw thoſe made to pay, who thought to have eſcaped for nothing, and others receiving all their due, who deſpaired of getting any thing; whereas uſually thoſe who brought falſe Bills, and pretended Orders of Senate, could through Favour get them accepted; *Cato* would never be ſo impoſed upon, and a certain Order being

ing queſtioned whether it had paſſed the Senate, he would not believe a great many Witneſſes that atteſted it, nor did admit of it, till the *Conſuls* came and affirmed it upon Oath.

There were at that time a great many, whom *Sylla* had made uſe of as his Executioners in the laſt Proſcription, and to whom he had for that Service given Twelve Thouſand Drachma's a piece. Theſe Men every body hated as wicked Wretches, but no body durſt be revenged of them. Yet *Cato* called every one to account, who had thus gotten the publick Money; which he exacted of them, and at the ſame time ſharply reproved them for their cruel and impious Actions. Having born this from *Cato*, they were preſently accuſed of Murther; and being already prejudged as guilty, they were eaſily found ſo, and accordingly ſuffered. At this all the People rejoyced, and hoped now to ſee the fear of Tyranny taken away, and *Sylla* himſelf puniſhed.

Cato's Aſſiduity alſo, and indefatigable Diligence, won very much upon the People; for he always came firſt of any of his Colleagues to the Treaſury, and went away the laſt. He never miſs'd any Aſſembly of the People, or Sitting of the Senate; where he always took care ſtrictly to obſerve thoſe, who lightly, or out of Ambition, voted for remitting, or giving away the Fines and Cuſtoms,

Cuſtoms, that were owing to the State. And as length having freed the Exchequer from Informers, yet filled it with Treaſure; he made it appear, the State might be rich, without oppreſſing the People.

At firſt he was uneaſie and hateful to ſome of his Colleagues, but afterwards much beloved by them; for on him they caſt the *Odium*, when they could not gratifie their Friends with Penſions out of the Treaſury, or corrupt Judgments in paſſing their Accounts; and when preſſed by Suiters, they readily anſwered, 'Twas impoſſible to do any thing, unleſs *Cato* would conſent.

The laſt Day of his Office he was very honourably attended to his Houſe by all the People; but by the way he was informed, that ſeveral Perſons of great Power and Familiarity with *Marcellus*, were about him in the Treaſury, and earneſtly urging him to paſs a certain Gift out of the publick Revenue, as if it had been a Debt. This *Marcellus* had been one of *Cato*'s Friends from his Childhood, and was one of the beſt of his Colleagues in this Office; but when alone, was eaſily wrought upon by the importunity of Suiters, and of his own inclination very ready to do any body a Kindneſs. Wherefore *Cato* immediately turned back, and finding that *Marcellus* had yielded to paſs the thing, he took the Book and razed it out. When he had done this, he brought *Marcellus* out

out of the Court, who went home with him; and for all this, neither then, nor ever after, complained of him, but always continued his Friendſhip and Familiarity with him.

Cato after he had laid down his Office, yet did not leave the Care of the Treaſury; for he had his Servants there continually writing out Accounts, and he himſelf kept always by him certain Books, that contained the Accounts of the Revenue, from *Sylla*'s Time to his own, for which he gave five Talents.

He was always firſt at the Senate, and went out laſt: Oftentimes, while others walked about there idly, he would ſit and read by himſelf, holding his Gown before his Book, and was never out of Town when the Senate was to meet.

Pompey, and his Party, finding that *Cato* could never be either perſwaded or compelled to favour their unjuſt Deſigns, they contrived to keep him from ſo much frequenting the Senate, by engaging him in Buſineſs for his Friends, either to plead their Cauſes, or arbitrate their Differences. But he quickly diſcovering their Contrivance, to encounter it, fairly told all his Acquaintance, that he would never meddle in any private Buſineſs when the Senate was Aſſembled; ſince 'twas not for Honour or Riches, nor raſhly or by chance that he engaged himſelf in the Affairs of State, but he undertook the Service of the Publick, as the proper Buſineſs of an honeſt Man; and

therefore

therefore he thought himſelf obliged, to be as diligent for the good of his Country, as a Bee for the preſervation of her Hive. To this end he took care to make his Friends and Correſpondents ſend him the Edicts, Decrees, Judgments, and moſt conſiderable Actions that paſſed in any of the Provinces.

Clodius, the ſeditious Orator, practiſing to ſtir up great Commotions, and traducing the Prieſts and Veſtals to the People, (among whom, *Fabia Terentia*, Siſter to *Cicero*'s Wife, run great danger) *Cato* boldly oppoſed him, and made him appear ſo infamous, that he was forc'd to leave the Town; and when *Cicero* came to thank him for what he had done; *You muſt thank the Commonwealth*, ſaid he; for whoſe ſake alone it was that he did every thing. Thus he gained a great and wonderful Reputation; ſo that a certain Advocate in a Cauſe, where there was only one Witneſs againſt him, told the Judges, They ought not to rely upon a ſingle Witneſs, though it were *Cato* himſelf. And it was grown proverbial among the People, if any very unlikely and incredible thing were aſſerted, to ſay, *They would not believe it, though* Cato *himſelf ſhould affirm it*. One day a debauched Prodigal talking in the Senate about Frugality and Temperance, *Amnæus* ſtanding up, cryed, *Who can endure this, Sir, to hear you feaſt like* Craſſus, *and build like* Lucullus, *talk like* Cato. So likewiſe thoſe who were wild and diſſolute in

their

their Manners, yet affected to ſeem grave and ſevere in their Diſcourſes, were in deriſion called *Cato*'s.

At firſt when his Friends would have perſwaded him to ſtand to be *Tribune* of the People, he thought it not convenient, for that the Power of ſo great an Office, ought to be imployed only as the ſtrongeſt Medicines, when things are brought to the laſt neceſſity. But afterwards in Vacation-time, as he was going, accompanied with his Books and Philoſophers to *Leucania*, where he had a pleaſant Seat, by the way they met a great many Horſes, Carriages, and Attendants, of whom they underſtood, that *Metellus Nepos* was going to *Rome*, to ſtand to be *Tribune* of the People. Hereupon *Cato* ſtopp'd, and after a little pauſe, gave Orders to return back immediately: At which the Company ſeeming to wonder; *Don't you know* (ſaid he) *how dangerous of it ſelf the Madneſs of* Metellus *is? but now he comes aſſiſted with the Counſel of* Pompey, *he will fall like Lightning on the State, and bring it to utter ruine; wherefore, this is no time for Idleneſs and Diverſion, but we muſt go and prevent this Man in his Deſigns, or bravely die in defence of our Liberty.* Nevertheleſs, by the Perſwaſion of his Friends, he went firſt to his Country-houſe, where he ſtay'd but a very little time, and then returned to Town.

He arrived in the Evening, and went ſtraight the next Morning to the *Forum*, where

he began to ſolicit for the *Tribuneſhip*, in oppoſition to *Metellus*. The Power of this Office conſiſts rather in controuling, than performing any Buſineſs; for though all the reſt except any one *Tribune* ſhould be agreed, yet his denial or interceſſion could put a ſtop to the whole Matter. *Cato* at firſt had not many that appeared for him; but as ſoon as his Deſign was known, all Perſons of the beſt Quality, and of his own Acquaintance, took part with him; for they looked upon him, not as one that deſired a Favour of them, but one that ſought to do a great Kindneſs to his Country, and all honeſt Men; who had many times refuſed the ſame Office, when he might have had it without trouble, but now ſought it with danger, that he might defend their Liberty, and their Government. It is reported, that ſo great a number flock'd about him, that he was like to be ſtifled amidſt the Preſs, and could ſcarce get through the Crowd. He was declared *Tribune*, with ſeveral others, among whom was *Metellus*.

Now when *Cato* was choſen into this Office, having obſerved that the Election of *Conſuls* was grown mercenary, he ſharply rebuked the People, for this Corruption, and in the concluſion of his Speech proteſted, he would accuſe whomever he ſhould find giving Money: Yet he excepted *Silanus*, by reaſon of his Alliance, for he had married *Servilia*, *Cato*'s Siſter, ſo that he did not Proſecute him; but *Lucius Murena*,

Murena, who was choſen *Conſul* with *Silanus*, he accuſed of Bribery. There was a Law, That the Party accuſed might ſet a Guard upon his Accuſer, to watch him leſt he ſhould uſe any indirect means in preparing the Accuſation. He that was ſet upon *Cato* by *Murena*, at firſt followed and obſerved him ſtrictly, yet never found him dealing any way unfairly or unjuſtly, but always generouſly and candidly going on in the juſt and open Methods of Proceeding. So that he much admired *Cato*'s great Spirit and noble Nature, and eaſily truſted to his Integrity; for meeting him abroad, or going to his Houſe, he would ask him, If he deſigned to do any thing that Day in order to the Accuſation; and if *Cato* ſaid, No, he went away, freely relying on his Word.

When the Cauſe was pleaded, *Cicero*, who was then *Conſul*, and defended *Murena*, did ſo wittily expoſe *Cato*, and the Stoick Philoſophers, and their Paradoxes, that he raiſed great Laughter in his Judges. Whereupon *Cato*, ſmiling, ſaid to the Standers by; *Sirs, we have a very pleaſant* Conſul. *Murena* was acquitted, and afterwards ſhewed himſelf no paſſionate, but a very prudent Man; for when he was *Conſul*, he always took *Cato*'s Advice in the moſt weighty Affairs, and in all the time of his Office, gave him much Honour and Reſpect. Of which, not only *Murena*'s Prudence, but alſo *Cato*'s obliging

Humour was the Cauſe; for though he were terrible and ſevere as to Matters of Juſtice, in the Senate, and at the Bar, yet he was very courteous and good-natured to all Men in private.

Before *Cato* took upon him the Office of *Tribune*, he aſſiſted *Cicero*, at that time *Conſul*, in many things that concerned his Office; but moſt eſpecially in proſecuting *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, which he did with great Courage and Succeſs.

This *Catiline* had plotted a dreadful and entire Subverſion of the *Roman* State, contriving to raiſe great Seditions, and drive them into a Civil War; but being detected by *Cicero*, was forced to fly the City. Yet *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* conſpired with ſeveral others, and blaming *Catiline*, as one that wanted Courage, and had too much Caution for ſuch deſperate Deſigns, they themſelves reſolved to ſet the whole Town on fire, and utterly to ruine the Empire of the World, by Tumults at home, and War from abroad. But the Deſign was diſcovered by *Cicero*, (as we have written in his Life) and the Matter brought before the Senate. *Silanus*, who ſpoke firſt, delivered his opinion, *That the Conſpirators ought to ſuffer the laſt of Puniſhments*; and was therein followed by all that ſpoke after him, till it came to *Cæſar*, who was very eloquent; and looking upon all Changes and Commotions in the State as Matter for him

to

to work upon, deſired rather to increaſe than extinguiſh them. Wherefore ſtanding up, he made a very merciful and perſwaſive Speech: *That they ought not to ſuffer otherwiſe than according to Law, by which they could not be put to Death*; and moved that they might be kept in Priſon: Thus was the Houſe almoſt wholly turned by *Cæſar*. They were alſo afraid of the People, inſomuch that *Silanus* retracted and ſaid, *He did not mean Death, but Impriſonment, for that was the utmoſt of what a* Roman *could ſuffer*. Upon this they were all inclined to the milder opinion; when *Cato* ſtanding up, began to ſpeak with great Paſſion and Eloquence; *blaming* Silanus *for his change of Opinion, and reflecting on* Cæſar *for his affectation of Popularity, who* (he ſaid) *would ruine the Commonwealth by mild Words, and plauſible Speeches: Yet endeavouring to frighten the Senate, where he himſelf ought to fear; for he might take it kindly, if he eſcaped unpuniſhed or unſuſpected, who did thus openly and boldly dare to protect the Enemies of the State, ſeemed to have no compaſſion for ſo great and glorious an Empire, brought ſo near its utter ruine; yet was full of pity for thoſe Men, who had better never have been born, and whoſe death muſt deliver the Commonwealth from danger and deſtruction.* This only of all *Cato*'s Speeches, 'tis ſaid, was preſerved; for *Cicero* the *Conſul* had diſperſed about the Senate-houſe ſeveral expert Writers, whom he had taught to make certain Figures, which did in little and ſhort

ſtrokes expreſs a great many Words; till that time they had not uſed thoſe we call Short-hand Writers, who then firſt, as 'tis ſaid, laid the foundation of that Art. Thus *Cato* carried it, and ſo turned the Houſe again, that it was decreed, The Conſpirators ſhould be put to death.

Not to omit any the leaſt ſtrokes that may ſhew *Cato*'s Temper, and contribute to draw the Image of his Mind; it is reported, that while *Cæſar* and he were diſputing very earneſtly in this Buſineſs, and the whole Senate regarding them two, a little Note was brought in to *Cæſar*; which *Cato* preſently declared to be ſuſpicious; and ſome of the Senators moved it might be read. Whereupon *Cæſar* delivered the Letter to *Cato*, who diſcovering it to be a Love-letter from his Siſter *Servilia* to *Cæſar*, by whom ſhe had been debauched, he threw it to him again, crying, *Take it you Sot*; and ſo went on with his Diſcourſe. In ſhort it ſeems *Cato* had but ill Fortune in Women; for this Lady was ill ſpoken of, for her Familiarity with *Cæſar*: And another *Servilia*, *Cato*'s Siſter alſo, was yet more Infamous; for being married to *Lucullus*, one of the greateſt Men in *Rome*, and having brought him a Son, ſhe was afterwards divorced for Incontinency. But what was worſt of all, *Cato*'s own Wife *Atilia* was not free from the ſame Fault; and after ſhe had born him two Children, he was forc'd to put her away for her ill Conduct.

After

After that he married *Martia*, the Daughter of *Philip*, a Woman of good Reputation; who yet has occaſioned much Diſcourſe; for this Paſſage in the Life of *Cato* looks like a Fable in a Play, and is very difficult to be cleared, or made out with any certainty.

It is thus related by *Thraſeas*, who refers to the Authority of *Munatius*, *Cato*'s Friend and conſtant Companion. Among many that loved and admired *Cato*, ſome were more remarkable and perſpicuous than others: Of theſe was *Quintus Hortenſius*, a Man of ſignal Worth, and approved Vertue; who deſired not only to live in Friendſhip and Familiarity with *Cato*, but alſo to be united to his Family, by ſome Alliance in Marriage. Therefore he ſet himſelf to perſwade *Cato*, that his Daughter *Porcia*, who was already married to *Bibulus*, and had born him two Children, might nevertheleſs be given to him, as a fruitful Field, from which he might raiſe an Offſpring: *For* (ſaid he) *though this in the Opinion of Men may ſeem ſtrange, yet in Nature 'twould be honeſt and profitable for the Publick, that a Woman in the prime of her youth ſhould not lye uſeleſs, and loſe the Fruit of her Womb; nor on the other ſide would it be convenient ſhe ſhould burthen and impoveriſh one Man, by bringing him too many Children. Alſo by this Communication of Families among worthy Men, Vertue would increaſe, and be diffuſed through their Poſterity; and the Commonwealth would be united and cemented by*

their Alliances. Yet if Bibulus *would not part with his Wife all together, he would reſtore her as ſoon as ſhe had brought him a Child, whereby he might be united to both their Families.* *Cato* anſwered, *That he loved* Hortenſius *very well, and did much approve of uniting their Houſes, but he thought it very ſtrange to ſpeak of marrying his Daughter, which was already given to another.* Then *Hortenſius*, turning the Diſcourſe, did not ſtick to acknowledge, that 'twas *Cato*'s own Wife which he deſired; for ſhe was Young and Fruitful, and he had already Children enough. Neither can it be thought that *Hortenſius* did this, as imagining *Cato* did not love *Martia*; for, 'tis ſaid, ſhe was then with Child. *Cato* perceiving his earneſt deſire, did not deny his Requeſt, but ſaid, that *Philip*, the Father of *Martia*, ought alſo to be conſulted. *Philip* therefore being ſent for, came; and finding they were well agreed, gave his Daughter *Martia* to *Hortenſius* in the preſence of *Cato*, who himſelf alſo aſſiſted at the Marriage. Theſe things were done afterwards; but ſince I was ſpeaking of Women, I thought fit to make mention thereof in this place.

Lentulus and the reſt of the Conſpirators were put to Death; but *Cæſar*, by reaſon of what was ſaid againſt him in the Senate, betook himſelf to the People, and ſtirred up the moſt corrupt and diſſolute Members of the State to follow him. *Cato*, apprehenſive of what

what might enſue thereupon, perſwaded the Senate to win over the poor and diſorderly Rabble, by a diſtribution of Corn, the charge of which amounted to Twelve hundred and fifty Talents. This Liberality did in appearance diſſipate the preſent Danger.

But *Metellus*, coming into his Office of *Tribune*, began to hold tumultuous Aſſemblies, and had prepared a Decree, That *Pompey* the Great ſhould preſently be called into *Italy*, with all his Forces, to preſerve the City from the danger of *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy. This was the fair pretence; but the true deſign was, to deliver all into the Hands of *Pompey*, and give him an abſolute Power. Upon this the Senate was aſſembled, and *Cato* did not fall ſharply upon *Metellus*, as he uſed to do, but ſpoke many things full of great Reaſon and Moderation. At laſt he deſcended even to Entreaty, and extolled the Houſe of *Metellus*, as having always taken part with the Nobility. At this *Metellus* grew the more inſolent, and deſpiſing *Cato*, as if he yielded and were afraid, let fall many audacious Speeches, openly threatning to do whatever he pleaſed in ſpight of the Senate. Hereupon *Cato* changed his Countenance, his Voice and his Language; and after many ſharp Expreſſions, boldly concluded, *That while he lived*, Pompey *ſhould never come armed into the City*. The Senate thought them both Extravagant, and not well in their Wits; for the Deſign of *Metellus*

tellus ſeemed to be the effect of his Rage, who out of exceſs of Malice, would bring all to Ruine and Confuſion; and *Cato*'s Vertue look'd like a kind of Extaſie, while he with ſo great heat and paſſion contended for what was Good and Juſt. Afterward, when the People were to give their Voices for the paſſing this Decree, *Metellus* before hand poſſeſſed the *Forum* with armed Men, Strangers, Gladiators and Slaves, and all thoſe that in hopes of Change followed *Pompey*, which was no ſmall part of the People; beſides they had great Aſſiſtance from *Cæſar*, who was then *Prætor*. The beſt and chiefeſt Men of the City, were no leſs offended at theſe Proceedings than *Cato*; but they ſeemed rather likely to ſuffer with him, than able to aſſiſt him. In the mean time *Cato*'s whole Family were in dreadful Fear and Apprehenſion for him; ſome of his Friends did neither Eat nor Sleep all the Night, continuing in great Perplexity: His Wife and Siſters alſo bewailed and lamented him; but he himſelf, void of all Fear, and full of Aſſurance, did Comfort and Encourage them by his own Diſcourſe. After Supper he went to reſt at his uſual Hour, and was the next Day waked out of a profound Sleep, by *Minutius Thermus*, one of his Colleagues. So ſoon as he was up, they two went together into the *Forum*, accompanied by very few, but met by a great many, who bid them have a care of themſelves. *Cato*, when

when he ſaw the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* incompaſſed with armed Men, and the aſcent to it guarded by Gladiators, at the top whereof ſate *Metellus* and *Cæſar* together; turning to his Friends, *Behold* (ſaid he) *that courageous Fellow, who has raiſed ſo great Forces againſt one unarmed naked Man*; and ſo he went on with *Thermus*. Thoſe who kept the Paſſages, gave way to thoſe two, but would not let any body elſe paſs: Yet *Cato* taking *Munatius* by the Hand, with much difficulty pull'd him thorow along with him. Then going directly to *Metellus* and *Cæſar*, he ſate himſelf down between them, to prevent their talking to one another; at which they were both amazed. And thoſe of the honeſt Party, obſerving the Countenance, and admiring the Spirit and Boldneſs of *Cato*, went nearer, and cry'd out to him to have Courage, exhorting one another to ſtand together, and not betray their Liberty, nor the defender of it. Then the Clerk took out the Bill, but *Cato* forbade him to read it; whereupon *Metellus* took it, and would have read it himſelf, but *Cato* ſnatch'd away the Book. Yet *Metellus* having the Decree by Heart, began to recite it without Book; but *Thermus* clapp'd his Hand to his Mouth, and ſtopp'd his Speech. *Metellus* ſeeing them fully bent to withſtand him, and the People inclining to their ſide, ſent to his Houſe for armed Men, who ruſhing in with great Noiſe and Terrour, they all

all diſpers'd and run away except *Cato*, who alone ſtood ſtill, while the other Party threw Sticks and Stones at him from below. *Murena*, whom he had formerly accuſed, could not brook this, but came to him, and holding his Govn before him, cryed out to them to leave off throwing: In fine, perſwading and pulling him along, he forc'd him into the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. *Metellus* now ſeeing the place clear, and all the adverſe Party fled out of the *Forum*, thought he might eaſily carry his Point, ſo he commanded the Souldiers to retire, and going orderly to work, he began to proceed in paſſing the Decree; but the other ſide having recollected themſelves, returned very boldly, and with great ſhouting, inſomuch that *Metellus*'s Adherents were utterly diſmayed, and fled every one out of the Place. They being thus diſperſed, *Cato* came in again, and confirmed the Courage, and commended the Reſolution of the People; ſo that now the Multitude were, by all means, for depoſing *Metellus* from his Office. The Senate alſo being preſently aſſembled, gave Orders to ſtand by *Cato*, and to oppoſe this Decree, which would certainly raiſe great Diſturbance, and perhaps Civil War in the Commonwealth. But *Metellus* continued ſtill very bold and reſolute; and ſeeing his Party ſtood greatly in fear of *Cato*, whom they look'd upon as invincible, he flung out of the Senate, and going into the *Forum*, he aſſembled

bled the People; to whom he made a bitter and invidious Speech againſt *Cato*, crying out, *He was forc'd to fly from his Tyranny, and this Conſpiracy againſt* Pompey; *that the City would ſoon repent their having diſhonoured ſo great a Man.*

Cato was highly magnified for having thus delivered the State from the dangerous *Tribuneſhip* of *Metellus*, and thereby in ſome meaſure diminiſhed the Power of *Pompey*; but he was more commended, for that the Senate intending to diſgrace *Metellus*, and depoſe him from his Office, *Cato* did altogether oppoſe, and at length divert that Deſign; for which the Common People admired his Moderation and Humanity, in not inſulting on an Enemy whom he had overthrown; but wiſe Men acknowledged his Prudence and Policy, in not exaſperating *Pompey*.

After this, *Lucullus* returned from the War in *Aſia*, the finiſhing of which, and thereby the Glory of the whole, would in all appearance fall to *Pompey*. *Lucullus* alſo was like to loſe his Triumph; for *Caius Memmius* traduced him to the People, and threatned to accuſe him; which he did rather out of Love to *Pompey*, than for any particular Enmity to *Lucullus*. But *Cato*, being related to *Lucullus*, who had married his Siſter *Servilia*, and alſo thinking this Deſign very unjuſt, oppoſed *Memmius*; and thereby underwent many Slanders and falſe Accuſations, inſomuch that they

they would have turned him out of his Office, pretending that he uſed his Power tyrannically. Yet at length *Cato* ſo far prevailed againſt *Memmius*, that he was forc'd to let fall the Accuſations, and to deſiſt from his Deſign.

Lucullus, having thus obtained his Triumph, did yet more carefully cultivate *Cato*'s Friendſhip, which he look'd upon as a great guard and defence againſt *Pompey*'s Power.

Pompey the Great alſo returning from the Army, and confiding in the Glory of his Actions, and the Good-will of the People, thought he ſhould be denied nothing. Therefore he ſent to the Senate to put off the Aſſembly for the choice of *Conſuls*, till he could be preſent to aſſiſt *Piſo*, who ſtood for that Office. To this moſt of the Senate preſently yielded; only *Cato*, not thinking that this delay would be of any great importance, but deſiring to leſſen and cut off the Hopes and Deſigns of *Pompey*, withſtood his Requeſt, and ſo over-ruled the Senate, that 'twas carried againſt him.

This did not a little trouble *Pompey*, who found he ſhould very often fail in his Deſigns, unleſs he could bring over *Cato* to his Intereſt. Therefore he ſent for his Friend *Munatius*; and *Cato* having two Neeces that were marriageable, he offered to marry the eldeſt himſelf, and take the youngeſt for his Son. Some ſay, they were not his Neeces, but his Daughters,

ters, whom *Pompey* would have thus married. *Munatius* propoſed the Matter to *Cato*, in preſence of his Wife and Siſters: The Women very much deſired the Alliance of ſo great and worthy a Perſon; but *Cato*, without delay or balancing, preſently anſwered; *Go*, Munatius, *go tell* Pompey, *that* Cato *is not to be wrought upon by Women; though otherwiſe I very much value his Kindneſs, and while he deals uprightly in the State, he ſhall find in me a Friendſhip more firm than any Alliance, but I will not give Hoſtages to* Pompey's *Glory, againſt my Country's Safety.* This Anſwer was very grating to the Women, and to all his Friends it ſeemed ſomewhat harſh and haughty. Afterwards, when *Pompey*, endeavouring to get the *Conſulſhip* for one of his Friends, did give Money to the People for their Voices; and the Bribery was notorious, for the Money was told out in *Pompey*'s own Gardens. *Cato* then ſaid to the Women, They muſt neceſſarily have been concerned in theſe Faults of *Pompey*, if they had been allied to his Family; and they acknowledged, that he did beſt in refuſing it.

But, if we may judge by the Event, *Cato* ſeems much to blame for rejecting that Alliance, which thereby fell to *Cæſar*. And then that Match was made, which uniting his and *Pompey*'s Power, had well-nigh ruined the *Roman* Empire, and did at laſt utterly deſtroy the Commonwealth. Nothing of which perhaps

haps had come to paſs, but that *Cato* was too apprehenſive of *Pompey*'s leaſt Faults, and did not conſider, how he forced him into a condition of committing much greater; however theſe things were yet to come.

Now *Lucullus* and *Pompey* had a great Diſpute, concerning what had been eſtabliſhed in *Pontus*, each endeavouring that his own Ordinances might ſtand. *Cato* took part with *Lucullus*, who was apparently injured; and *Pompey*, finding himſelf the weaker in the Senate, took to the People. To gain them, he propoſed a Law, for dividing the Lands among the Soldiers: *Cato* oppoſing him in this alſo, made the Law be rejected. Hereupon *Pompey* joyned himſelf with *Clodius*, at that time the moſt violent of all the popular Men; and was likewiſe united to *Cæſar* upon this occaſion, of which *Cato* himſelf was the Cauſe.

For *Cæſar*, returning from his Government in *Spain*, at the ſame time ſued to be choſen *Conſul*, and yet deſired not to loſe his Triumph. Now the Law requiring, That thoſe who ſtood for any Office ſhould be preſent; and yet that whoever expected a Triumph ſhould continue without the Walls; *Cæſar* requeſted the Senate, that his Friends might be permitted to canvaſs for him in his abſence. Many of the Senators were willing to conſent to it, but *Cato* oppoſed it, and perceiving them inclined to favour *Cæſar*, ſpent the whole Day in ſpeaking, and ſo prevented the Senate, that they

they could come to no concluſion. *Cæſar* therefore reſolving to let fall his Pretenſions to the Triumph, came into the Town, and immediately made a Friendſhip with *Pompey*, and ſtood for the *Conſulſhip*: So ſoon as he was declared *Conſul* Elect, he married his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*. Having thus combined themſelves together againſt the Commonwealth, the one propoſed the *Agrarian* Laws, for dividing the Lands among the poor People; and the other was preſent to ſecond the Propoſal: Againſt them, *Lucullus*, *Cicero*, and their Friends, joyned with *Bibulus* the other *Conſul*, and did all they could to hinder the paſſing thoſe Laws. Among theſe none was more remarkable than *Cato*, who look'd upon the Friendſhip and Alliance of *Pompey* and *Cæſar* as very dangerous; and declared, he did not ſo much diſlike the Advantage, the People ſhould get by this diviſion of the Lands, as he fear'd the Reward theſe Men would gain, by thus cheating the People. And in this the Senate was of his Opinion; as likewiſe many honeſt Men without, who were very much offended at *Cæſar*'s ill Conduct, that he now bearing the Authority of *Conſul*, ſhould thus baſely and diſhonourably flatter the People, practiſing to win them by the ſame means, that were wont to be uſed only by the moſt raſh and heady *Tribunes*. *Cæſar* therefore and his Party, fearing they ſhould not carry it by fair dealing, fell to open force.

Firſt a Basket of Dung was thrown upon *Bibulus* as he was going to the *Forum*; then they ſet upon his *Lictors*, and broke their Rods; at length ſeveral Darts were thrown, and many Men wounded: So that all that were againſt thoſe Laws, fled out of the *Forum*, the reſt making what haſte they could; but *Cato* laſt of all walking out very ſlowly, often turned back and curſed thoſe Citizens.

Now the other Party did not only carry this Point of dividing the Lands, but alſo ordained, that all the Senate ſhould ſwear to confirm this Law, and to defend it againſt whoever ſhould attempt to alter it, inflicting great Penalties on thoſe that ſhould refuſe the Oath. All the Senators, ſeeing the neceſſity they were in, took the Oath, remembring the Example of old *Metellus*, who refuſing to ſwear upon the like Occaſion, was forc'd to fly out of *Italy*. As for *Cato*, his Wife and Children with Tears beſought him, his Friends and Familiars perſwaded and entreated him to yield, and take the Oath; but he that principally prevailed with him was *Cicero* the Orator, who urged and remonſtrated, *How unreaſonable it was, that a private Man alone ſhould oppoſe what the Publick had decreed; that the thing being already paſt remedy, it would look like folly and madneſs to run himſelf into danger, where 'tis impoſſible to do his Country any good: Beſides, it would be the greateſt of all Evils, to abandon the Commonwealth, for whoſe ſake he did every*

every thing, and to let it fall into the Hands of thoſe who deſigned nothing but its ruine. This would look as if he were glad of an opportunity to retire from the trouble of defending his Country; for (ſaid he) *though* Cato *have no need of* Rome, *yet* Rome *has need of* Cato, *and ſo likewiſe have all his Friends.* Of whom *Cicero* profeſs'd himſelf the chief; being at that time aimed at by *Clodius*, who openly threatned to fall upon him, as ſoon as ever he ſhould get to be *Tribune*. Thus *Cato* (they ſay) moved by the Entreaties of his Family, and the Perſwaſions of his Friends, went unwillingly to take the Oath, which he did the laſt of all, except only *Favonius*, one of his intimate Acquaintance.

Cæſar, exalted with this Succeſs, propoſed another Law, for dividing almoſt all the Country of *Campania* among the poor and needy Citizens. No body durſt ſpeak againſt it but *Cato*, whom therefore *Cæſar* pull'd from the *Roſtra*, and dragged to Priſon; yet *Cato* did not at all remit his freedom of Speech, but as he went along, continued to ſpeak againſt the Law, and adviſed the People to put a ſtop to theſe Proceedings. The Senate and the beſt of the Citizens followed him with ſad and dejected Looks, ſhowing their Grief and Indignation by their Silence: So that *Cæſar* could not be ignorant, how much they were offended; but being one of a fierce contentious Spirit, he ſtill perſiſted, expecting *Cato* ſhould either

ther ſupplicate him, or appeal to the People. Afterwards, when he ſaw that *Cato* would do neither, *Cæſar* himſelf, aſham'd of what he had done, privately ſent one of the *Tribunes* to take him out of Priſon.

Thus having won the Multitude by theſe Laws and Gratifications, they decreed, That *Cæſar* ſhould have the Government of *Illyricum*, and all *Gaule*, with an Army of Four Legions, for the ſpace of Five Years, though *Cato* ſtill cry'd out, they were placing a Tyrant in their Citadel. *Publius Clodius* (who illegally of a *Patrician* became a *Plebeian*) was declared *Tribune* of the People, and he had promiſed to do all things according to their Pleaſure, on condition he might baniſh *Cicero*. For *Conſuls*, they ſet up *Calpurnius Piſo*, the Father of *Cæſar*'s Wife, and *Aulus Gabinius*, a Man wholly at *Pompey*'s Devotion, as they write who beſt knew his Life and Manners.

Yet when they had thus firmly eſtabliſhed all things, having maſtered one part of the City by Favour, and the other by Fear, they themſelves were ſtill afraid of *Cato*; for they well conſidered, with how much pains and difficulty they had oppreſſed him, and what diſgrace they ſuffered, when they did violence to him. This made *Clodius* deſpair of driving *Cicero* out of *Italy*, while *Cato* ſtay'd at home: Therefore, having firſt laid his Deſign, as ſoon as he came into his Office, he

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ſent for *Cato*, and told him, *That he look'd upon him as the moſt uncorrupt Man of all the* Romans, *and was ready by Deeds to make good the truth of his Words; for whereas* (ſaid he) *many have ſought to command the Expedition to* Cyprus, *and have much ſolicited to be ſent thither, I think you only deſerve it, and therefore to you I will freely give that Command.* *Cato* preſently cry'd out, *This was a Deſign upon him, and no Favour, but an Injury.* Then *Clodius* proudly and fiercely anſwered, *If you will not take it as a Kindneſs, yet you ſhall go, though never ſo unwillingly*; and immediately going into the Aſſembly of the People, he made them paſs a Decree, that *Cato* ſhould be ſent to *Cyprus*. But they ordered him neither Ships, nor Soldiers, nor any Officers, only two Secretaries; one of which was a very Raſcal, and the other a Retainer to *Clodius*. Beſides, as if the gaining of *Cyprus*, and conquering *Ptolemy*, were not Work ſufficient, he was ordered alſo to reſtore the Fugitives of *Byzantium*; for *Clodius* was reſolved to keep him far enough off, whilſt himſelf continued *Tribune*.

Cato, being in this neceſſity of going away, adviſed *Cicero*, (who was next to be ſet upon) to make no Reſiſtance, leſt he ſhould throw the State into Civil War and Confuſion, but to give way to the Times; and thus he might become once more the Preſerver of his Country.

Cato ſent *Canidius*, one of his Friends, to *Cyprus*, to perſwade *Ptolemy* to yield, without being forc'd; which if he did, he ſhould want neither Riches nor Honour, for the *Romans* would give him the Prieſthood of *Venus* in the Iſle of *Paphos*: He himſelf ſtay'd at *Rhodes*, making ſome Preparations, and expecting an Anſwer from *Cyprus*. In the mean time *Ptolemy*, King of *Ægypt*, who had left *Alexandria*, upon ſome quarrel between him and his Subjects, was Sailing for *Rome*, in hopes that *Pompey* and *Cæſar* would by their Power reſtore him again to his Kingdom: In his way he deſired to ſee *Cato*, to whom he ſent, ſuppoſing he would come to him. *Cato* was about his neceſſary Affairs, when the Meſſenger came; to whom he made Anſwer, That *Ptolemy* might come to him, if he thought fit. When he came, *Cato* neither went forward to meet him, nor ſo much as roſe up to him, but ſaluting him as an ordinary Perſon, bid him ſit down. This at firſt amazed *Ptolemy*, who admired to ſee ſuch Greatneſs and ſtately Carriage, in a Man of common Birth and mean Appearance; but afterwards, when he began to talk about his Affairs, *Ptolemy* no leſs wonder'd at the Wiſdom and Freedom of his Diſcourſe; for *Cato* blamed his Deſign, and ſhew'd him the Honour and Happineſs he had fallen from, the Diſgrace and Troubles he would run himſelf into; told him, what great Gifts and Preſents he

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muſt beſtow on the leading Men at *Rome*, whom all *Ægypt* turn'd into Silver would ſcarcely ſatisfie: He therefore adviſed him to return home, and be reconciled to his Subjects, offering to go along with him, and aſſiſt him in compoſing the Differences. Upon this Diſcourſe *Ptolemy* came to himſelf, as one recovered from a Fit of Madneſs, and acknowledging the Wiſdom and Sincerity of *Cato*, was reſolved to follow his Advice; but he was again over-perſwaded by his Friends to the contrary, and ſo according to his firſt Deſign, went to *Rome*. When he came there, and was forced to wait at the Gate of one of the Magiſtrates, he began to repent of his folly, in having rejected the Counſel of ſo good a Man, or rather the Oracle of a God.

In the mean time the other *Ptolemy*, that was in *Cyprus*, (very luckily for *Cato*) poyſon'd himſelf. It was reported he had left great Riches; therefore *Cato* deſigning to go firſt to *Byzantium*, ſent his Nephew *Brutus* to *Cyprus*, for he would not wholly truſt *Canidius*. Then having reconciled the Fugitives and the People of *Byzantium*, he left the City in Peace and Quietneſs; and thence Sail'd to *Cyprus*, where he found a Royal Treaſure in Plate, Tables, Precious Stones, and Purple, all which was to be turned into ready Money. *Cato* reſolved to examine all very exactly, and to raiſe the price of every thing to the utmoſt; to which end he was always preſent at

ſelling the things, and took the Accounts himſelf. Nor would he truſt to the uſual Cuſtoms of the Market, but ſuſpected all the Officers, Cryers, Prizers, and even his own Friends; therefore he himſelf talk'd with the Buyers, and urged them to bid up; ſo that moſt of the things were ſold at great Rates.

This Miſtruſtfulneſs of *Cato*'s offended moſt of his Friends, but eſpecially *Munatius*, the moſt intimate of them all, became almoſt irreconcilable. And this afforded *Cæſar* a plentiful Subject for Railing, in his Book againſt *Cato*; yet *Munatius* himſelf relates, that this falling out was not ſo much occaſioned by *Cato*'s miſtruſt, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealouſie of *Canidius*: For *Munatius* writ a Book concerning *Cato*, which is chiefly follow'd by *Thraſeas*. Now *Munatius* ſays, That coming laſt to *Cyprus*, and having a very ill Lodging provided for him, he thereupon went to *Cato*'s Houſe, but was not admitted, becauſe he was in private with *Canidius*; of which he afterwards very mildly complain'd to *Cato*, but received a very harſh Anſwer; for he told him, *That too much Love (according to* Theophraſtus) *often cauſes Hatred; and you* (ſaid he) *becauſe you bear me much Love, think you receive too little Honour, and preſently grow angry: But as to* Canidius, *I will imploy him, both for his Induſtry and his Fidelity, he has been always with me, and I have always found him free from corruption.* Theſe things were ſaid in private

private between them two; but *Cato* afterwards told *Canidius* what had paſſed; which *Munatius* underſtanding, would no more go to ſup with him, and when he was called to Council, refuſed to come. Then *Cato* threatned to ſeize his Goods, as was the cuſtom to deal with thoſe who were diſobedient; but *Munatius*, not regarding his Threats, returned to *Rome*, and continued a long time thus diſcontented. Afterwards, when *Cato* was come back alſo, *Martia*, who as yet lived with him, contrived to have them both invited to ſup together at the Houſe of one *Barca*: *Cato* came in laſt of all, when the reſt were at Table, and ask'd, Where he ſhould be? *Barca* anſwered him, Where he pleaſed; then looking about, he ſaid, He would be near *Munatius*, and preſently went and placed himſelf next to him; yet he ſhewed him no other mark of Kindneſs, all the time they were at Table together. But another time, at the Entreaty of *Martia*, *Cato* wrote to *Munatius*, That he deſired to ſpeak with him. *Munatius* went to his Houſe one Morning, and was entertained by *Martia*, till all the Company was gone; then *Cato* came and embraced him very kindly, and they were perfectly reconciled. I have the more fully related this Paſſage, for that I think the Manners and Tempers of Men, are more clearly diſcovered by things of this Nature, than by great and illuſtrious Actions.

Cato

Cato got together no leſs than 7000 Talents of Silver; but apprehenſive of what might happen in ſo long a Voyage by Sea, he provided a great many Coffers that held two Talents, and 500 Drachma's a piece: To each of theſe he faſtened a long Rope, and to the other end of the Rope a piece of Cork, ſo that if the Ship ſhould miſcarry, it might be diſcovered where-about the Cheſts lay under Water: Thus all the Money, except a very little, was ſafely Tranſported. Now *Cato* had made two Books, in which all his Accounts were carefully written; but neither of them was preſerved; for his Freedman *Phylargyrus*, who had the charge of one of them, ſetting Sail from *Cenchrea*, was drowned, together with the Ship and all her Fraight. The other Book *Cato* himſelf kept till he came to *Corcyra*, where he ſet up his Tents in the Market-place; and the Mariners being very cold in the Night, made a great many Fires, ſome of which took hold of the Tents, ſo that they were burnt, and the Book loſt. Though *Cato* had brought with him ſeveral of *Ptolemy*'s Servants, who could teſtifie his Integrity, and ſtop the Mouths of his Enemies, yet this loſs troubled him; for he deſigned them not only for a proof of his own Fidelity, but a pattern of Exactneſs to others.

News being brought to *Rome*, that he was coming up the River, all the Magiſtrates, the

the Prieſts, and the whole Senate, with great part of the People, went out to meet him; both the Banks of the *Tyber* were covered with People; ſo that his Entrance was in Solemnity and Honour, not inferiour to a Triumph. But 'twas thought ſomewhat ſtrange, and look'd like Pride, that when the *Conſuls* and *Prætors* appeared, he did not come towards them, nor ſtay to ſalute them, but rowed up the Stream in a Royal Galley of ſix Banks of Oars, and ſtopt not till he came to the place of Landing. However, when the Money was carried through the Streets, the People much wondered at the vaſt quantity of it, and the Senate being aſſembled did in honourable terms decree him an extraordinary *Prætorſhip*, and alſo the priviledge of being at the publick Spectacles in a Robe fac'd with Purple. *Cato* refuſed all theſe Honours, but declared what Diligence and Fidelity he had found in *Nicias*, the Steward of *Ptolemy*, he requeſted the Senate to give him his Freedom.

Philip, the Father of *Martia*, was that Year *Conſul*, but the Authority and Power of the Office reſted wholly in *Cato*; for the other *Conſul* no leſs reſpected him for his Vertue, than *Philip* did for his Alliance.

Cicero being returned from his Baniſhment, (into which he was driven by *Clodius*) and having again obtained great Credit among the People, he went one Day, in the abſence of

of *Clodius*, and by force took away the Records of his *Tribuneſhip*, which *Clodius* had laid up in the Capitol. Hereupon the Senate was aſſembled, and *Clodius* complained of *Cicero*; who anſwered, *That* Clodius *was never legally* Tribune, *and therefore whatever he had done, was void, and of no Authority.* But *Cato* interrupted him, and ſtanding up, ſaid, *That indeed he did not at all approve of* Clodius *his Proceedings; but if they queſtioned the Validity of what had been done in his* Tribuneſhip, *they might alſo queſtion what himſelf had done at* Cyprus; *for the Expedition was unlawful, if he that ſent him had no lawful Authority; but he thought* Clodius *was legally made* Tribune, *who, by permiſſion of the Law, was from a* Patrician *adopted into a* Plebian *Family; and if he had done ill in his Office, he ought to be called to account for it; but the Authority of the Magiſtracy ought not to ſuffer for the Faults of the Magiſtrate.* *Cicero* took this very ill, and for a long time diſcontinued his Friendſhip with *Cato*; but they were afterwards reconciled upon this occaſion.

Pompey and *Craſſus*, by Agreement with *Cæſar*, who came over the *Alpes*, on purpoſe had laid a Deſign, That they two ſhould ſtand to be choſen *Conſuls* a ſecond time; and when they ſhould be in their Office, they would continue to *Cæſar* his Government for five Years more, and take to themſelves the greateſt Provinces, with Armies and Money

ney to maintain them. This ſeemed a plain Conſpiracy, to deſtroy the Commonwealth, and divided the Empire. Several honeſt Men had intended to ſtand to be *Conſuls* that Year; but upon the appearance of theſe great Men, they all deſiſted, except only *Lucius Domitius*, who had married *Porcia*, the Siſter of *Cato*, and was by him perſwaded to ſtand it out, and not abandon ſuch an Undertaking; *which* (he ſaid) *was not only to gain the* Conſulſhip, *but to preſerve the Liberty of* Rome. In the mean time, 'twas uſually diſcourſed among the more prudent part of the Citizens, That they ought not to ſuffer the Power of *Pompey* and *Craſſus* to be united, which would then grow beyond all Bounds, and become dangerous to the State; that therefore one of them muſt be denied. For theſe Reaſons they took part with *Domitius*, whom they exhorted and encouraged to go on, aſſuring him, that many who feared openly to appear for him, would privately aſſiſt him. *Pompey*'s Party, fearing this, laid wait for *Domitius*, and ſet upon him as he was going before day-light, with Torches, into the Field. Firſt he that bore the Light next before *Domitius*, was knock'd down; then ſeveral others being wounded, all the reſt fled, except *Cato* and *Domitius*; for *Cato* held him, (though himſelf were wounded in the Arm) and crying out, *conjured the others to ſtay, and while they had Breath not to forſake the defence of their Liberty, againſt*

againſt thoſe Tyrants, who plainly ſhewed with what Moderation they were like to uſe the Power, which they endeavour'd to gain by ſuch Violence. But at length *Domitius* alſo no longer willing to ſtand the Danger, fled to his own Houſe; and ſo *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were declared *Conſuls.*

Nevertheleſs *Cato* would not give over, but reſolv'd to ſtand himſelf to be *Prætor* that Year, which he thought would be ſome help to him, in his deſign of oppoſing them; that he might not act as a private Man, when he was to contend with publick Magiſtrates. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* apprehended this; and fearing that the Office of *Prætor* in the Perſon of *Cato*, might be equal in Authority to that of *Conſul*, they aſſembled the Senate unexpectedly, without giving any notice to a great many of the Senators, and made an Order, That thoſe who were choſen *Prætors*, ſhould immediately enter upon their Office, without attending the uſual time, in which, according to Law, they might be accuſed, if they had corrupted the People with Gifts. When by this Order they were ſecure from being called to account, they ſet up their own Friends and Dependants to ſtand for the *Prætorſhip*, giving Money, and ſolliciting the People for their Voices. Yet the Vertue and Reputation of *Cato* was like to triumph over all theſe Stratagems; for many of the People abhorred, that *Cato* ſhould be ſold, who ought rather

ther to be hired to take upon him the Office: So he carried it by the Voices of the firſt Tribe. Hereupon *Pompey* immediately frames a Lye, crying out, It thunder'd; and ſtraight broke up the Aſſembly: For the *Romans* religiouſly obſerved thoſe Things, and never concluded any Matter after it had thunder'd. Againſt the next time, they had diſtributed larger Bribes, and did alſo keep the beſt Men out of the Field: By theſe foul Means they procured *Vatinius* to be choſen *Prætor* inſtead of *Cato.* 'Tis ſaid, that thoſe who had thus corruptly and diſhoneſtly given their Voices, made what haſte they could out of the Field; but the others ſtaying together, and much grieving at what was done, one of the *Tribunes* continued the Aſſembly; and *Cato* ſtanding up, did, as it were by Inſpiration, foretel all the Miſeries that afterward befel the State: Then he exhorted them to beware of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, who were guilty of ſuch Things, and had laid ſuch Deſigns, that they might well fear to have *Cato* their *Prætor.* When he had ended this Speech, he was follow'd to his Houſe by a greater Number of People than all the *Prætors* together.

Caius Trebonius propoſed the Law for allotting Provinces to the *Conſuls*, whereby one was to have *Spain* and *Lybia*, the other *Ægypt* and *Syria*, with full Power of making War and Peace, both by Sea and Land, as they ſhould think fit. When this was propoſed, all

all Men deſpaired of putting any ſtop to it, and therefore ſaid nothing againſt it. But *Cato*, before they began Voting, went up into the *Roſtra*, and deſired to be heard; they would ſcarce allow him two Hours to ſpeak. Having ſpent that time in declaring many Things that were paſſed, and foretelling many that were to come, they would not ſuffer him to ſpeak any longer; but as he was going on, a Serjeant came and pull'd him down: Yet when he was down, he ſtill continued his Diſcourſe, and many there were who hearkened to him, and were much concern'd for him. Then the Serjeant took him, and forc'd him out of the *Forum*; but as ſoon as he got looſe, he return'd again, crying out to the People, to ſtand by him. *Cato* having done thus ſeveral times, *Trebonius* grew very angry, and commanded him to be carried to Priſon; but the Multitude followed him, and hearkened to him, who made a Speech to them, as he went along. Whereupon *Trebonius* was afraid, and ordered him to be releaſed: Thus was all that Day ſpent, and the Buſineſs driven off by *Cato*. But afterward, many of the Citizens being over-aw'd by Fears and Threats, and others won by Gifts and Favours, *Aquilius*, one of the *Tribunes*, they ſhut into the Senate-houſe; *Cato*, who cry'd, It thundered, they drove out of the *Forum*; many were wounded, and ſome ſlain: At length by open force they paſſed

ſed the Law. At this many were ſo incenſed, that they got together, and reſolved to throw down the Statues of *Pompey*; but *Cato* went, and diverted them from that Deſign.

Again, another Law was propoſed, concerning the Provinces and Legions for *Cæſar*. Upon this occaſion *Cato* did not apply himſelf to the People, but to *Pompey*; and told him, *He did not conſider now, that he took* Cæſar *upon his own Shoulders, who would ſhortly grow too weighty for him; and at length, not able to lay down the Burthen, nor yet to bear it any longer, he would fall with it upon the Commonwealth: And then he would remember* Cato's *Advice, which was no leſs advantageous to him, than juſt and honeſt in it ſelf.* Thus was *Pompey* often warned, but ſtill went on, never miſtruſting *Cæſar*'s Change, and always confiding in his own Power and good Fortune.

Cato was made *Prætor* the following Year; but, it ſeems, he did not more honour and credit the Office by his ſignal Integrity, than he did diſgrace and diminiſh it by his ſtrange Behaviour: For he would often come to the Court without his Shoes, and ſit upon the Bench without his Gown, and in this Habit give Judgment in the greateſt Cauſes, and upon Perſons of the beſt Quality. 'Tis ſaid alſo, he would diſpatch Buſineſs after Dinner, when he had drunk Wine; but this was wrongfully reported of him.

The People were at that time extremely corrupted by the Gifts of thoſe who ſought Offices, and many made a conſtant Trade of ſelling their Voices. *Cato* was reſolved utterly to root this Corruption out of the Commonwealth; therefore he perſwaded the Senate to make an Order, That thoſe who were choſen into any Office, though no Body did accuſe them, ſhould be obliged to come into the Court, and give account upon Oath how they had dealt in their Election. This very much diſpleaſed thoſe who ſtood for the Offices, but much more thoſe who took the Bribes; inſomuch that one Morning, as *Cato* was going to the Place where he kept Court, a great Multitude of People flocked together, and with a mighty Uproar fell to reviling him, and threw Stones at him; thoſe that were about the Tribunal preſently fled. *Cato* himſelf being forc'd thence, and juſtled about in the Throng, very narrowly eſcaped the Stones that were thrown at him, and with much difficulty got into the *Roſtra*; where ſtanding up with a bold and undaunted Countenance, he appeas'd the Tumult, and ſilenced the Clamour: Then he began to ſpeak, and was heard with great Attention, ſo that he perfectly quelled the Sedition. Afterward, the Senate commending him for this; *But I don't commend you* (ſaid he) *for abandoning your* Prætor *in Danger, and bringing him no Aſſiſtance.*

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In the mean time the Candidates were in great perplexity; for every one dreaded to give Money himſelf, and yet feared leſt his Competitors ſhould. At length they all agreed to lay down 125000 Drachma's a-piece, and then go on to canvaſs fairly and honeſtly, on condition, that if any one was found to make uſe of Bribery, he ſhould forfeit the Money. Being thus agreed, they choſe *Cato* to keep the Stakes, and arbitrate the Matter: To him therefore they brought the Sum concluded on, and before him ſubſcribed the Agreement; he refuſed to take the Money, but would have others bound for them. Upon the Day of Election, *Cato* ſtood by the *Tribune* that took the Votes, and very watchfully obſerving all that paſſed, he diſcover'd one who had broken the Agreement, and immediately ordered him to pay his Money to the reſt; but they much admiring the Juſtice of *Cato*, remitted the Penalty, as thinking the Diſhonour a ſufficient Puniſhment. This rais'd *Cato* as much Envy, as it gain'd him Reputation, and many were offended at him, as if he did hereby take upon himſelf the whole Authority of the Senate, Court of Judicature, and other Magiſtracies: For there is no Vertue, the Honour and Credit whereof procures a Man more Envy, than that of Juſtice; and that becauſe it acquires a Man great Power and Authority among the common People. For they only revere the Va-

liant, and admire the Wiſe, while they truly love juſt Men, and in theſe have entire Truſt and Confidence; but of the former, they fear the one, and always miſtruſt the other: Beſides they think Men rather beholding to their Complexion, than to any goodneſs of their Will, for thoſe Vertues: For they look upon Valour as a certain natural firmity of the Mind, and Wiſdom as an acute delicacy of Conſtitution; whereas a Man has it in his Power to be Juſt, if he have but the Will to be ſo: And therefore alſo Injuſtice is thought the moſt diſhonourable, becauſe 'tis leaſt excuſable.

Cato upon this account was oppos'd by all the great Men, who thought themſelves reprov'd by his Vertue. *Pompey* eſpecially look'd upon the Increaſe of *Cato*'s Credit, as the Ruine of his own Power, and therefore continually ſet up Men to rail againſt him: Among theſe was the Seditious *Clodius*, now again united to *Pompey*; he declared openly, That *Cato* had convey'd away a great deal of the Treaſure that was found in *Cyprus*; and that he hated *Pompey*, only becauſe he refuſed to marry his Daughter. *Cato* anſwered, *That although they had allow'd him neither Horſe nor Men, he had brought more Treaſure from* Cyprus *alone, than* Pompey *had, after ſo many Wars and Triumphs, from the ranſack'd World: That he never ſought the Alliance of* Pompey; *not that he thought him unworthy of being related to him, but becauſe he differ'd ſo much from him, in Things that*

that concerned the Commonwealth: For (ſaid he) *I laid down the Province that was given me, when I went out of my* Prætorſhip: *On the contrary,* Pompey *retains many Provinces to himſelf, and many he beſtows on others; lately he ſent* Cæſar 6000 *Men into* Gaul, *which were never ask'd of the People, nor ever given by their conſent. Thus unlimited Powers, Men, Horſe, and Arms, are become the mutual Gifts of private Men to one another; and* Pompey *ſtill keeps the Titles of Commander and General, but gives the Armies and Provinces to others to govern, while he himſelf precides in the City, and ſtays at home to model Seditions, and contrive Tumults in Elections: Whence 'tis plain, he aims at raiſing himſelf a Monarchy out of our Confuſion.* Thus did *Cato* take occaſion ſharply to reflect on *Pompey.*

Marcus Favonius was an intimate Friend, and zealous Imitator of *Cato*, ſuch as heretofore *Apollodorus Phalereus* is ſaid to have been of *Socrates*, with whoſe Diſcourſes he was wont to be ſo tranſported, that he would ſeem perfectly mad, and as it were poſſeſs'd. This *Favonius* ſtood to be choſen *Ædile*, and was like to loſe it; but *Cato*, who was there to aſſiſt him, obſerved that all the Votes were written in one Hand, and diſcovering the Cheat, appeal'd to the *Tribunes*, who voided the Election. *Favonius* was afterward choſen *Ædile*, and *Cato*, who aſſiſted him in all Things that belong'd to his Office, did alſo take care of the Plays that were exhibited in the Thea-

tre: To the Actors *Cato* gave Crowns, not of Gold, but of wild Olive, ſuch as us'd to be given at the *Olympick* Games. Inſtead of the magnificent Gifts, that were wont to be beſtow'd on the People, he gave to the *Græcians* Leeks, Lettices, Radiſhes, and Pears; and to the *Romans*, earthen Pots of Wine, Pork, Figs, Cucumbers, and little Fagots of Wood. Some laugh'd at *Cato* for this; and others were well pleas'd with the Humour, which they look'd on as a Relaxation of his uſual Auſterity. In fine, *Favonius* himſelf mingled with the Crowd, and ſitting among the Spectators, applauded *Cato*, bid him beſtow Honours and Rewards on thoſe who did well, and aſſur'd the People, that he had given all the Power into *Cato*'s Hands. At the ſame time *Curio*, the Colleague of *Favonius*, gave very magnificent Plays in another Theatre; but the People left his, and went to thoſe of *Favonius*, which they very much applauded, ſeeing him act the private Man, and *Cato* the Maſter of the Shows; who did theſe Things in deriſion of the great Expences that others beſtowed, and to teach them, that in Sports Men ought to ſeek Diverſion only, and decent Chearfulneſs, not great Preparations, and coſtly Magnificence; nor ſhould they imploy too much Care about Things of little Concern.

After this *Scipio*, *Hypſæus*, and *Milo*, ſtood to be *Conſuls*, and that not only with the uſual

uſual and common Diſorders of Bribery and Corruption, but with Arms and Slaughter were running deſperately into a Civil War. Whereupon 'twas propos'd, That *Pompey* might be impower'd to preſide over that Election. This *Cato* at firſt oppos'd, ſaying, *That the Laws ought not to ſeek protection from* Pompey, *but* Pompey *from the Laws:* Yet this Confuſion laſting a long time, the *Forum* continually, as it were, beſieged with three Armies, and no poſſibility of putting a ſtop to theſe Diſorders, *Cato* at length agreed, that rather than fall into the laſt Extremity, the Senate ſhould freely confer all on *Pompey*; ſince 'twas neceſſary to make uſe of a leſſer Evil, to prevent a greater; and better to ſet up a Monarchy themſelves, than to ſuffer a Sedition to continue, that muſt certainly end in one. *Bibulus* therefore, a Relation of *Cato*'s, moved the Senate to create *Pompey* ſole *Conſul: For that either he would preſerve the preſent Government, or they ſhould live quietly under the moſt powerful.* *Cato* ſtood up, and, contrary to all expectation, ſeconded this Motion, concluding, *That any Government was better than Confuſion, and that he did not queſtion but* Pompey *would deal honourably, and take care of the Commonwealth, thus committed to his Charge.* *Pompey*, being hereupon declared *Conſul*, invited *Cato* to his Houſe in the Suburbs. When he came, he ſaluted and embrac'd him very kindly, acknowledg'd the Favour he

had done him, and desired his Counsel and Assistance, in the management of this Office. *Cato* made Answer, *That what he had spoken heretofore, was not out of Hate to* Pompey, *nor what he had now done, out of Love to him, but all for the good of the Commonwealth; that in private, if he ask'd him, he would freely give his Advice; but in publick, though he ask'd him not, he would always speak his Opinion.* And he did accordingly: For first, when *Pompey* made severe Laws for punishing, and laying great Fines on those who had corrupted the People with Gifts; *Cato* advised him, *To let alone what was already pass'd, and to provide for the future; for if he should seek into past Crimes, it would be difficult to know where to stop; and if he would ordain new Penalties, it would be unreasonable to punish Men by a Law, which they had never broken.* Afterward, when many considerable Men, and some of *Pompey*'s own Relations, were accused, he grew remiss, and let fall the Prosecution: But *Cato* sharply reprov'd him, and urg'd him to proceed. *Pompey* had made a Law also, to forbid the Custom of making commendatory Orations, in behalf of those that were accused: Yet he himself writ one for *Munatius Flaccus*, and sent it while the Cause was pleading; which *Cato* seeing, he stopt his Ears with his Hands, and would not hear it read, for he was one of the Judges: Whereupon *Flaccus*, before Sentence was given, excepted against him, but

was

was condemned notwithſtanding. And indeed *Cato* was the occaſion of great Trouble and Perplexity, to almoſt all that were accuſed of any Thing; for they fear'd to have him one of their Judges, yet did not dare to reject him: And many had been condemned, becauſe, refuſing him, they ſeemed not to truſt their own Innocence. To others it was objected, as a great Reproach, the not accepting *Cato* for their Judge.

In the mean while, *Cæſar* lay with his Forces in *Gaul*, where he continued in Arms; and at the ſame time, by his Gifts, his Riches, and his Friends, increas'd his Power in the City. Hereupon *Cato* forewarn'd *Pompey*, and rouz'd him out of the negligent Security in which he lay, not imagining any Danger near: But ſeeing *Pompey* very ſlow, and unwilling, or afraid to undertake any thing againſt *Cæſar*, *Cato* reſolved himſelf to ſtand for the *Conſulſhip*, and preſently force *Cæſar*, either to lay down his Arms, or diſcover his Intentions. Both *Cato*'s Competitors were Perſons very much beloved by the People. *Sulpicius*, who was one, had by *Cato*'s means acquired great Credit and Authority in the City; therefore it was thought unhandſom, and ungrateful done, to ſtand againſt him: But *Cato* did not take it Ill; *For 'tis no wonder* (ſaid he) *if a Man will not yield to another, in that which he eſteems the greateſt Good.* Now he perſwaded the Senate

to

to make an Order, That thoſe who ſtood for Offices, ſhould themſelves ask the People for their Votes, and not ſolicit by others. This very much offended the common People; for it took from them, not only the means of receiving Money, but alſo the opportunity of obliging ſeveral Perſons, and ſo rendred them both poor, and leſs regarded. Beſides, *Cato* himſelf was by Nature altogether unfit for the Buſineſs of Canvaſſing; for he took more care to preſerve the Dignity of his Character, than to obtain the Office. Thus by following his own way of Soliciting, and not ſuffering his Friends to do thoſe Things which take with the Multitude, he loſt the *Conſulſhip*.

Whereas, upon ſuch like Occaſions, not only thoſe who miſs'd the Office, but even their Friends and Relations, uſed to be much griev'd, and out of Countenance, for ſeveral Days after; yet *Cato* took it ſo unconcernedly, that he anointed himſelf, and play'd at Ball in the Field, and after Dinner went into the *Forum*, as he uſed to do, without his Shoes or his Coat, and there walked about with his Acquaintance. But *Cicero* blamed him; for that when Affairs required ſuch a *Conſul*, he would not take any Care, nor ſhew the People any Civility: As alſo becauſe that he afterward neglected to try again; whereas he had ſtood a Second Time to be choſen *Prætor*. *Cato* anſwer'd, *That he loſt the* Prætorſhip

torſhip *the firſt Time, not by any diſlike of the People, but by the power and corruption of his Adverſaries; whereas in the Election of* Conſuls *there had been no foul Dealing: So that he plainly ſaw the People were offended at his Manners, which an honeſt Man ought not to alter for their ſake; nor yet would a wiſe Man attempt the ſame Thing again, while he lies under the ſame Prejudices.*

Cæſar was then fighting with many warlike Nations, whom he very bravely ſubdued: Among the reſt, it ſeems, he had ſet upon the *Germans*, (who yet were in Peace with the *Romans*) and ſlew Three hundred thouſand of them. Upon which, ſome of his Friends moved the Senate for a publick Thankſgiving: But *Cato* declared, *They ought to deliver* Cæſar *into the Hands of thoſe who had been thus unjuſtly aſſaulted, that they might expiate the Offence, and not bring a Curſe upon the City; yet we have reaſon* (ſaid he) *to thank the Gods, for that they ſpared the Commonwealth, and did not take Vengeance upon the Army, for the Madneſs and Folly of the General.* Hereupon *Cæſar* writ a Letter to the Senate, which was read openly; 'twas full of reproachful Language and Accuſations againſt *Cato:* Who ſtanding up, ſeemed not at all concern'd, and without any Heat or Paſſion, but with a calm, and, as it were, premeditated Diſcourſe, expos'd the Scurrility and Folly of *Cæſar*, making it evident, that the Accuſations he had heap'd

heap'd together againſt him, were nothing but abuſive and ridiculous Railing. Then he began to rip up all *Cæſar*'s Practices, and laid open his Deſigns from the beginning, as clearly, as if he never had been an Enemy to him, but a conſtant Confederate with him: And told the Senate, *That if they were wiſe, they would not fear the* Britains *and* Gauls, *but* Cæſar *himſelf.* This Diſcourſe ſo mov'd and awaken'd the Senate, that *Cæſar*'s Friends repented they had made the Letter be read, which had given *Cato* opportunity of ſaying ſo many reaſonable Things, and ſuch ſevere Truths againſt him. However, nothing was then concluded; only 'twas hinted, that they would do well to ſend him a Succeſſor: Hereupon *Cæſar*'s Friends required, That *Pompey* alſo ſhould lay down his Arms, and reſign his Provinces, or elſe that *Cæſar* might not be obliged to either. Then *Cato* cry'd out, *What he had foretold was come to paſs; now 'twas manifeſt he would come upon them with his Forces, and turn againſt the State thoſe Armies he had got, by deceitfully impoſing on them.* Yet *Cato* could not prevail much out of the Senate-houſe; for the People always magnified *Cæſar*, and the Senate were convinced by *Cato*, but were afraid of the People.

When News was brought, That *Cæſar* had taken *Ariminum*, and was coming on with his Army toward *Rome*, then all Men, even *Pompey*, and the common People too, caſt their

their Eyes on *Cato*, who had alone foreſeen, and firſt clearly diſcover'd *Cæſar*'s Intentions. He therefore told them, *If you had believ'd me, or regarded my Advice, you would not now have been reduc'd to ſtand in fear of one Man, and alſo to put all your Hopes in one alone.* Then *Pompey* acknowledg'd, *That* Cato *indeed had ſpoken moſt like a Prophet, and that himſelf had acted too much like a Friend.* Now *Cato* adviſed the Senate to put all into the Hands of *Pompey*; *for thoſe who can raiſe up great Evils*, (ſaid he) *can beſt allay them.*

Pompey finding he had not ſufficient Forces, and that thoſe he could raiſe, were not very reſolute, he forſook the City. *Cato* reſolving to follow *Pompey*, ſent his younger Son to *Munatius*, who was then in the Country of *Brutium*, and took his eldeſt with him; but wanting ſome body to keep his Houſe, and take care of his Daughters, he took *Martia* again, who was now a rich Widow, for *Hortenſius* was dead, and had left her all his Eſtate. *Cæſar* afterward made uſe of this Action alſo, to reproach him with Covetouſneſs, and a mercenary Deſign in his Marriage: *For* (ſays he) *if he had need of a Wife, why did he part with her? And if he had not, why did he take her again? Unleſs he gave her only as a Bait to* Hortenſius; *and lent her when ſhe was young, to have her again when ſhe was rich.* But in Anſwer to this, we may apply the Saying of *Euripides*,

Firſt

First for Abſurdities, and ſurely none
Will Hercules *for want of Courage blame.*

Now 'tis alike abſurd, to reproach *Hercules* for Cowardice, and to accuſe *Cato* of Covetouſneſs; though otherwiſe, whether he did altogether right in this Marriage, might be diſputed: For as ſoon as he had again taken *Martia*, he committed his Houſe and his Daughters to her, and himſelf followed *Pompey*.

'Tis ſaid, that from that Day he never cut his Hair, nor ſhav'd his Beard, nor wore a Garland, but always full of Sadneſs, Grief, and Dejectedneſs, for the Calamities of his Country; he continually bore the ſame Habit to the laſt, what-ever Party had Misfortune or Succeſs.

The Government of *Sicily* being allotted to him, he paſt over to *Syracuſe*; where underſtanding that *Aſinus Pollio* was arrived at *Meſſana*, with Forces from the Enemy, *Cato* ſent to him, to know the reaſon of his coming thither: *Pollio*, on the other ſide, demanded of him the cauſe of theſe Commotions. *Cato* alſo hearing that *Pompey* had quite abandon'd *Italy*, and lay incamp'd at *Dyrrachium*, he cry'd out, *How dark and uncertain is the Will of Heaven!* Pompey, *when he did nothing wiſely nor honeſtly, was always ſucceſsful; and now that he would preſerve his Country, and defend her Liberty, he is altogeher unfortunate.* As for *Aſinius*, he

he ſaid, he could eaſily drive him out of *Sicily*; but there coming greater Forces to his Aſſiſtance, he would not engage the Iſland in a War: Wherefore he adviſed the *Syracuſians* to ſubmit to the Conqueror, and provide for their own Safety. Then he ſet Sail from thence.

When he came to *Pompey*, he conſtantly gave advice to prolong the War; for he always hoped to compoſe Matters, and would by no means that they ſhould come to Action: For the Commonwealth would ſuffer extremely, and be the certain cauſe of its own Ruine, whoever were the Conqueror. Moreover he perſwaded *Pompey*, and the Council of War, to ordain, That no City ſhould be ſack'd, that was ſubject to the People of *Rome*; and that no *Roman* ſhould be kill'd, but in the heat of Battle: Thereby he got himſelf great Honour, and brought over many to the Party of *Pompey*, who were much taken with the Moderation and Humanity of *Cato*. Afterward, being ſent into *Aſia*, to aſſiſt thoſe who were raiſing Men, and preparing Ships in thoſe Parts, he took with him his Siſter *Servilia*, and a little Boy which ſhe had by *Lucullus*; for ſince her Widowhood, ſhe had lived with her Brother, and very much recover'd her Reputation, having put herſelf under his Care, follow'd him in his Voyages, and comply'd with his ſevere way of Living; yet *Ca-*

ſar

ſar did not fail to aſperſe him upon her Account alſo.

Pompey's Officers in *Aſia*, it ſeems, had no great need of *Cato*; but he brought over the People of *Rhodes* by his Perſwaſions, and leaving his Siſter *Servilia*, and her Child there, he returned to *Pompey*, who had now gotten together very great Forces both by Sea and Land. And here *Pompey* clearly betray'd his own Intentions; for at firſt he deſign'd to give *Cato* the Command of the Navy,(which conſiſted of no leſs than Five hundred Ships of War, beſides a vaſt Number of Pinaces, Scouts, and Tenders.) But preſently bethinking himſelf, or put in mind by his Friends, that *Cato*'s principal and only Aim, being to free his Country from all Uſurpation, if he were Maſter of ſo great Forces, as ſoon as ever *Cæſar* ſhould be conquered, he would certainly oblige *Pompey* to lay down his Arms, and be ſubject to the Laws: Therefore *Pompey* chang'd his mind; and though he had before mentioned it to *Cato*, yet he made *Bibulus* Admiral. Notwithſtanding this, it appear'd *Cato*'s Affection to the publick Good was no way diminiſh'd; for when they were ready to ingage in a Conflict at *Dyrrhachium*, *Pompey* himſelf incouraged the Army, and commanded all the Officers to do the like: Yet the Soldiers hearkened to them but coldly, and with ſilence. *Cato* ſpoke laſt of all, and diſcourſed to them out of the Principles of

of Philoſophy, ſuch things as the Occaſion required, concerning Liberty, Valour, Death, and Glory; all which he delivered with great vehemence of Affection, and concluded with an Invocation of the Gods, to whom he directed his Speech, as if they were preſent to behold them fight for their Country. At this the Army gave ſuch a Shout, as fill'd all their Leaders with Hope, and made them fall on without fear of Danger. *Cæſar*'s Party were routed, and put to flight; yet his good Fortune took ſuch advantage of *Pompey*'s Cautiouſneſs and Diffidence, as rendred the Victory incompleat. But of this we have ſpoken in the Life of *Pompey*.

Now while all the reſt rejoic'd, and magnified their Succeſs, *Cato* alone bewail'd his Countrey, and curs'd that fatal Ambition, which made ſo many brave *Romans* murther one another.

After this, *Pompey* following *Cæſar* into *Theſſaly*, left at *Dyrrachium* a great quantity of Munition, ſtore of Riches, and many of his Domeſticks and Relations; the charge of all which he gave to *Cato*, with the Command only of fifteen Cohorts: For tho' he truſted him much, yet he was afraid of him too, knowing full well, that if he ſucceeded not, *Cato* would never forſake him; but if he conquer'd, would never let him uſe his Victory at his pleaſure. There were likewiſe many Perſons of eminent Quality, that ſtaid with *Cato* at *Dyrrachium*.

When they heard of the Overthrow at *Pharſalia*, *Cato* reſolv'd with himſelf, that if *Pompey* were ſlain, he would conduct thoſe that were with him, into *Italy*, and then retire as far from the Tyranny of *Cæſar* as he could, and live in Exile; but if *Pompey* were ſafe, he would keep the Army together for him. With this Reſolution he paſs'd over to *Corcyra*, where the Navy lay; there he would have reſign'd his Command to *Cicero*, becauſe he had been *Conſul*, and himſelf only a *Prætor*: But *Cicero* refus'd it, and was going for *Italy*. At which *Pompey*'s Son being incens'd, would raſhly and in a heat have puniſh'd all thoſe who were going away, and in the firſt place have laid hands on *Cicero*; but *Cato* reprehended him in private, and diverted him from that Deſign. Thus apparently he ſav'd the Life of *Cicero*, and preſerv'd ſeveral others beſides.

Now underſtanding that *Pompey* the Great was fled toward *Egypt* or *Lybia*, *Cato* reſolved to haſten after him; and having taken all his Men aboard, he ſet Sail; but firſt to thoſe who were not willing to engage, he gave free liberty to depart.

When they came to the Coaſt of *Africk*, they met with *Sextus*, *Pompey*'s younger Son, who told them of the Death of his Father in *Ægypt*; at which they were all exceedingly griev'd, and declared, that after *Pompey* they would follow no other Leader but *Cato*. Out of compaſſion

compaſſion therefore to ſo many worthy Perſons, who had given ſuch teſtimonies of their Fidelity, and whom he could not for ſhame leave in a deſart Countrey, amidſt ſo many Difficulties, he took upon him the Command, and march'd toward the City of *Cyrene*, which preſently received him, tho' not long before they had ſhut their Gates againſt *Labienus*. Here he was inform'd, that *Scipio*, *Pompey*'s Father-in-law, was received by King *Juba*, and that *Appius Varus*, whom *Pompey* left Governour of *Lybia*, had join'd them with his Forces. *Cato* therefore reſolved to march toward them by Land, it being Winter; and having got together a great many Aſſes to carry Water, he furniſhed himſelf likewiſe with plenty of all other Proviſion, and a number of Carriages: He took alſo with him ſome of thoſe they call *Pſilli*, who cure the biting of Serpents, by ſucking out the Poiſon with their Mouths, and have likewiſe certain Charms, by which they ſtupifie and lay aſleep the Serpents.

Thus they marched ſeven days together. *Cato* all the time went on Foot at the Head of his Men, and never made uſe of any Horſe or Chariot. Ever ſince the Battle of *Pharſalia*, he uſed to ſit at Table, and added this to his other ways of Mourning, that he never lay down but to ſleep.

Having paſs'd the Winter in *Lybia*, *Cato* drew out his Army, which amounted to little

leſs than ten thouſand. The Affairs of *Scipio* and *Varus* went very ill, by reaſon of their Diſſentions and Quarrels among themſelves, and their Submiſſions and Flatteries to King *Juba*, who was inſupportable for his Vanity, and the Pride he took in his Strength and Riches. The firſt time he came to a Conference with *Cato*, he had order'd his own Seat to be placed in the middle, between *Scipio* and *Cato*: which *Cato* obſerving, took up his Chair, and ſet himſelf on the other ſide of *Scipio*; to whom he thus gave the Honour of ſitting in the middle, tho' he were his Enemy, and had formerly publiſhed a ſcandalous Libel againſt him. There are ſome who approve not this Action of *Cato*'s: and yet on the other ſide blame him; for that in *Sicily*, walking one day with *Philoſtratus*, he gave him the middle Place, out of the Reſpect he bore to Philoſophy. Thus did *Cato* pull down the Spirit of *Juba*, who before treated *Scipio* and *Varus* no better than his own Subjects: he reconciled them alſo to one another.

All the Army deſired *Cato* to be their Leader: *Scipio* likewiſe and *Varus* gave way to it, and offer'd him the Command; but he ſaid, He would not break thoſe Laws, which he fought to defend; and he, being but *Pro-prætor*, ought not to command in the preſence of a *Pro-conſul*, (for *Scipio* had been created *Pro-conſul*) beſides that the People would take it as a good Omen, to ſee a *Scipio* command in *Africk*,

Africk, and the very Name would give Courage to the Souldiers.

Scipio having taken upon him the Command, preſently reſolv'd (at the Inſtigation of *Juba*) to put all the Inhabitants of *Utica* to the Sword, and to raze the City, for having (as they pretended) taken part with *Cæſar*. *Cato* would by no means ſuffer this; but invoking the Gods, exclaiming and proteſting againſt it in the Council of War, he with much difficulty delivered the poor People from their Cruelty.

Afterward, upon the Entreaty of the Inhabitants, and at the Inſtance of *Scipio*, *Cato* took upon himſelf the Government of *Utica*, leſt it ſhould fall into *Cæſar*'s hands; for it was a ſtrong Place, and very advantageous for either Party: yet it was better provided, and more fortified by *Cato*, who brought in great ſtore of Corn, repair'd the Walls, erected Towers, made deep Trenches and Out-works round the Town. The young Men of *Utica* he lodg'd in the Trenches, having firſt taken their Arms from them; the reſt of the Inhabitants he kept within the Town, and took great care, that no Injury ſhould be done, nor Affront offer'd them by the *Romans*. From hence he ſent great quantity of Arms, Money, and Proviſion, to the Camp, and made this City their chief Magazine.

He adviſ'd *Scipio*, as he had before done *Pompey*, *by no means to hazard a Battle againſt a*

Man experienc'd in War, and encourag'd with Succeſs, but to uſe delay; for time would cool the Heats and Paſſions of Men, which are the chief ſupport and ſtrength of Uſurpers. But *Scipio* out of Pride rejected this Counſel, and writ a Letter to *Cato*; *in which he reproach'd him with Cowardice; and that he could not content himſelf to lye ſecure within Walls and Trenches, but he muſt hinder others, that they might not make uſe of the Courage and Reaſon they have to lay hold on Occaſions.* In Anſwer to this, *Cato* writ word again, *That he would take the Horſe and Foot which he had brought into* Africk, *and go over into* Italy, *to give* Cæſar *ſome Diverſion there.* But *Scipio* derided this Propoſition alſo. Then *Cato* openly avow'd, *He was ſorry he had yielded the Command to* Scipio, *who, he ſaw would not uſe his Power wiſely in the War; and if (contrary to all appearance) he ſhould ſucceed, doubtleſs he would uſe his Succeſs as unjuſtly at home.* For *Cato* did then think, and ſo he told his Friends, *That he could have but ſlender Hopes in thoſe Generals, that had ſo much Boldneſs, and ſo little Conduct: yet if any thing ſhould happen beyond Expectation, and* Cæſar *ſhould be overthrown, for his part he would not ſtay at* Rome, *but would retire from the Cruelty and Inhumanity of* Scipio, *who had already given out fierce and proud Threats againſt many.*

But what *Cato* had look'd for, fell out ſooner than he expected; for about midnight came one from the Army (whence he had been three days coming) who brought word, There

There had been a great Battle near *Thapſus*; that all was utterly loſt; *Cæſar* had taken both the Camps; *Scipio* and *Juba* were fled with a few only, and the reſt cut to pieces. This News (as 'tis uſual in War, and coming in the night too) did ſo frighten the People, that they were almoſt out of their Wits, and could ſcarce keep themſelves within the Walls of the City: but *Cato* went out, and meeting the People in this Hurry and Clamour, did comfort and encourage them what he could; and ſomething appeas'd the Fear and Amazement they were in, telling them, That very likely things were not ſo bad in truth, but more than half augmented by Report: Thus he pacified the Tumult for the preſent. The next morning he aſſembled the three hundred, which he uſed as his Council; theſe were *Romans*, who traffick'd there in Merchandize and Exchange of Money: There were alſo ſeveral Senators, and their Sons. While they were coming together, *Cato* walked about very quietly and unconcern'd, as if nothing new had happen'd. He had a Book in his Hand, which he was reading; in this Book was an account of what proviſion he had for War, Armour, Corn, Weapons, and Souldiers.

When they were aſſembled, he began his Diſcourſe: *Firſt with the Three hundred themſelves; and very much commended the Courage and Fidelity they had ſhown, and their having very well ſerved their Country with their Perſons, Money and*,

Counſel. Then he entreated them by no means to ſeparate, as if each ſingle Man could hope for any ſafety in forſaking his Companions: On the contrary, while they kept together, Cæſar *would have leſs reaſon to deſpiſe them, if they fought againſt him, and be more forward to pardon them, if they ſubmitted to him. Therefore he adviſ'd them to conſult among themſelves, nor would he diſlike whatever they ſhould propoſe: If they thought fit to ſubmit to Fortune, he would impute their Change to Neceſſity; but if they reſolved to ſtand to it, and undergo ſome Danger for the ſake of Liberty, he ſhould not only commend, but admire their Valour, and would himſelf be their Leader and Companion too, till they had try'd the utmoſt Fortune of their Country, which was not* Utica *or* Adrumetum, *but* Rome, *and ſhe had often by her own ſtrength, rais'd her ſelf out of greater Difficulties. Beſides, as there were many things, that would conduce to their Safety, ſo chiefly this, that they were to fight againſt one, who by his Affairs would be much diſtracted, and by ſeveral Occaſions called into many ſeveral Places,* Spain *was already revolted to the younger* Pompey; Rome *was unaccuſtomed to the Bridle, and impatient of it, would therefore be ready for Commotions and Inſurrections, upon every Turn of Affairs. As for themſelves, they ought not to ſhrink from any Danger; and in this might take Example from their Enemy who does ſo freely expoſe his Life to compaſs his unjuſt Deſigns, yet never can hope for ſo happy a concluſion, as they may promiſe themſelves: For notwithſtanding the*

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uncertainty of War, they will be ſure of a moſt happy Life, if they ſucceed; or a moſt glorious Death if they miſcarry. However, he ſaid, *they ought to deliberate among themſelves, and pray to the Gods, that in recompence of their former Courage and Good-will, they would direct their future Deſigns.* When *Cato* had thus ſpoken, many were moved and encouraged by his Speech; but the greateſt part were ſo animated by his Valour, Generoſity and Goodneſs, that they forgot the preſent Danger; and as if he were the only invincible Leader, and above all Fortune, they entreated him, *To imploy their Perſons, Arms and Eſtates, as he thought fit; for they eſteem'd it far better to meet Death, in following his Counſel, than to find their ſafety, in betraying one of ſo great Vertue.* One of the Aſſembly propos'd the making a Decree, to ſet the Slaves at Liberty; and moſt of the reſt approved the Motion. *Cato* ſaid, *That ought not to be done, for it was neither juſt nor lawful; but if any of their Maſters would willingly ſet them free, thoſe that were fit for Service ſhould be received.* Which divers promiſed to do; whoſe Names he order'd to be enroll'd, and then withdrew.

Preſently after this, he received Letters from *Juba* and *Scipio*. *Juba*, with ſome few of his Men, was retired to a Mountain, where he waited to hear what *Cato* would reſolve upon, and intended to ſtay there for him, if he thought fit to leave *Utica*; or to relieve him

him with an Army, if he were beſieged. *Scipio* alſo lay at Anchor, under a certain Promontory, not far from *Utica*, expecting an Anſwer upon the ſame account; but *Cato* thought fit to retain the Meſſengers, till the Three hundred ſhould come to ſome Reſolution.

As for the Senators that were there, they ſhew'd great forwardneſs, and did preſently ſet free their Slaves, and furniſh them with Arms. But the Three hundred being Men that dealt in Merchandize and Uſury, much of their Subſtance alſo conſiſting in Slaves, the Heat that *Cato*'s Speech had rais'd in them, did not long continue; as ſome Bodies that eaſily admit Heat, and as ſuddenly loſe it, when the Fire is removed: So theſe Men were heated and inflamed, while *Cato* was preſent. But when they began to reaſon among themſelves, the Fear they had of *Cæſar* ſoon overcame the Reverence, they bore to *Cato*: *For who are we?* (ſay they) *and who is it we refuſe to obey? Is it not that* Cæſar, *to whom all the Power of* Rome *has ſubmitted? and which of us is a* Scipio, *a* Pompey, *or a* Cato? *But now that all Men make their Honour give way to their Fear, ſhall we alone engage for the Liberty of* Rome? *And in* Utica *declare War againſt him, from whom* Cato *and* Pompey *the Great fled out of* Italy? *Shall we ſet free our Slaves againſt* Cæſar, *who have our ſelves no more Liberty than he is pleas'd to allow? No, let us, poor Creatures, know*

know our ſelves, ſubmit to the Victor, and ſend Deputies to implore his Mercy. Thus ſaid the moſt moderate of them; but the greateſt part were for ſeizing the Senators, that by ſecuring them, they might appeaſe *Cæſar*'s Anger. *Cato*, though he perceiv'd the Change, took no notice of it; but writ to *Juba* and *Scipio* to keep away from *Utica*, becauſe he miſtruſted the three hundred.

A conſiderable Body of Horſe, which had eſcaped from the late Fight, were coming toward *Utica*, and had ſent three Men before to *Cato*, which yet did not all bring the ſame Meſſage; for ſome were for going to *Juba*; others for joyning with *Cato*; and ſome alſo were afraid to go into *Utica*. When *Cato* heard this, he ordered *Marcus Rubrius* to attend upon the Three hundred, and quietly take the Names of thoſe, who of their own accord ſet their Slaves at Liberty, but by no means to force any body. Then taking with him the Senators, he went out of the Town, and met the principal Officers of thoſe Horſemen; whom he entreated not to abandon ſo many worthy *Roman* Senators, nor to prefer *Juba* for their Commander before *Cato*, but to ſeek the mutual ſafety of one another, and to come into the City, which was impregnable, and well furniſh'd with Corn, and other Proviſion, ſufficient for many Years: The Senators likewiſe with Tears beſought them to ſtay. Hereupon the Officers went to conſult their Soldiers,

Soldiers, and *Cato* with the Senators ſate down upon the Works, expecting their Reſolution. In the mean time comes *Rubrius* in great Diſorder, crying out, The Three hundred were all in Commotion, and raiſing Tumults in the City, At this all the reſt fell into Deſpair, lamenting and bewailing their Condition; but *Cato* endeavour'd to comfort them, and ſent to the Three hundred, deſiring them to have a little patience. Then the Officers of the Horſe returned with no very reaſonable Demands. *They ſaid, they did not deſire to ſerve* Juba, *for his Pay, nor ſhould they fear* Cæſar, *while they follow'd* Cato; *but they dreaded to be ſhut up with the* Uticans, *Men of a traiterous Nature, and* Carthaginian *Race; for though they were quiet at preſent, yet as ſoon as* Cæſar *ſhould appear, without doubt they would conſpire together, and betray the* Romans. *Therefore if he expected they ſhould joyn with him, he muſt drive out of the Town, or deſtroy all the* Uticans, *that he might receive them into a Place void both of Enemies and Barbarians.* This *Cato* thought very Cruel and Barbarous; but he mildly anſwer'd, He would conſult the Three hundred.

Then he returned to the City, where he found the Men, not framing Excuſes, or diſſembling, out of Reverence to him, but openly refuſing to make War againſt *Cæſar*; *which* (they ſaid) *they were neither able nor willing to do.* And ſome there were who muttered

tered out ſomething about retaining the Senators till *Cæſar*'s coming; but *Cato* ſeemed not to hear this, for he was a little deaf. At the ſame time came one to him, and told him, The Horſe were going away. *Cato* fearing leſt the Three hundred ſhould take ſome deſperate Reſolution concerning the Senators, he preſently went out with ſome of his Friends, and ſeeing they were gone ſome way, he took Horſe, and rid after them. They, when they ſaw him coming, were very glad, and received him very kindly, entreating him to ſave himſelf with them. At this time ('tis ſaid) *Cato* ſhed Tears; while earneſtly begging for the Senators, and ſtretching out his Hands, ſome of their Horſes he ſtopp'd, and hung upon their Arms, till he had prevailed with them, out of Compaſſion, to ſtay only that one Day, to procure a ſafe Retreat for the Senators. Having thus perſwaded them to go along with him, ſome he plac'd at the Gates of the Town, and to others gave the charge of the Citadel. Now the three hundred began to fear, they ſhould ſuffer for their Inconſtancy, and ſent to *Cato*, entreating him by all means to come to them; but the Senators flocking about him, would not ſuffer him to go, and ſaid, They would not truſt their Guardian and Saviour to the Hands of perfidious Traitors.

At this inſtant (in my opinion) did moſt evidently appear to all in *Utica*, the Excellence, the

the Clearneſs, and admirable Simplicity of *Cato*'s Vertue; how ſincere, untainted, and free it was from any mixture of Self-regard; that he, who had long before reſolved on his own Death, ſhould take ſuch extreme pains, toil, and care, only for the ſake of others; that when he had ſecured their Lives, he might put an end to his own; for 'twas eaſily perceived, that he had determined to die, though he did endeavour not to let it appear.

Therefore having pacified the Senators, he hearkened to the Requeſt of the Three hundred, and went to them alone without any Attendance. *They gave him many thanks, and entreated him to imploy and truſt them for the future; but in that they were not* Cato's, *and could not come up to his greatneſs of Courage, they begg'd he would pity their weakneſs; and told him, they had decreed to ſend to* Cæſar, *and entreat him chiefly, and in the firſt place for* Cato; *and if they could not prevail for him, they would not accept of pardon for themſelves, but as long as they had breath, would fight in his defence.* Cato commended their good Intentions; *and adviſed them to ſend ſpeedily, for their own Safety, but by no means to ask any thing in his behalf; for thoſe who are conquer'd, muſt ſubmit, and thoſe who have done wrong, beg pardon: for himſelf, he was never overcome in all his Life, but rather ſo far as he thought fit, had got the Victory, and had conquered* Cæſar, *in what was juſt and honeſt. And indeed* Cæſar *might be look'd upon as one ſurpriz'd and vanquiſh'd;*

vanquiſh'd; for he was now forc'd to diſcover and own thoſe Deſigns, which he had ſo long deny'd, and always practiſed againſt his Country. When he had thus ſpoken, he went out of the Aſſembly, and being informed that *Cæſar* was coming with his whole Army; *Alas!* (ſaid he) *does he come againſt us, as againſt Men?* Then he went to the Senators, and urged them to make no delay, but haſten to be gone, while the Horſemen were yet in the City. So ordering all the Gates to be ſhut, except one towards the Sea, he appointed Ships for thoſe that were to depart, and gave Money and Proviſion to thoſe that wanted: All which he did with great Order and Exactneſs, taking care to ſuppreſs all Tumults, and that no wrong ſhould be done to the People.

Marcus Octavius coming with two Legions, encamped near *Utica*, and ſent to *Cato*, to treat about the chief Command. *Cato* return'd him no Anſwer; but ſaid to his Friends, *No wonder all goes ill with us, who are ſo much taken up with Ambition, even upon the point of our Ruine.* In the mean time Word was brought him, that the Horſe were going away, and about to ſpoil and plunder the *Uticans*. *Cato* ran to them, and from the firſt he met, ſnatch'd what they had taken; the reſt threw down all they had gotten, and went away ſilent, and aſham'd of what they had done. Then he called together the Citizens of *Utica*, and requeſted them, in behalf of the Three hundred,

dred, not to exaſperate *Cæſar* againſt them, but all to ſeek their common Safety together with them. After that he went again to the Port, to ſee thoſe who were about to imbarque; and there he embrac'd and diſmiſs'd thoſe of his Friends and Acquaintance, whom he had perſwaded to go. As for his Son, he did not counſel him to be gone, nor did he think fit to perſwade him to forſake his Father. But there was one *Statyllius*, a young Man, in the flower of his Age, one of a brave Spirit, and very deſirous to imitate the invincible Conſtancy of *Cato*, who intreated him to go away, for he was a noted Enemy to *Cæſar*; but he refuſed to go. Then *Cato* looking upon *Apollonides*, the *Stoick* Philoſopher, and *Demetrius* the *Peripatetick*; *It belongs to you* (ſaid he) *to bring down this young Man's Spirit, and to make him know what is good for him.* Thus having diſmiſs'd all the reſt, he returned to his Affairs, gave Audience, and diſpatch'd Buſineſs; in which he ſpent that Night, and the greateſt part of the next Day.

Lucius Cæſar, a Kinſman of *Julius Cæſar*'s, being appointed to go Deputy for the Three hundred, came to *Cato*, and deſired he would aſſiſt him to make a perſwaſive Speech for them: *And as to you your ſelf*, (ſaid he) *I ſhall not ſcruple to kiſs the Hands, and fall at the Knees of* Cæſar, *in your behalf.* But *Cato* would by no means permit him to do any ſuch Thing:

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For as to my ſelf, (ſaid he) *if I would be preſerved by* Cæſar's *Favour, I ſhould my ſelf go to him; but I would not be beholding to a Tyrant, for thoſe very Things that are Marks of Tyranny: For 'tis an inſtance of his Uſurpation to preſerve Men, as if he were Lord of their Lives, over whom he has no right to reign; but if you pleaſe, let us conſider what you had beſt ſay for the Three hundred.* And when they had continued ſome time together, as *Lucius* was going away, *Cato* recommended to him his Son, and the reſt of his Friends; and taking him by the Hand, bid him farewel.

Then he retired to his Houſe again, and called together his Son and his Friends; to whom he diſcourſed of ſeveral Things: Among the reſt, he forbad his Son to engage himſelf in the Affairs of State: *For to act therein, as became him, was now impoſſible; and to do otherwiſe, would be diſhonourable.*

Toward Evening he went into his Bath. As he was bathing, he remembred *Statyllius*, and cry'd out aloud, *Well*, Apollonides, *you have brought down the high Spirit of* Statyllius; *and is he gone without bidding us farewel? No,* (ſaid *Apollonides*) *I have diſcours'd much to him, but to little purpoſe; he is ſtill reſolute and unalterable, and declares, he is determined to follow your Example.* At this ('tis ſaid) *Cato* ſmiled, and anſwer'd, *That will ſoon be try'd.*

After he had bath'd, he went to Supper, with a great deal of Company; at which he

ſate, as he had always us'd to do, ever ſince the Battle of *Pharſalia*; for ſince that time he never lay down, but when he went to ſleep. There ſupped with him all his own Acquaintance, and ſeveral of the principal Citizens of *Utica*.

After Supper, the Wine produced a great deal of Wit, and learned Diſcourſe; many Philoſophical Queſtions were diſcuſſed: At length they came to the ſtrange Opinions of the *Stoicks*, called Paradoxes; and to this in particular, *That the good Man only is free, and that all wicked Men are Slaves.* The *Peripatetick* (as 'tis likely) oppoſing this, *Cato* fell upon him very warmly; and ſomewhat raiſing his Voice, he argued the Matter in a Diſcourſe of ſome length, which he urged with ſuch wonderful Vehemence, that 'twas apparent to every body, he was reſolved to put an end to his Life, and ſet himſelf at Liberty. Hereupon, when he had done ſpeaking, there was a great Silence, and the Company much dejected: But *Cato*, to divert them from any ſuſpicion of his Deſign, turned the Diſcourſe, and fell again to talk of the preſent Affairs, ſhewing great Concern for thoſe that were at Sea, as alſo for the others, who travelling by Land, were to paſs through a dry and barbarous Deſart.

When the Company was broke up, *Cato* walked with his Friends, as he us'd to do after Supper, gave the neceſſary Orders to the Officers

Officers of the Watch; and going into his Chamber, he embraced his Son, and every one of his Friends, with more than uſual Ardour, which again renew'd their ſuſpicion of his Deſign. Then laying himſelf down, he took into his Hand *Plato*'s Dialogue concerning the Soul: Having read more than half the Book, he looked up, and miſſing his Sword, (which his Son had taken away, while he was at Supper) he called his Servant, and asked, Who had taken away his Sword? The Servant making no Anſwer, he fell to reading again: And a little after, not ſeeming importunate, or haſty for it, but as if he would only know what was become of it, he bid it be brought. But having ſtay'd ſome time, he had read over the Book, and no body brought the Sword: Whereupon he called up all his Servants, and in a haſty Tone demanded his Sword. To one of them he gave ſuch a Blow in the Mouth, that he hurt his own Hand; and now grew more angry, crying out, He was betray'd, and delivered naked to the Enemy, by his Son and his Servants. Then his Son, with the reſt of his Friends, came running into the Room, and falling at his Feet, began to lament and beſeech him: But *Cato* raiſing up himſelf, and looking fiercely; *When* (ſaid he) *and how did I fall diſtracted? Why does no body perſwade me by Reaſon, or teach me what is better, if I have deſign'd any Thing that's ill? But muſt I be diſ-*

arm'd, and hindered from using my own Reason? And you, young Man, why don't you bind your Father's Hands behind him, that when Cæsar *comes, he may find me unable to defend my self? Nor do I want a Sword to dispatch my self; I need but hold my Breath a while, or strike my Head against the Wall.* When he had thus spoken, his Son went weeping out of the Chamber, and with him all the rest, except *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*; who being left alone with him, to them he began to speak more calmly: *And you* (said he) *do you think to keep a Man of my Age alive by Force? And do you sit silent here to watch me? Or can you bring any Reason to prove, that it is not base, and unworthy* Cato, *when he can find his Safety no other way, to seek it from his Enemy? Or why do you not perswade us, to unlearn what we have been taught, that rejecting all the Opinions we have hitherto established, we may now by* Cæsar's *means grow wiser, and be yet more obliged to him, than for Life only? Not that I have determined ought concerning my self, but I would have it in my Power to perform, what I shall think fit to resolve; and I shall not fail to ask your Counsel, when I have occasion to use what your Philosophy teaches: In the mean time, don't trouble your selves; but go tell my Son, that he should not compel his Father, to what he cannot perswade him.* They made him no Answer, but went weeping out of the Chamber. Then the Sword being brought in by a little Boy, *Cato* took it, drew it out, and

and look'd on it; and when he ſaw the Point was good, *Now* (ſaid he) *I am Maſter of my ſelf:* And laying down the Sword, he took his Book again, which, 'tis reported, he read twice over. After this he ſlept ſo ſoundly, that he was heard Snore by thoſe that were without.

About Midnight he called up Two of his Freed-men, *Cleanthes*, his Phyſician, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly imploy'd in publick Affairs: Him he ſent to the Port, to ſee if all the *Romans* were gone: To the Phyſician he gave his Hand to be dreſſed, for it was ſwell'd by the Blow he had ſtruck one of his Servants. At this they all rejoyc'd, hoping that now he deſign'd to live.

Butas, after a while, return'd, and brought Word, they were all gone, except *Craſſus*, who had ſtay'd about ſome Buſineſs, but was juſt ready to depart: He ſaid alſo, That the Wind was high, and the Sea very rough. *Cato* hearing this, ſigh'd, out of compaſſion to thoſe who were at Sea, and ſent *Butas* again, to ſee if any of them ſhould happen to return for any Thing they wanted, and to acquaint him therewith.

Now the Birds began to ſing, and *Cato* again fell into a little Slumber. At length *Butas* came back, and told him, All was quiet in the Haven: Then *Cato*, laying himſelf down, as if he would Sleep out the reſt of the Night, bid him ſhut the Door after him. But as ſoon

as *Butas* was gone out, he took his Sword, and ſtabb'd it into his Breaſt; yet not being able to uſe his Hand ſo well, by reaſon of the Swelling, he did not immediately die of the Wound; but ſtruggling, fell out of the Bed, and throwing down a little Mathematical Table that ſtood by, made ſuch a Noiſe, that the Servants hearing it, cry'd out. And immediately his Son, and all his Friends, came into the Chamber, where ſeeing him lye weltring in his Blood, great part of his Bowels out of his Body, himſelf not quite dead, but looking ghaſtly, they all ſtood amazed. The Phyſician went to him, and would have put in his Bowels, which were not pierced, and ſow'd up the Wound: *Cato* hereupon coming to himſelf, thruſt away the Phyſician, pluck'd out his own Bowels, and tearing open the Wound, immediately expired.

In leſs time than one would think his own Family could have known this Accident, all the Three hundred were at the Door. And a little after, the People of *Utica* flock'd thither, crying out with one Voice, *He was their Benefactor, and their Saviour; the only free, and only invincible Man.* At the very ſame inſtant, they had News that *Cæſar* was coming; yet neither fear of the preſent Danger, nor deſire to flatter the Conqueror, nor the Commotions and Diſcord among themſelves, could divert them from doing Honour to *Cato:* For they ſumptuouſly ſet out his Body, made him a magni-

magnificent Funeral, and buried him by the Sea-ſide, where now ſtands his Statue, holding a Sword. Which being done, they returned to conſider of preſerving themſelves and their City.

Cæſar had been advertiſed, that *Cato* ſtay'd at *Utica*, and did not ſeek to fly: That he had ſent away the reſt of the *Romans*, but himſelf, with his Son, and a few of his Friends, continued there very unconcernedly; ſo that he could not imagine what might be his Deſign: But having a great Conſideration for the Man, he haſtned thither with his Army. When he heard of *Cato*'s Death, 'tis reported, he ſaid theſe Words: Cato, *I envy thee thy Death, for thou haſt envy'd me the Preſervation of thy Life.* And indeed if *Cato* would have ſuffer'd himſelf to be preſerved by *Cæſar*, 'tis like he would not ſo much have impair'd his own Honour, as augmented the others Glory; yet what would have been done, we cannot know, but from *Cæſar*'s uſual Clemency, we may gueſs what was moſt likely.

Cato was Forty eight Years old when he died. His Son ſuffered no Injury from *Cæſar*; but, 'tis ſaid, he grew idle, and debauch'd with Women. In *Cappadocia*, he lodg'd at the Houſe of *Marphadates*, one of the Royal Family, who had a very handſom Wife; where ſtaying longer than was decent, he was reflected on by ſome, that made ſuch Jeſts as theſe upon him: Cato *goes to morrow, after*

Thirty Days, and Porcius *and* Marphadates *are Two Friends, that have but one Soul,* (for *Marphadates* Wife was named *Pſyche*, i. e. *Soul:*) and Cato *is very well born, and an illuſtrious Man, for he has a Royal Soul.*

But all theſe Stains were clearly wip'd off by the Bravery of his Death; for in the Battle of *Philippi*, where he fought for his Country's Liberty, againſt *Cæſar* and *Antony*, when the Army was broken, he diſdaining to fly, or eſcape, called out to the Enemy, ſhew'd them who he was, and encouraged thoſe of his Party to ſtay: At length he fell, and left his Enemies in admiration of his Valour.

Nor was the Daughter of *Cato* inferior to the reſt of her Family, for Prudence and greatneſs of Spirit. She was married to *Brutus*, who killed *Cæſar*; was acquainted with that Conſpiracy, and ended her Life, as became one of her Birth and Vertue. All which is related in the Life of *Brutus*.

Statyllius, who ſaid he would imitate *Cato*, was at that time hindred by the Philoſophers, when he would have put an end to his Life. He afterward follow'd *Brutus*, to whom he was very faithful, and very ſerviceable, and died in the Field of *Philippi*.

THE

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AGIS AND CLEOMENES.



THE LIFE OF AGIS.

By Sir *Robert Thorold.*

THE Fable of *Ixion*, who embracing a Cloud inſtead of *Juno*, begot the *Centaurs*, was ingeniouſly enough invented to repreſent to us ambitious Men, whoſe Minds doting on Glory, (which is a meer Image of Vertue) produce nothing that is genuine or uniform, but born away by violent and unſteady Paſſions, their Actions being

ing the Off-ſpring of ſuch a Conjunction, muſt needs be deform'd and unnatural; and they may ſay with the Herdſmen, in the Tragedy of *Sophocles*,

We follow thoſe whom we ought to govern,
And they command us, though th'are dumb.

This is indeed the true Condition of thoſe ambitious Men, who to gain a vain Title of Magiſtracy, are content to ſubject themſelves to the Humours of the People: For as they who row in the fore-part of the Ship, may ſeem to guide the Motions of it, yet have continually an Eye on the Pilot who ſits at the Helm, and muſt proceed in the Courſe he will ſteer; ſo theſe Men, ſteer'd as I may ſay by popular Applauſe, though they bear the Name of Governors, are in reality Slaves to the *Mobile*. The Man who is completely wiſe and vertuous, regards not Glory, but only as it diſpoſes and prepares his way to great Attempts. A young Man, I grant, may be permitted to Glory a little in his good Actions; for (as *Theophraſtus* ſays) his Vertues which are yet tender, and as it were in the bud, cheriſh'd and ſupported by Praiſes, grow ſtronger, and take the deeper root: But when this Paſſion is exorbitant, 'tis dangerous in all Men, and eſpecially in thoſe who govern a Commonwealth; for being join'd with an unlimited Power, it often tranſports Men

to

to a degree of Madneſs; ſo that now they no more think what is Good, Glorious; but will have thoſe Actions only eſteem'd Good that are Glorious. As *Phocion* therefore anſwer'd King *Antipater*, who ſought his Approbation of ſome unworthy Action, *I cannot be your Flatterer, and your Friend*; ſo theſe Men ſhou'd anſwer the People, *I cannot govern, and obey you*: For it may happen to the Commonwealth, as to the Serpent in the Fable, whoſe Tail riſing in rebellion againſt the Head, complain'd (as of a great Grievance) that it was always forc'd to follow, and pray'd, it might be permitted by Turns to lead the way; which being granted but for a Day, quickly diſcover'd the Folly, by the Miſchiefs which befel the whole Body, and particularly to the Head, in following, contrary to Nature, a Guide that was Deaf and Blind. The ſame we ſee does every Day happen to many, who guided by the Inclinations of an ignorant and giddy Multitude, can neither ſtop, nor recover themſelves out of the Confuſion.

This is what has occurr'd to us to ſay, of that Glory which depends on the Vulgar, conſidering the ſad Effects of it in the Misfortunes of *Caius*, and *Tiberius Gracchus*; Men nobly born, whoſe generous Diſpoſition by Nature, was improv'd by an excellent Education; and who came to the Adminiſtration of Affairs with very ſincere Intentions; yet they were ruin'd, I cannot ſay, by an immoderate deſire

of Glory, but by a more excuſable fear of Infamy; for being exceſſively belov'd and favour'd by the People, they thought it an Ingratitude to deny them any thing, till the People and They mutually inflam'd, and vying with each other in Honours and Benefits, things were at laſt brought to ſuch a paſs, that they might ſay according to the Proverb:

T' engage ſo far we were to blame,
And to retreat 'tis now a ſhame.

This the judicious Reader will eaſily gather from the Story. I will now compare with them, two *Lacedemonian* Kings, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*; for they being deſirous alſo to raiſe the People, by reſtoring their obſolete Laws of Equality, incurr'd the Hatred of the Rich and Powerful, who cou'd not endure to be depriv'd of thoſe Advantages which did ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſh them from the Vulgar. Theſe were not indeed Brothers by Nature, as the two *Romans*, but they had a kind of brotherly Reſemblance in their Actions and Deſigns, which took a Riſe from ſuch Beginnings and Occaſions, as I am now about to relate.

When Gold and Silver (the great Debauchers of Mankind) had once gain'd admittance into the *Lacedemonian* Commonwealth, 'twas quickly follow'd by Avarice, baſeneſs of Spirit, and all manner of Frauds in the poſſeſſion, by Riot, Luxury, and Effeminacy in the uſe.

Then

Then *Sparta* fell from her original Vertue and Glory, and ſo continued till the days of *Agis* and *Leonidas*, who both together were Kings of the *Lacedemonians*.

Agis was of the Royal Family of *Eurytion*, Son of *Eudamidas*, and the ſixth in deſcent from *Ageſilaus*, who being chief Commander of the *Grecians*, gain'd ſo great Renown in the ſo famous Expedition into *Aſia*. *Ageſilaus* left behind him a Son call'd *Archidamus*, who being ſlain by the *Calabrians* at *Mardonium* in *Italy*, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt Son *Agis*; he being kill'd by *Antipater* near *Megalopolis*, and leaving no Iſſue, was ſucceeded by his Brother *Eudamidas*; he by a Son call'd *Archidamus*; and *Archidamus* by another *Eudamidas*, the Father of this *Agis* of whom we now treat.

Leonidas, Son of *Cleonymus*, was of the other Royal Branch of the *Agiades*, and the eighth in deſcent from *Pauſanias*, who defeated *Mardonius* in the Battle of *Platea*. *Pauſanias* was ſucceeded by a Son call'd *Pliſtonax*; and he by another *Pauſanias*, who being baniſh'd, and leading a private Life at *Tegea*, his eldeſt Son *Ageſipolis* reign'd in his place; he dying without Iſſue, was ſucceeded by a younger Brother call'd *Cleombrotus*, who left two Sons: the elder was *Ageſipolis*, who reign'd but a ſhort time, and died without Iſſue; the younger was call'd *Cleomenes*, who had alſo two Sons, *Acrotatus* and *Cleonymus*: the firſt died before his Father, but left a Son call'd *Areus*, who

who ſucceeded, and being ſlain at *Corinth*, left the Kingdom to his Son *Acrotatus*: This *Acrotatus* was defeated, and ſlain near *Megalopolis*, in a Battle againſt the Tyrant *Ariſtodemus*; he left his Wife big with Child, who being deliver'd of a Son, *Leonidas* (Son of the above-named *Cleonymus*) was made his Guardian, and the young Man dying in his Minority, he ſucceeded in the Kingdom.

Leonidas was a Man in no great Eſteem with the People: for though there were at that time a general Corruption in Manners, yet a greater Averſion to the old Inſtitutions appear'd in him than in others; for having liv'd a long time among the great Lords of *Perſia*, and been a Follower of King *Seleucus*, he unadviſedly wou'd imitate the Pride and Luxury of thoſe Courts, in the limited Government of a *Grecian* Commonwealth.

Agis on the contrary ſhew'd himſelf to all Men obliging and affable, and did in goodneſs of Nature, and greatneſs of Mind, not only far excel *Leonidas*, but in a manner all the Kings that had reign'd ſince the great *Ageſilaus*. For though he had been bred very tenderly, and in abundance of all things, by his Mother *Ageſiſtrata*, and his Grandmother *Archidamia*, (who were the wealthieſt of the *Lacedemonians*) yet before the Age of twenty, he ſo far overcame himſelf, as to renounce effeminate Pleaſures. He was a very handſom Perſon, and of a graceful Behaviour; yet to give

give a check to the Vanity he might take therein, wou'd go always plain and mean in his Cloaths. In his Diet, Bathings, and in all his Exerciſes, he choſe to imitate the old *Laconian* Frugality and Temperance, and was often heard to ſay, He wou'd not deſire the Kingdom, if he did not hope by means of that Authority to reſtore their ancient Laws and Diſcipline.

The *Lacedemonians* might date the beginning of their Corruption from their Conqueſt of *Athens*, from which time they began to be full of Gold and Silver: yet nevertheleſs the *Agrarian* Law remaining in force, (by which every one was oblig'd to leave his Lot or Portion of Land, together with his Houſe, entirely to his Son) a kind of Order and Equality was thereby maintain'd, which ſtill in ſome degree preſerv'd them from Ruine. But one *Epitadeus* happening to be *Ephore*, a Man of a factious violent Spirit, and on ſome occaſion incens'd againſt his Son, he procur'd a Decree, that all Men ſhou'd have liberty to diſpoſe of their Land by Gift or Sale, or by their laſt Will and Teſtament; which being promoted by him to ſatisfie a Paſſion of Revenge, and through Covetouſneſs conſented to by others, an excellent Inſtitution was abrogated; the effect whereof was, that the monied Men coveting to poſſeſs the Land, the right Heirs were by degrees diſinherited, and all the Wealth being in the hands of a few, the generality were

were poor and miſerable; Liberal Arts and Sciences were neglected, and the City fill'd with a mean ſort of Mechanicks, always envious, and hating the Rich: there did not remain above 700 of the old *Spartan* Families, of which perhaps 100 might have Eſtates in Land; the reſt had neither Wealth nor Honour, were ſluggiſh and unperforming in the War abroad, and ever greedy of Novelty and Change at home.

Agis therefore believing it a glorious Action, (as in truth it was) to re-people the City, and to bring them back to their firſt Inſtitution, began to ſound the Inclinations of the Citizens. He found the young Men diſpos'd beyond his expectation; for being taken with the ſpecious name of Liberty, they ſeem'd as ready to ſhift their Manners as their Cloaths; but the old Men habituated and more confirm'd in their Vices, were ſtartled at the very Name of *Lycurgus*, as a fugitive Slave fears to be brought back before his offended Maſter: theſe Men cou'd not endure to hear *Agis* continually deploring the preſent ſtate of *Sparta*, and wiſhing ſhe might be reſtor'd to her ancient Glory. But on the other ſide, *Lyſander*, the Son of *Lybis*; *Mandroclidas*, the Son of *Ecphanes*, together with *Ageſilaus*, did not only approve his Deſign, but aſſiſted and confirm'd him in it. *Lyſander* had a great Authority and Credit with the People; *Mandroclidas* was eſteem'd the ableſt Man of his time, to manage

nage any Affair in the *Grecian* Aſſemblies, and join'd with Skill and Cunning, had a great degree of Boldneſs; *Ageſilaus* was the King's Uncle by the Mother's ſide, an eloquent Man, but covetous and voluptuous; he was not mov'd by any conſideration of publick Good, but rather ſeem'd to be perſwaded to it by his Son *Hypomedon*, (whoſe Courage and ſignal Actions in War had gain'd him a high Eſteem among the young Men of *Sparta*) though indeed the true Motive was, becauſe he had many Debts, and hop'd by this means to be freed from them. As ſoon as *Agis* had prevail'd with his Uncle, he endeavour'd by his mediation to gain his Mother alſo, who being exceeding rich, had by her many Creditors, Friends and Followers, a conſiderable Power in the City. At the firſt Propoſal ſhe was very averſe, and earneſtly advis'd her Son not to engage in ſo difficult and ſo dangerous an Enterprize; but *Ageſilaus* endeavour'd to poſſeſs her, that the thing was not ſo difficult as ſhe imagin'd, and that it might in all likelihood redound to the great Honour and Advantage of her Family. The King her Son earneſtly beſought her, not to decline aſſiſting him in ſo glorious a Deſign; he told her, he cou'd not pretend to equal other Kings in Riches, the very Followers and Servants of *Seleucus* or *Ptolomy*, abounding more in Wealth than all the *Spartan* Kings put together: but if by Moderation and Contempt of Wealth and Plea-

ſure, he could ſurpaſs their Luxury and Abundance, if he could reſtore their former Equality to the *Spartans*, then he ſhou'd be a great King indeed. In concluſion, the Mother and the Grandmother alſo were ſo taken with the young Man's generous Ambition, that they not only conſented, but were ready on all occaſions to ſpur him on to a Perſeverance, and did engage with him not only the Men with whom they had an Intereſt, but the Women alſo, knowing well that the *Lacedemonian* Wives had always a great Power with their Husbands, who us'd to impart to them their State-Affairs, with greater freedom than the Women wou'd communicate with the Men in the private Buſineſs of their Families: which was indeed one of the greateſt Obſtacles to this Deſign; for the Money of *Sparta* being moſt of it in the Womens hands, 'twas their Intereſt to oppoſe it, not only as depriving them of thoſe ſuperfluous Trifles, in which through want of Vertue they plac'd their chief Felicity, but alſo becauſe they knew their Riches was the main ſupport of their Power and Credit.

Thoſe therefore who were of this Faction, had recourſe to *Leonidas*, repreſenting to him, how it was his part, as the elder and more experienc'd, to put a ſtop to the ill-adviſed Projects of a raſh young Man. *Leonidas*, though of himſelf ſufficiently inclin'd to oppoſe *Agis*, durſt not openly for fear of the People, who did

did manifeſtly favour him, and were deſirous of this change; but under-hand he did all he cou'd to incenſe the chief Magiſtrates againſt him, and on all occaſions craftily inſinuated, that *Agis* having deſign'd an Arbitrary Government, wou'd divide among the Poor what belong'd to the Rich; that he would declare all Debts paid, and divide the Lands as a Bribe for a future Service: That inſtead of ſo many rich Citizens of *Sparta*, he might have a Company of Slaves to be his Guard.

Agis nevertheleſs little regarding theſe Rumors, caus'd *Lyſander* to be choſen *Ephore*; then took the firſt occaſion of propoſing his *Rhetra* or Decree to the Senate, the chief Articles whereof were theſe: *That every one ſhou'd be free from their Debts: All the Lands to be divided into equal Portions: Thoſe that lay betwixt the Valley of* Pellene *and Mount* Tegetum, *as far as the Cities of* Mallea *and* Sellaſia, *into* 4500 *Lots*; *the Remainder into* 15000; *theſe laſt to be ſhar'd by ſome choſen out of the adjacent Countries, Men able and fit to bear Arms: The firſt among the natural* Spartans, *admitting alſo of Strangers to ſupply their Number, thoſe who were young, vigorous, well educated, and ingenious. All theſe were to be divided into fifteen Companies, ſome of four hundred, and ſome of two, with a Diet and Diſcipline agreeable to the Laws of* Lycurgus.

This Decree being propos'd in the Senate, occaſion'd a hot Debate; ſo that *Lyſander* doubting the Event, wou'd not expect the

Iſſue, but immediately convok'd the great Aſſembly of the People, to whom he, *Mandroclidas* and *Ageſilaus* made Orations, exhorting them, that they wou'd not ſuffer the Majeſty of *Sparta* to be brought into Contempt, to gratifie a few rich Men, who by ſpecious Pretences endeavour'd to delude them, only that they themſelves might paſs their time in Riot and Delights. They bad them call to mind, how ancient Oracles had forewarn'd them to beware of Avarice, as the very Plague and utter Ruine of *Sparta*; That they ſhou'd think of the Oracle lately deliver'd from the famous Temple of *Paſiphae* in *Thelamia*. Some ſay, this *Paſiphae* was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, who had by *Jupiter* a Son call'd *Ammon*: Others are of opinion, it was *Caſſandra*, the Daughter of King *Priamus*, who dying in this place, was call'd *Paſiphae*, as who ſhou'd ſay, clearly revealing Secrets, as the Light diſcovers all things to the Eye. *Phylarchus* ſays, that this was *Daphne*, the Daughter of *Amiclas*, who flying from *Apollo*, was transform'd into a Lawrel, and honour'd by that God with the Gift of Prophecy. But be it as it will, 'tis certain the People were made to apprehend, that this Oracle had commanded them to return to their former ſtate of Equality ſettled by *Lycurgus*. As ſoon as theſe had done ſpeaking, *Agis* ſtood up, and ſaid, He wou'd not amuſe them with vain words, but contribute to what had been propos'd for their Advantage,

tage by real Effects. In the first place, he wou'd divide among them all his Patrimony, which was of large extent in Tillage and Pasture; he wou'd also give 600 Talents in ready Money, and that his Mother, Grandmother, and his other Friends and Relations, who were the richest of the *Lacedemonians*, were ready to follow his Example. The People transported with admiration of the young Man's Generosity, highly applauded, and loudly declar'd, there had not been for 300 years so worthy a King in *Sparta*.

But on the other side, *Leonidas* was now more than ever averse, being sensible that he and his Friends wou'd be oblig'd to contribute with their Riches, and yet all the Honour and Obligation wou'd redound to *Agis*. He ask'd him then before them all, Whether *Lycurgus* were not in his opinion a wise Man, and a Lover of his Country? *Agis* answering, He was: And when did *Lycurgus* (reply'd *Leonidas*) cancel Debts, or admit of Strangers? he who thought the Commonwealth not secure unless they were excluded. To this *Agis* reply'd, 'Tis no wonder that *Leonidas*, who has married, and has Children by a Wife taken out of a *Persian* Court, shou'd know little of *Lycurgus*, or his Laws. *Lycurgus* took away both Debts and Usury, by taking away Money, and excluded Strangers, such as wou'd not conform to the Laws of his Commonwealth, not for any Ill-will to them, but lest they shou'd in-

fect the City with their Covetouſneſs; for otherwiſe 'tis well known, that he himſelf gladly kept *Terpander*, *Thales* and *Phericides*, though they were Strangers, becauſe he perceiv'd they were of the ſame mind with him. *And you that uſe to praiſe* Ecprepes, *who being* Ephore, *cut off two of the nine Strings from the Inſtrument of* Phrynis *the Muſician, and to commend thoſe who did afterwards imitate him, in cutting the Strings of* Timotheus's *Harp, with what face can you blame me, for deſigning to cut off Superfluity and Luxury from the Commonwealth? Do you think thoſe Men were ſo concern'd only about a Fiddle-ſtring, or intended any thing elſe, than by checking the Voluptuouſneſs of Muſick, to keep out a way of living, which might deſtroy the Harmony of the City.*

From this time forward, as the common People follow'd *Agis*, ſo the rich Men adher'd to *Leonidas*, who joining his Authority with their Intereſt, things were ſo manag'd in the Senate, (whoſe chief Power conſiſted in preparing all Laws before they were propos'd to the People) that with much ado the deſigned *Rhetra* or Decree of *Agis* was rejected, though but by one only Vote; whereupon *Lyſander*, who (as we ſaid) was *Ephore*, and of *Agis* his Party, reſolving to be reveng'd on *Leonidas*, drew up an Information againſt him, grounded on two old Laws: The one forbids any of the Race of *Hercules* to marry a Stranger; and the other makes it capital for a *Lacedemonian*

demonian to travel into foreign Countries. Whilſt he ſet others on to manage this Accuſation, he with his Colleagues went to obſerve the Stars, which was a Cuſtom they had, and perform'd in this manner. Every ninth year the *Ephore* chuſing a Star-light Night, (when there was neither Cloud nor Moon) ſat down together in quiet and ſilence; and if they chanc'd to ſpy the ſhooting of a Star, they preſently pronounc'd their King guilty of ſome great Crime againſt the Gods, and thereupon he was immediately ſecluded from all Exerciſe of Regal Power, till he cou'd be reliev'd by an Oracle from *Delphos* or *Olympus*.

Lyſander therefore aſſur'd the People, he had ſeen a Star ſhoot, and at the ſame time *Leonidas* was cited to anſwer for himſelf. Witneſſes were produc'd to teſtifie he had married an *Aſian* Woman, beſtow'd on him by one of King *Seleucus* his Lieutenants; that he had two Children by her, but there happening ſome difference betwixt them, ſhe did ſo mortally hate him, that flying from her, he was in a manner forc'd to return to *Sparta*, where his Predeceſſor dying without Iſſue, he took upon him the Government. *Lyſander* not content with this, perſwades alſo *Cleombrotus* to lay claim to the Kingdom: he was of the Royal Family, and Son-in-law to *Leonidas*, who fearing now the event of this Proceſs, was fled to the Temple of *Juno*, call'd *Calciæcos*, together with his Daughter, the Wife of *Cle-*

ombrotus, for ſhe in this occaſion reſolv'd to leave her Husband, and to follow her Father. *Leonidas* being again cited, and not appearing, they pronounc'd a Sentence of Depoſition againſt him, and made *Cleombrotus* King in his place.

Soon after this Revolution, *Lyſander* (his year expiring) went out of Office, and new *Ephore* were choſen of the contrary Faction, who immediately conſpiring to reſtore *Leonidas*, cited *Lyſander* and *Mandroclidas* to anſwer, for having, contrary to Law, cancell'd Debts, and deſign'd a new Diviſion of Lands. They ſeeing themſelves in danger, had recourſe to the two Kings, and repreſented to them, how neceſſary it was for their Intereſt and Safety reſolutely to unite, thereby to prevent the Deſigns of the *Ephore*, and put a ſtop to their Encroachments. The Power of the *Ephore* (they ſaid) was only grounded on the Diſſention of Kings, the Law having in that caſe provided that they ſhould determine whoſe Deſigns were moſt beneficial to the Commonwealth; but when the two Kings were unanimous, none ought or durſt reſiſt their Authority. *Agis* and *Cleombrotus* thus perſwaded, went together with their Friends into the Market-place, where raiſing the *Ephore* from their Seats, they plac'd others in their room, (of which *Ageſilaus* was one:) then arming a Company of young Men, and releaſing many out of Priſon, thoſe of the contrary Faction began to

to be in great fear of their Lives; but there was no Bloud ſpilt. *Agis* on the contrary having notice that *Ageſilaus* had order'd a Company of Soldiers to lye in wait for *Leonidas*, to kill him as he fled to *Tegea*, immediately ſent ſome of his Followers to defend him, and to convoy him ſafely into that City.

Thus far all things proceeded proſperouſly, none daring to oppoſe; but by the ſordid Avarice of one Man, theſe promiſing Beginnings were blaſted. *Ageſilaus* (as we ſaid) was much in Debt, yet had a fair Eſtate in Land, and though he gladly join'd in this Deſign to be quit of his Debts, he was not at all willing to part with his Land; therefore he perſwaded *Agis*, that if both theſe things ſhould be put in execution at the ſame time, ſo great and ſo ſudden an Alteration might cauſe ſome dangerous Commotion; but if Debts were in the firſt place cancell'd, the rich Men would afterwards more eaſily be prevail'd with to part with their Land. *Lyſander* alſo was of the ſame opinion, being deceiv'd in like manner by the Craft of *Ageſilaus*; ſo that all Men were preſently commanded to bring in their Bonds (or Deeds of Obligation, by the *Lecedemonians* call'd *Claria*) into the Market-place, which being laid together in a Heap, they ſet Fire to it. The Uſurers and and other Creditors, one may eaſily imagine, beheld it with a heavy Heart, but *Ageſilaus* told

told them ſcoffingly, His Eyes had never ſeen ſo bright and ſo glorious a Flame.

And now the People preſs'd earneſtly for a diviſion of Lands: The Kings alſo had order'd it ſhou'd be done; but *Ageſilaus* ſometimes pretending one Difficulty, and ſometimes another, delay'd the Execution, till an occaſion happen'd to call *Agis* to the Wars. The *Achæans*, in vertue of a League defenſive, ſent to demand Succours, for they expected every Day when the *Ætolians* wou'd attempt to enter *Peloponeſus*, by the Confines of *Megara*: They had made *Aratus* their General, and ſent him with an Army to hinder this Incurſion. *Aratus* writ to the *Ephore*, who immediately gave order *Agis* ſhou'd haſten to their Aſſiſtance with the *Lacedemonian* Auxiliaries. *Agis* was extremely well pleas'd to ſee the forwardneſs of the Young Men to this Expedition; for though they were very poor, yet freed from Debts, and in hope of being Maſters of Land at their return, they follow'd chearfully, and in good Equipage. The Cities through which they paſs'd, were in Admiration to ſee how they march'd from one end of *Peloponeſus* to the other, without the leaſt Diſorder, and in a manner without making any Noiſe: It gave them occaſion to diſcourſe with one another, how great might be the Temperance and Modeſty of the ancient *Lacedemonians*, under their famous Captains *Ageſilaus*, *Lyſander* and *Leonidas*, ſince they

they ſaw ſuch Diſcipline and exact Obedience under a King, who perhaps was the youngeſt Man in all the Army. They ſaw alſo how he was content to fare hardly, ready to undergo any Labours, and not to be diſtinguiſh'd by Pomp or Richneſs of Habit, from the meaneſt of his Soldiers. But if by this Moderation and Conduct he gain'd the Love of the Soldiers and the common People, it made him ſtill more odious to the Rich and Powerful, who were afraid ſuch an Example might work an Impreſſion to their prejudice, in all the neighbouring Countries.

Agis having join'd *Aratus* near the City of *Corinth*, a Council of War was call'd, to debate whether or no it were expedient to give the Enemy Battle. *Agis* on this occaſion ſhew'd a great Forwardneſs and Reſolution, yet without Obſtinacy or Preſumption: He declar'd it was his Opinion they ought to fight, thereby to hinder the Enemy from entring *Peloponeſus*; but nevertheleſs he wou'd ſubmit to the Judgment of *Aratus*, not only as the elder and more experienc'd Captain, but as he was General of the *Achæans*, whoſe Forces he wou'd not pretend to command, but was only come thither to aſſiſt them. I am not ignorant, that *Baton* of *Synope* relates it in another manner: He ſays, *Aratus* wou'd have fought, and that *Agis* was againſt it; but 'tis moſt certain he was miſtaken, not having read what *Aratus* himſelf writes in his own Juſtification; for he

he expreſly tells us, That knowing the People had well-nigh got in their Harveſt, he thought it much better to let the Enemy paſs, than to hazard by a Battle the loſs of the whole Country: And therefore giving thanks to the Confederates for their readineſs, he diſmiſs'd them. Thus *Agis*, not without having gain'd a great deal of Honour, return'd to *Sparta*, where he found the People in a Mutiny, and all things in Confuſion, occaſion'd by the Avarice and ill Government of *Ageſilaus*.

For he being now one of the *Ephore*, and by that Aurhority freed from the Fear which formerly kept him in ſome reſtraint, forbore no kind of Oppreſſion which might bring in Gain: Among other things he exacted a Thirteenth Months Tax, whereas before they had never paid more than Twelve. For theſe and other Reaſons fearing his Enemies, and knowing how he was hated by the People, he thought it neceſſary to maintain a Guard, which always accompanied him to the Courts of Juſtice; and preſuming now on his Power, he was grown ſo inſolent, that of the two Kings, the one he openly contemn'd; and if he ſhew'd any Reſpect towards *Agis*, wou'd have it thought rather an effect of his near Relation, than any Duty or Submiſſion to the Royal Authority; and being deſirous all Men ſhou'd be confirm'd in a belief of his Power, he gave it out he was to continue *Ephore* the enſuing Year alſo.

His

His Enemies alarum'd by this Report, immediately conſpir'd againſt him, and bringing back *Leonidas* from *Tegea*, re-eſtabliſh'd him in the Kingdom, to which the People (highly incens'd for having been defrauded in the promis'd diviſion of Lands) eaſily conſented. *Ageſilaus* himſelf wou'd hardly have ſcap'd their Fury, if his Son *Hypomedon*, a Man for his Vertues very much much eſteem'd by the People, had not mediated in his behalf, and then privately convey'd him out of the City.

During this Combuſtion, the two Kings fled, *Agis* to the Temple of *Juno*, and *Cleombrotus* to that of *Neptune*. *Leonidas* more incens'd againſt his Son-in-law, meddled not with *Agis*, but with his Soldiers went to *Cleombrotus*'s Sanctuary, and there with great Paſſion reproach'd him for (though he was his Son-in-law) conſpiring with his Enemies, uſurping his Throne, and forcing him from his Country: *Cleombrotus* having little to ſay for himſelf ſtood ſilent. His Wife *Chelonis*, the Daughter of *Leonidas*, had been a Partner with *Leonidas* in his Sufferings; for when *Cleombrotus* uſurp'd the Kingdom, ſhe forſook him, and wholly applied her ſelf to Comfort her Father in his Affliction: Whilſt he was in Sanctuary ſhe ſtaid with him, and when he fled ſhe fled with him, bewailing his Misfortune, and extremely diſpleas'd with *Cleombrotus*: But now upon this turn of Fortune, ſhe was

was as zealous and as aſſiduous in expreſſions of Love and Duty to her Husband, whom ſhe embrac'd with one Arm, and her two little Children with the other. All Men were ſtrangely taken with the Piety and tender Affection of the young Woman, who in a looſe neglected Mourning, with a pale dejected Countenance, and in a ſuppliant Poſture, ſpoke thus to *Leonidas*.

I am not brought to this Condition you ſee me in, nor have taken upon me this mourning Habit, by reaſon of the preſent Misfortunes of Cleombrotus; *'tis long ſince familiar to me: it was put on to condole with you in your Baniſhment; and now you are reſtor'd to your Country, and to your Kingdom, muſt I ſtill remain in Grief and Miſery? Or wou'd you have me attir'd in my Feſtival Ornaments, that I may rejoice with you, when you have kill'd within my Arms, the Man to whom you gave me for a Wife? Either* Cleombrotus *muſt appeaſe you by mine and my Childrens Tears, or he muſt ſuffer a Puniſhment greater than his Faults have deſerv'd: He ſhall infallibly ſee me die before him, whom he has profeſs'd tenderly to love: To what end ſhou'd I live, or how ſhall I appear among the* Spratan *Ladies, when it ſhall ſo manifeſtly be ſeen, that I have not been able to move to Compaſſion neither a Husband nor a Father? I was born, it ſeems, to be diſhonour'd and diſgrac'd, both as a Wife and Daughter, with that Relation which is neareſt to me in each capacity. As for* Cleombrotus, *I have ſufficiently diſown'd his Cauſe, when I forſook him*

to

to follow you; but now you your ſelf will juſtifie his Proceedings, by ſhewing to the World, that for the ſake of a Kingdom it is juſt to kill a Son-in-law, and be regardleſs of a Daughter. *Chelonis* having ended this Lamentation, turn'd her weeping Eyes towards the Spectators, then gently repos'd her Head in her Husband's Boſom.

Leonidas touch'd with Compaſſion, withdrew a while to adviſe with his Friends; then returning, condemn'd *Cleombrotus* to perpetual Baniſhment: *Chelonis*, he ſaid, ought to ſtay with him, it not being juſt ſhe ſhou'd forſake a Father, who had granted at her Interceſſion the Life of her Husband; but all he could ſay wou'd not prevail. She roſe up immediately and taking one of her Children in her Arms, gave the other to her Husband; then having perform'd her Devotions at the Altar where ſhe had taken Sanctuary, ſhe chearfully follow'd him into Baniſhment. To be ſhort, ſo great was the Vertue and Generoſity expreſs'd by *Chelonis* on this occaſion, that if *Cleombrotus* were not ſtrangely blinded by Ambition, he wou'd chuſe to be Baniſh'd with ſo excellent a Woman, rather than without her to poſſeſs a Kingdom.

Cleombrotus thus remov'd, *Leonidas* thought fit alſo to diſplace the *Ephore*, and to chuſe others in their room; then he began to conſider how he might entrap *Agis*. At firſt he endeavour'd by fair means to perſwade him to leave the Sanctuary, and partake with him (as

(as was his Right) in the Kingdom: The People, he ſaid, wou'd eaſily pardon the Errors of a young Man, ambitious of Glory, and deceiv'd by the Craft of *Ageſilaus*. But finding *Agis* was ſuſpicious, and not to be prevail'd with to quit his Sanctuary, he gave over that Deſign; yet what cou'd not then be effected by the Diſſimulation of an Enemy, was ſoon after brought to paſs by the Treachery of a Friend.

Amphares, *Democharis*, and *Archeſilaus*, did often viſit *Agis*, and he was ſo confident of their Fidelity, that after a while he was prevail'd with to accompany them to the Baths, which were not far diſtant, they conſtantly returning to ſee him ſafe again in the Temple. *Amphares* had borrow'd a great deal of Plate and rich Houſhold-ſtuff of *Ageſiſtrata*, and hop'd if he cou'd deſtroy her and the whole Family, he might peaceably enjoy thoſe Goods. To ſo baſe an intent, he was ready to ſerve *Leonidas* in any treacherous way, and being one of the *Ephore*, did all he cou'd to incenſe the reſt of his Colleagues againſt *Agis*. Theſe Men therefore finding that *Agis* wou'd never ſtir from his Sanctuary, but only when he went to the Bath, reſolved to make uſe of that occaſion: And one Day in his return, they met and ſaluted him as formerly, diſcourſing pleaſantly by the way, as familiar Friends uſe to do, till coming to the turning of a Street which led to the Priſon,

Am-

Amphares by virtue of his Office arreſted *Agis*, and told him, He muſt go with him before the other *Ephore*, to anſwer for his Miſdemeanors. At the ſame time *Demochares*, who was a tall ſtrong Man, threw his Cloak over his Head, and dragg'd him after by the Neck, whilſt the others went behind to thruſt him on; ſo that none of *Agis*'s Friends being near to aſſiſt him, they eaſily got him into the Priſon, where *Leonidas* was already arriv'd, with a Company of Soldiers, who ſtrongly guarded all the Avenues: The *Ephore* were alſo there, with as many of the Senators as they knew to be true to their Party, being deſirous to proceed with ſome reſemblance of Juſtice. Firſt they bad him give an Account, why he had gone about to alter the Government? To which *Agis* (only ſmiling at their Craft and Diſſimulation) anſwer'd not a Word: *Amphares* told him, It was more ſeaſonable to weep, for now the time was come in which he ſhou'd be puniſh'd for his Preſumption. Another of the *Ephore* ſeeming more favourable, (and offering as it were an Excuſe) ask'd him, whether he was not forced to what he did by *Ageſilaus* and *Lyſander*? But *Agis* anſwer'd, He had not been conſtrain'd by any Man, nor had any other intent in what he did, but only to follow the Example of *Lycurgus*, and to govern conformably to his Laws. The ſame *Ephore* ask'd him, Whether now at leaſt he did not repent his Raſh-

neſs? To which he reply'd, That tho' he ſaw unavoidable Death before his eyes, yet he cou'd never repent of ſo juſt and ſo glorious a Deſign. They had not the patience to hear him any longer, but commanded the Serjeants to carry him into the Decade, (which was a place in the Priſon where they us'd to ſtrangle Malefactors.) The Officers refus'd to obey, and the very mercenary Soldiers declin'd it, believing it an inſolent and a wicked Act to lay violent hands on a King; which as ſoon as *Demochares* perceiv'd, threatning and reviling them for it, he himſelf thruſt him into the Room.

By this time the News of *Agis* his being ſeiz'd having reach'd all Parts of the City, had occaſion'd a great Concourſe of People with Lanthorns and Torches about the Priſon-gates, and in the midſt of them the Mother and the Grandmother of *Agis*, crying out with a loud Voice, That their King ought to appear, and to be heard by the People, and ſhou'd at leaſt be proceeded with in the uſual Forms of Juſtice. But this Clamour inſtead of preventing, haſten'd his Death, his Enemies fearing if the Tumult ſhou'd increaſe, he might that very night be reſcued out of their hands.

Agis being now at the point to die, perceiv'd one of the Serjeants bitterly bewailing his Misfortune: *Weep not Friend*, (ſays he) *for me, who die innocent, but rather grieve for thoſe*

thoſe who are guilty of this wicked Act; my Condition is much better than theirs. As ſoon as he had ſpoken theſe words, not ſhewing the leaſt ſign of Fear, he patiently ſtretch'd out his Neck to the Executioner.

Immediately after *Agis* was dead, *Amphares* went out of the Priſon-gate, where he found *Ageſiſtrata*, who caſting her ſelf at his feet, he gently rais'd her up, pretending ſtill the ſame Friendſhip as formerly: he aſſur'd her, ſhe need not fear any farther Violence ſhou'd be offer'd againſt her Son; and that if ſhe pleas'd, ſhe might go in and ſee him: ſhe begg'd her Mother might alſo have the favour to be admitted; and he reply'd, No body ſhou'd hinder it. When they were enter'd, he commanded the Gate ſhou'd again be lock'd, and the Grandmother to be firſt introduc'd: ſhe was now grown very old, and had liv'd all her days with great Reputation of Vertue and Wiſdom. As ſoon as *Amphares* thought ſhe was diſpatch'd, he told *Ageſiſtrata*, She might now go in if ſhe pleas'd: ſhe enter'd, where beholding her Son's Body ſtretch'd on the Ground, and her Mother hanging by the Neck, ſhe ſtood at firſt aſtoniſh'd at ſo horrid a Spectacle; but after a while recollecting her Spirits, the firſt thing ſhe did, was to aſſiſt the Soldiers in taking down the Body; then covering it decently, ſhe laid it by her Son's, whom embracing, and kiſſing his Cheeks; *O my Son,* ſaid ſhe, *'tis thy too great*

Mercy and Goodneſs which has brought thee and us to this untimely end. *Amphares*, who ſtood watching behind the door, hearing this, ruſh'd in haſtily, and with a furious Tone and Countenance ſaid to her, *Since you approve ſo well of your Son's Actions, 'tis fit you ſhou'd partake in his Reward.* She riſing up to meet her Deſtiny, only utter'd theſe few words, *I pray the Gods that all this may redound to the good of* Sparta.

And now the three Bodies being expos'd to view, and the Fact divulg'd, no fear of Magiſtrates cou'd hinder the People from expreſſing a deteſtation of it, or from hating the chief Contrivers; and eſpecially *Leonidas* and *Amphares*, they were not afraid openly to declare, that ſo wicked and barbarous an Act had never been committed in *Sparta*, ſince firſt the *Doriens* inhabited *Peloponeſus*; the very Enemies in War, they ſaid, were always cautious of ſpilling the Blood of a *Lacedemonian* King, inſomuch that in any Encounter they wou'd decline, and endeavour to avoid them, ſo great a Reſpect they bore to the Royal Majeſty. I muſt needs ſay, 'tis very remarkable, that in ſo many Battles fought betwixt the *Lacedemonians* and the other *Grecians*, none but *Cleombrotus* was kill'd, being wounded with a Javelin, at the Battle of *Leuctres*, a little before the days of King *Philip* of *Macedon*. I am not ignorant, that the *Meſſenians* affirm, *Theopompus* was alſo ſlain by their *Ariſtomenes*; but the *Lacedemonians* deny it, and ſay, He was only wounded:

wounded: Be it as it will, 'tis certain at leaſt that *Agis* was the firſt King put to death by the *Ephore*, with a form and pretence of Juſtice, and only for having endeavour'd to reduce them to their original Inſtitution, a Deſign well becoming the Courage of a noble *Spartan*.

Thus *Agis* had the fortune to be ill treated by his Enemies, and worſe by his Friends; for if he had reaſon to complain of *Leonidas*, whoſe Life he had ſav'd, much more of *Amphares*, in whoſe Friendſhip he repos'd the higheſt Confidence: ſo unmercifully was he dealt with by others, who being himſelf of a moſt mild and generous Diſpoſition, did deſerve to be belov'd by all Mankind.

THE

LIFE

OF

Cleomenes.

Tranſlated from the Greek, by Mr. Creech, *Fellow of* All-Souls *College in* Oxford.

THUS fell *Agis*. His Brother *Archidamus* was too quick for *Leonidas*, and ſav'd himſelf by a timely Retreat. But his Wife then newly brought to bed, the Tyrant forc'd from her own Houſe, and compell'd

pell'd her to marry his Son *Cleomenes*, though at that time too young for a Wife; for he was unwilling that any one elſe ſhould have her, ſhe being Heireſs to her Father *Gylippus*'s great Eſtate; for Perſon, the fineſt Woman in all *Greece*, very good-natur'd, of an exemplary Life; and therefore, they ſay, ſhe did all ſhe could, that ſhe might not be compell'd to this Match.

Being thus married to *Cleomenes*, ſhe hated *Leonidas*, but to the Youth ſhe ſhow'd her ſelf a kind and obliging Wife. He, as ſoon as they came together, began to love her very much, and the conſtant Kindneſs that ſhe ſtill retain'd for the Memory of *Agis*, wrought ſomewhat of Concern in the young Man for him, ſo that he would often enquire of her concerning what had paſs'd, and attentively liſten to the Story of *Agis*'s Deſigns. Now *Cleomenes* had a generous and great Soul; he was as temperate and moderate in his Pleaſures as *Agis*, but not ſo very cautious, circumſpect and gentle: a ſpur of Paſſion always gall'd him, and his eagerneſs to purſue that which he thought good and juſt, was violent and heavy: to make Men willing to obey, he conceiv'd to be the beſt Diſcipline; but likewiſe to break the ſtubborn, and force them to be better, was in his opinion commendable and brave. This Diſpoſition made him diſlike the management of the City: the Citizens lay diſſolv'd in ſupine Idleneſs and Pleaſures; the

King minded nothing, deſigning, if no body gave him any diſturbance, to waſte his time in Eaſe and Riot; the Publick was neglected, and each Man intent upon his private Gain. 'Twas dangerous, now *Agis* was kill'd, to mention the exerciſing and training of their Youth, and to ſet up for the the ancient Bravery and Equality, was Treaſon againſt the State. 'Tis ſaid alſo that *Cleomenes*, whilſt a Boy, ſtudied Philoſophy under *Sphærus* the *Boryſthenite*, who coming to *Sparta*, was very diligent in inſtructing the Youth: *Sphærus* was one of the chief of *Zeno* the *Citiean*'s Scholars, and 'tis likely that he admir'd the manly temper of *Cleomenes*, and inflam'd his generous Ambition. The ancient *Leonidas* (as Story ſaith) being ask'd, What manner of Poet he thought *Tyrtæus?* reply'd, An excellent one to whet the Courages of Youth, for being fill'd with Fury by his Poems, they daringly ventur'd on any Danger: now the *Stoicks* Philoſophy is a dangerous Incentive to hot and fiery Diſpoſitions, but being mix'd with a grave and cautious temper, is very good to fix and ſettle the Reſolutions.

Upon the Death of his Father *Leonidas*, he ſucceeded, and obſerving the Citizens of all ſorts to be debauch'd, the Rich neglecting the Publick, and intent on their own Gain and Pleaſure, and the Poor being crampt in their private Fortunes, grown unactive, Cowards, and not inclinable to the *Spartan* Inſtitution

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and way of Breeding, that he had only the name of King, and the *Ephore* all the Power, was reſolv'd to change the preſent poſture of Affairs. He had a Friend whoſe name was *Xenares*, his Lover, (ſuch an Affection the *Spartans* expreſs by the word Ἐμπνεῦσθαι) him he ſounded, and of him he would commonly enquire, What manner of King *Agis* was; by what means, and by what Aſſiſtance he began and purſu'd his Deſigns. *Xenares* at firſt willingly comply'd with his Requeſt, and told him the whole Story, with all the particular Circumſtances of the Actions. But when he obſerv'd *Cleomenes* to be extremely affected at the Relation, and more than ordinarily mov'd at *Agis*'s new Model of the Government, and begging a repetition of the Story, he at firſt ſeverely chid him, told him, He was frantick, and at laſt left off all ſort of Familiarity and Converſation with him, yet he never told any Man the Cauſe of their Diſagreement, but would only ſay, *Cleomenes knew very well.* *Cleomenes* finding *Xenares* averſe to his Deſigns, and thinking all others to be of the ſame opinion, conſulted with none, but contriv'd the whole Buſineſs by himſelf. And conſidering that it would be eaſier to bring about an Alteration when the City was at War, than when in Peace, he engag'd the Commonwealth in a Quarrel with the *Acheans*, who had given them fair occaſions to complain: for *Aratus*, a Man of the greateſt Pow-

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er amongſt all the *Acheans*, deſign'd from the very beginning to bring all the *Peloponeſians* into one common Body. And to effect this, he undertook many Expeditions, and ran through a long courſe of Policy; for he thought this the only means to make them an equal Match for their foreign Enemies: All the reſt agreed to his Propoſals, only the *Lacedemonians*, the *Eleans*, and as many of the *Arcadians* as inclin'd to the *Spartan* Intereſt, refus'd. Therefore as ſoon as *Leonidas* was dead, he fell upon the *Arcadians*, and waſted thoſe eſpecially that border'd on *Achaia*; by this means deſigning to try the Inclinations of the *Spartans*, and deſpiſing *Cleomenes* as a Youth, and of no Experience in Affairs of State or War. Upon this the *Ephore* ſent *Cleomenes* to ſurpriſe the *Athenæum* (dedicated to *Minerva*) near *Belbina*, which is a Paſs of *Laconia*, and was then under the Juriſdiction of the *Megalopolitans*: *Cleomenes* poſſeſt himſelf of the place, and fortified it; at which Action *Aratus* ſhew'd no publick Reſentment, but march'd by Night to ſurpriſe *Tegea* and *Orchomenium*. The Deſign fail'd; for thoſe that were to betray the Cities into his Hands, doubted the Succeſs; ſo *Aratus* retreated, imagining that his Deſign had been undiſcovered: But *Cleomenes* wrote a jeering Letter to him, and deſired to know, as from a Friend, whither he intended to march at night? And *Aratus* anſwering, That having underſtood his Deſign to fortifie *Belbi-*

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na, he reſolv'd to march thither to oppoſe him. *Cleomenes* return'd, That he believ'd it, but deſir'd him to give him an Account, if it ſtood with his Convenience, why he carried thoſe Torches and Ladders with him.

Aratus laughing at the Jeer, and asking what manner of Youth this was; *Democrites*, a *Spartan* Exile, replied, *If you have any Deſigns upon the* Lacedemonians, *begin before this young Eagle's Talons are grown.* Preſently after this, *Cleomenes* being in *Arcadia* with a few Horſe, and 300 Foot, the *Ephore* fearing to engage in the War, commanded him home; but upon his Retreat, *Aratus* taking *Caphuæ*, they commiſſion'd him again, In this Expedition he took *Methudrium*, and ſpoiled the Country of the *Argives*: The *Achaians*, to ſtop his Victory, and ſecure his Friends, ſent 20000 Foot and 1000 Horſe againſt him, under the Command of *Ariſtomachus*. *Cleomenes* fac'd them at *Palantium*, and offer'd Battle: But *Aratus* being daſh'd at his Bravery, would not ſuffer the General to engage, but retreated, being curs'd by the *Achæans*, and hooted at, and ſcorn'd by the *Spartans*, who were not above 5000, for a Coward. *Cleomenes*, encouraged by this Succeſs, began to vaunt among the Citizens a Sentence of one of their Ancient Kings, who ſaid, *The* Spartans *ſeldom enquired how many their Enemies were, but where they were.* After this, marching to the Aſſiſtance of the *Eleans*, upon whom the *Achaians* warr'd

warr'd, and about *Lycæum* falling upon the Enemy in their Retreat, he routed their whole Army, taking a great number of Captives, and leaving many dead upon the Place; ſo that it was commonly reported amongſt the Greeks that *Aratus* was ſlain. But *Aratus* making the beſt Advantage of the Opportunity, preſently after the Defeat, march'd to *Mantinæa*, and before any body ſuſpected it, took the City, and put a new Gariſon into it. Upon this, the *Lacedemonians* being quite diſcouraged, and oppoſing *Cleomenes*'s Deſign of carrying on the War, he was eager to ſend for *Archidamus*, *Agis*'s Brother from *Meſena*, for he of the other Family had a right to the Kingdom; and beſide, *Cleomenes* thought that the Power of the *Ephore* would be abated, when the Kingly State was fill'd up, and equally poiſed between the Two Families. But thoſe that were concern'd in the Murther of *Agis* underſtanding the Deſign, and fearing that upon *Archidamus*'s Return they ſhould be called to an Account, receiv'd him coming privately into Town, waited on him, and preſently after murther'd him; but whether *Cleomenes* was againſt it, (as *Phylarchus* imagines) or whether he was perſwaded by his Friends, or wink'd at the Contrivance, is uncertain; however, they were moſt blam'd, as having forc'd his Conſent. But he ſtill reſolving to new-model the State, brib'd the *Ephore* to make him General: And won the Affections of

of many others by means of his Mother *Crateſiclæa*, who ſpared no Coſt, and was very zealous to promote the ſame Intereſt; and though of her ſelf ſhe had no Inclination to marry, yet for her Son's ſake, ſhe wedded one of the chiefeſt Citizens for Wealth and Power. *Cleomenes* marching forth with the Army now under his Command, took *Leuctra*, a Place belonging to *Megalopolis*; and the *Achæans* quickly facing him with a good Body of Men commanded by *Aratus*, in a Battle under the very Walls of the City, ſome part of his Army was routed. But *Aratus* commanding the *Achæans* not to paſs a deep Hollow, and ſtopping the Purſuit, *Lydiadas*, the *Megalopolitan*, fretting at the Orders, and encouraging the Horſe which he led, and purſuing the routed Enemy, fell into a Place full of Vines, Hedges, and Ditches; and being forc'd to break his Ranks, was put into a great Diſorder. *Cleomenes* obſerving the Advantage, commanded the *Tarentines* and *Cretans* to engage him, by whom, after a brave Diſpute, he was routed and ſlain. The *Lacedemonians* thus encouraged with a great ſhout, fell upon the *Achæans*, and routed their whole Army. Of the ſlain, which were very many, ſome *Cleomenes* delivered upon Articles, but the Body of *Lydiadas* he commanded to be brought to him; and then putting on it a purple Robe, and a Crown upon its Head, ſent a Convoy with it to the Gates of *Megalopolis*. This *Ly-*

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diadas was the Man that reſign'd his Crown, reſtor'd Liberty to the Citizens, and join'd the City to the *Achæan* Intereſt. *Cleomenes* being very much raiſed by this Succeſs; and perſwaded, that if matters were wholly at his Diſpoſal, he ſhould quickly be too hard for the *Achæans*. He taught *Megiſtones*, his Mother's Husband, That 'twas expedient for the State to ſhake off the Power of the *Ephore*, and to put all their Wealth into one common Stock for the whole Body: That *Sparta*, being reſtor'd to its old Equality, might be rais'd up to be Miſtreſs of all *Greece*. *Megiſtones* liked the Deſign, and engag'd Two or Three more of his Friends. About that time one of the *Ephore* ſleeping in *Paſiphae*'s Temple, dream'd a very ſurprizing Dream; for he thought he ſaw the Four Chairs removed out of the Place where the *Ephore* uſed to ſit and hear Cauſes, and one only ſet there; and whilſt he wondred, he heard a Voice out of the Temple, ſaying, *This is beſt for* Sparta. The Perſon telling *Cleomenes* this Dream, he was a little troubled at firſt, fearing that he us'd this as a Trick to ſift him, upon ſome Suſpicion of his Deſign; but when he was ſatisfied that the Relator ſpoke truth, he took heart again; and taking with him thoſe whom he thought would be againſt his Model, he took *Eræa* and *Alcæa*, Two Cities of the *Achæans*, furniſh'd *Orchomenium* with Proviſions, beſieg'd *Mantinæa*; and with long Marches ſo haraſs'd the

the *Lacedemonians*, that many of them deſir'd to be left in *Arcadia*; and he ſatisfy'd their Requeſt. With the Mercenaries he march'd to *Sparta*, and by the way communicated his Deſign to thoſe whom he thought fitteſt for his Purpoſe, and march'd ſlowly that he might catch the *Ephore* at Supper. When he was come near the City, he ſent *Euricleidas* to the *Suſſititium*, the Eating-place of the *Ephore*, under Pretence of carrying ſome Meſſage from him from the Army: *Threicion*, *Phœbis*, and Two of thoſe which were bred with *Cleomenes*, which they call *Samothracæ*, follow'd with a few Soldiers: And whilſt *Eurycleidas* was delivering his Meſſage to the *Ephore*, they ran upon them with their drawn Swords, and ſlew them. *Ageſilaus*, as ſoon as he was run through, fell, and lay as dead; but in a little time he roſe, ſilently convey'd himſelf out of the Room, and crept undiſcover'd into a little Houſe, which was the Temple of *Fear*, and which was always us'd to be ſhut, but was then by chance open; being got in, he ſhut the Door, and lay cloſe: The other Four were killed, and above Ten more that came to their Aſſiſtance; to thoſe that were quiet, they did no harm, ſtopt none that fled the City, and ſpar'd *Ageſilaus*, who came out of the Temple the next Day. The *Lacedemonians* have not only Temples dedicated to *Fear*, but alſo to *Death*, *Laughter*, and the like Paſſions: Now they worſhip *Fear*, not as they

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do thoſe Deities which they dread, eſteeming it hurtful, but thinking their Polity is chiefly kept up by Law; and therefore the *Ephore*, (*Ariſtotle* is my Author) when they enter upon their Government, make Proclamation to the People, That they ſhould ſhave their Whiskers, and be obedient to the Laws, that they might not be forc'd to be ſevere; uſing this trivial Particular (in my Opinion) to accuſtom their Youth to Obedience even in the ſmalleſt Matters. And the Ancients, I think, did not imagine Fortitude to be plain Fearleſneſs, but a cautious Fear of Infamy and Diſgrace: For thoſe that ſhow moſt Fear towards the Laws, are moſt bold againſt their Enemies; and thoſe are leaſt afraid of any Danger, who are moſt afraid of a juſt Reproach. Therefore he ſaid well:

A Reverence ſtill attends on Fear.

And *Homer*,

Fear'd you ſhall be, dear Uncle, and rever'd.

And again,

In ſilence fearing thoſe that bore the Sway.

For 'tis very commonly ſeen, that Men Reverence thoſe whom they fear; and therefore the *Lacedemonians* plac'd the Temple of *Fear*

Fear by the *Suſſitium* of the *Ephore*, having rais'd their Power to almoſt abſolute Monarchy.

The next Day *Cleomenes* proſcrib'd 80 of the Citizens, whom he thought neceſſary to baniſh, and remov'd all the Seats of the *Ephore* except one, in which he himſelf deſign'd to ſit, and hear Cauſes; and calling the Citizens together, he made an Apology for his Proceedings, ſaying, That by *Lycurgus* the Senate was join'd to the Kings, and that that model of Government had continued a long time, and needed no other ſort of Magiſtrates to give it perfection. But afterward, in the long War with the *Meſſenians*, when the Kings being to command the Army, had no time to attend civil Cauſes, they choſe ſome of their Friends, and left them to determine the Suits of the Citizens in their ſtead. Theſe were call'd *Ephore*, and at firſt behav'd themſelves as Servants to the Kings; but afterwards, by degrees, they appropriated the Power to themſelves, and erected a diſtinct ſort of Magiſtracy. An Evidence of the Truth of this, may be taken from the uſual Behaviour of the Kings, who upon the firſt and ſecond Meſſage of the *Ephore*, refuſe to go, but upon the third readily attend them: And *Aſteropus*, the firſt that rais'd the *Ephore* to that height of Power, liv'd a great many Years after their Inſtitution; therefore whilſt they modeſtly contain'd themſelves within their own proper

Sphere, 'twas better to bear with them than to make a Diſturbance. But that an upſtart, introduc'd Power, ſhould ſo far deſtroy the old Model of Government, as to baniſh ſome Kings, murther others, without hearing their Defence, and threaten thoſe who deſir'd to ſee the beſt and moſt divine Conſtitution reſtor'd in *Sparta*, was unſufferable. Therefore if it had been poſſible for him, without Bloodſhed, to have free'd *Lacedemon* from thoſe foreign Plagues, Luxury, Vanity, Debts, and Uſury; and from thoſe more ancient Evils, Poverty and Riches, he ſhould have thought himſelf the happieſt King in the World; having, like an expert Phyſician, cur'd the Diſeaſes of his Country without pain. But now in this Neceſſity, *Lycurgus*'s Example favour'd his Proceedings; who being neither King, nor Magiſtrate, but a private Man, and aiming at the Kingdom, came arm'd into the Market-place, and for fear of the King *Carileus*, fled to the Altar: But he being a good Man, and a Lover of his Country, readily conſented to *Lycurgus*'s Project, and admitted an Alteration in the State. Thus, by his own Actions, *Lycurgus* ſhow'd, That it was difficult to correct the Government without Force and Fear; in uſing which, he ſaid, he would be ſo moderate, as never to deſire their Aſſiſtance; but either to terrify or ruin the Enemies of *Sparta*'s Happineſs and Safety. He commanded that all the Land ſhould be left

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in common, and private Claims laid aſide: That Debtors ſhould be diſcharg'd of their Debts, and a ſtrict Search made, who were Foreigners, and who not: That the true *Spartans*, recovering their Courage, might defend the City with their Arms, and that they may no longer ſee *Laconia*, for want of a ſufficient Number to ſecure it, waſted by the *Ætolians* and *Illyrians*. Then he himſelf firſt, with his Father-in-Law *Megiſtones*, and his Friends, brought all their Wealth into one publick Stock, and all the other Citizens follow'd the Example: The Land was divided, and every one that he had baniſh'd, had a Share aſſign'd him; for he promis'd to reſtore all, as ſoon as Things were ſettled and in quiet; and completing the common Number of Citizens, out of the beſt and moſt agreeable of the neighbouring Inhabitants, he rais'd a Body of 4000 Men; and inſtead of a Spear, taught them to uſe a *Sariſſa*, (a long Pike) with both Hands, and to carry their Shields by a String faſtned round their Arms, and not by a Handle, as before. After this, he began to conſult about the exerciſing and breeding of the Youth, (many Particulars of which, *Sphærus* being then at *Sparta*, directed) and in a ſhort Time the Schools of Exerciſe, and their *Syſſitia*, (common Eating-places) recover'd their ancient Decency and Order, a few out of neceſſity, but the moſt voluntarily applying themſelves to that Generous and

Laconick Way of Living: Beſides, that the Name of Monarch might give them no Jealouſy, he made *Eucleidas*, his Brother, Partner in the Throne; and that was the only Time that *Sparta* had Two Kings of the ſame Family. Then underſtanding that the *Achæans*, and *Aratus*, imagin'd that this Change had diſturb'd and ſhaken his Affairs, and that he would not venture out of *Sparta*, and leave the City now unſettled by ſo great an Alteration, he thought it great and ſerviceable to his Deſigns, to convince his Enemies that he was eagerly deſirous of a War: And therefore making an Incurſion into the Territories of *Megalopolis*, he waſted the Country very much, and got a conſiderable Booty. And at laſt taking thoſe that us'd to act in the publick Solemnities travelling from *Meſſena*, and building a Theatre in the Enemies Country, and ſetting a Prize of 40 *l.* Value, he ſat Spectator a whole Day; not that he either deſir'd or needed ſuch a Divertiſement, but as it were inſulted o'er his Enemies; and that by thus manifeſtly deſpiſing them, he might ſhow that he had more than conquer'd the *Achæans*: For that alone, of all the Greek or Kings Armies, had no Stage-players, no Jugglers, no Dancing or Singing-women attending it; but was free from all ſorts of Looſneſs, Wantonneſs, and Foppery: The young Men being for the moſt part upon Duty, and the old Men teaching them at leiſure-time to apply

apply themſelves to their uſual Drollery, and to rally one another facetiouſly after the *Laconick* Faſhion; the Advantages of which I have diſcover'd in the Life of *Lycurgus*. He himſelf inſtructed all by his Example: He was a living Pattern of Temperance before every Man's Eyes; and his courſe of Living, was neither more ſtately, nor more expenſive, than any of the Commons. And this was a conſiderable Advantage to him in his Deſigns on *Greece*: For Men when they waited upon others Kings, did not ſo much admire their Wealth, coſtly Furniture, and numerous Attendance, as they hated their Pride and State, their difficulty of Acceſs, and ſcornful commanding Anſwers to their Petitions. But when they came to *Cleomenes*, who was both really a King, and bore that Title, and ſaw no Purple, no Robes of State upon him, no Chairs and Couches about him for his eaſe; and that he did not receive Petitions, and return Anſwers after a long delay, by a number of Meſſengers, Waiters, or by Bills, but that he roſe and came forward to meet thoſe that came to wait upon him, ſtaid, talk'd freely and graciouſly with all that had Buſineſs, they were extremely taken, won to his Service, and profeſs'd that he alone was the true Son of *Hercules*. His common every Days Meal was in a mean Room, very ſparing, and after the *Laconick* manner; and when he entertain'd Ambaſſadors, or Strangers, Two

more Beds were added, and a little better Dinner provided by his Servants; but no Fricacies, no Dainties, only the Diſhes were larger, and the Wine more plentiful: For he reprov'd one of his Friends for entertaining ſome Strangers with nothing but Pulſe, and black Broth, ſuch Diet as they uſually had in their *Phiditia*; ſaying, That upon ſuch Occaſions, and when they treat Strangers, 'twas not requiſite to be too exact *Laconians*. After Supper, a Stand was brought in, with a braſs Veſſel full of Wine, Two ſilver Pots, which held almoſt a Quart a-piece, a few ſilver Cups, of which he that pleas'd might drink, but no Liquor was forc'd on any of the Gueſts. There was no Muſick, nor was any requir'd; for he entertain'd the Company, ſometimes asking Queſtions, ſometimes telling Stories: And his Diſcourſe was neither too grave, and unpleaſantly ſerious, nor vain and abuſive, but merrily facetious; for he thought thoſe ways of catching Men by Gifts and Preſents, which other Kings uſe, to be mean and inartificial; and it ſeem'd to him to be the moſt glorious Method, and moſt ſuitable to a King, to win the Affections of thoſe that came near him, by pleaſant Diſcourſe, and unaffected Converſation: For a Friend and Mercenary differ only in this, That the one is made by Converſation and agreeableneſs of Humour, and the other by Reward. The *Mantineans* were the firſt that oblig'd him; for getting by Night into

into the City, and driving out the *Achæan* Garison, they put themselves under his Protection: He restor'd them their Polity and Laws, and the same Day march'd to *Tegea*; and a little while after, fetching a Compass through *Arcadia*, he made a Descent upon *Pheræ* in *Achaia*, intending to force *Aratus* to a Battle, or bring him into Disrepute, for refusing to engage, and suffering him to waste the Country: *Hyperbatas* at that time commanded the Army, but *Aratus* had all the Power amongst the *Achæans*. The *Achæans* marching forth with their whole Strength, and incamping in *Dumæa*, about *Hecatombæum*, *Cleomenes* came up, and thinking it not advisable to pitch between *Dumæa*, a City of the Enemies, and the Camp of the *Achæans*, he boldly dar'd the *Achæans*, and forc'd them to a Battle, and routing the *Phalanx*, slew a great many in the Fight, and took many Prisoners; thence marching to *Lagon*, and driving out the *Achæan* Garison, he restor'd the City to the *Eleans*. The Affairs of the *Achæans* being in this desperate Condition, *Aratus*, who was wont to continue in his Government above a Year, refus'd the Command, though they entreated and urg'd him to accept it; and this was ill done, when the Storm was high, to put the Power out of his own Hands, and set another to the Helm. *Cleomenes* at first proposed fair and easy Conditions by his Ambassadors to the *Achæans*; but afterward he sent others,

and requir'd the chief Command to be ſettled upon him; and in other Matters he promis'd to agree to reaſonable Terms, and to reſtore their Captives, and their Country. The *Achæans* were willing to come to an Agreement upon thoſe Terms, and invited *Cleomenes* to *Lerna*, where an Aſſembly was to be held; but it hapned that *Cleomenes* haſtily marching on, and unreaſonably drinking Water, brought up abundance of Blood, and loſt his Voice: Therefore being unable to continue his March, he ſent the chiefeſt of the Captives to the *Achæans*, and putting off the Meeting for ſome time, retir'd to *Lacedemon*. This ruin'd the Affairs of *Greece*, which was juſt then ready to recover it ſelf out of its Diſaſters, and avoid the Inſulting and Covetouſneſs of the *Macedonians*: For *Aratus*, whether fearing or diſtruſting *Cleomenes*, or envying his unlook'd-for Succeſs, or thinking it a Diſgrace for him who had commanded Thirty three Years, to have a young Man ſucceed to all his Glory and his Power, and be Head of that Government which he had been raiſing and ſettling ſo many Years; he firſt endeavour'd to keep the *Achæans* from cloſing with *Cleomenes*; but when they would not hearken to him, fearing *Cleomenes*'s daring Spirit, and thinking the *Lacedemonians* Propoſals to be very reaſonable, who deſign'd only to reduce *Peloponeſus* to its old Model, he took his laſt Refuge, in an Action which was unbecoming any

any of the *Greeks*, moſt diſhonourable to him, and moſt unworthy his former Bravery and Exploits: For he call'd *Antigonus* into *Greece*, and fill'd *Peloponeſus* with *Macedonians*, whom he himſelf, when a Youth, having beaten their Gariſon out of the Caſtle of *Corinth*, had driven from the ſame Country; beſides, he declar'd himſelf an Enemy to all Kings, and hath left many diſhonourable Stories of this ſame *Antigonus*, in thoſe Commentaries which he wrote. And though he declares, that he ſuffer'd conſiderable Loſſes, and underwent great Dangers, that he might free *Athens* from the Power of the *Macedonians*, yet afterward he brought the very ſame Men arm'd into his own Country, and his own Houſe, even to the Womens Apartment. He would not endure, that one of the Family of *Hercules*, and King of *Sparta*, and one that had reform'd the Polity of his Country, as it were a diſorder'd Harmony, and tun'd it to the plain *Doric* Meaſure of *Lycurgus*, ſhould be ſtyl'd, Head of the *Triccæans* and *Sicyonians*; and whilſt he fled the Pulſe, and ſhort Coat, and, which were his chief Accuſations againſt *Cleomenes*, the extirpation of Wealth, and reformation of Poverty, he baſely ſubjected himſelf, together with *Achæa*, to the Diadem and Purple, to the imperious Commands of the *Macedonians*, and their *Satrapæ*. That he might not ſeem to be under *Cleomenes*, he ſacrific'd the *Antigoneia*, (Sacrifices in Honour of *Antigonus*) and

and ſung *Pæans* himſelf with a Garland on his Head, to the Honour of a rotten, conſumptive *Macedonian*.

I write this not out of any Deſign to diſgrace *Aratus*, (for in many Things he ſhew'd himſelf vigorous for the *Grecian* Intereſt, and a great Man) but out of pity to the weakneſs of Humane Nature; which, in ſuch a Perſon ſo excellent, and ſo many ways diſpos'd to Vertue, cannot attain to a State irreprehenſible. The *Achæans* meeting again at *Argos*, and *Cleomenes* deſcending from *Tegea*, there were great hopes that all Differences would be compos'd. But *Aratus*, (*Antigonus*, and He, having already agreed upon the chief Articles of their League) fearing that *Cleomenes* would carry all before him, and either win, or force the Multitude to comply with his Demands, propos'd, That, having Three hundred Hoſtages put into his Hands, he ſhould come alone into the Town, or bring his Army to the Place of Exerciſe, call'd *Cillarabion*, without the City, and treat there.

Cleomenes hearing this, ſaid, That he was unjuſtly dealt with; for they ought to have told him ſo plainly at firſt, and not now he was come even to their Doors, ſhow their Jealouſie, and deny him Admiſſion: And writing an Epiſtle to the *Achæans* about the ſame Subject; the greateſt part of which was an Accuſation of *Aratus*; and *Aratus*, on the

the other ſide, ripping up his Faults to the Aſſembly, he haſtily diſlodg'd, and ſent a Trumpeter to denounce War againſt the *Achæans*, but not to *Argos*, but to *Ægium*, as *Aratus* writes, that he might not give them notice enough to make Proviſion for their Defence. Upon this, the *Achæans* were mightily diſturb'd, the common People expecting a Diviſion of the Land, and a Releaſe from their Debts; and the chief Men being on many Accounts diſpleas'd with *Aratus*, and ſome angry and at odds with him, as the Occaſion of the *Macedonians* deſcent on *Peloponeſus*. Encouraged by theſe Miſunderſtandings, *Cleomenes* invades *Achæa*, and firſt took *Pellene* by ſurpriſe, and beat out the *Achæan* Gariſon; and afterward brought over *Pheneon* and *Pentelæon* to his ſide. Now the *Achæans* ſuſpecting ſome treacherous Deſigns at *Corinth* and *Sicyon*, ſent their Horſe and Mercenaries out of *Argos* to have an Eye upon thoſe Cities, and they themſelves went to *Argos* to Celebrate the *Nemean* Games. *Cleomenes* advertis'd of this march, and hoping (as it afterward fell out) that upon an unexpected Advance to the City, now buſied in the Solemnity of the Games, and throng'd with numerous Spectators, he ſhould raiſe a conſiderable Terror and Confuſion amongſt them; by Night he march'd with his Army to the Walls, and taking the quarter of the Town call'd *Aſpis*, which lies above the Theatre, a Place well fortify'd,

fortify'd, and hard to be approach'd, he ſo terrify'd them, that none offer'd to reſiſt, but agreed to accept a Gariſon, to give twenty Citizens for Hoſtages and to aſſiſt the *Lacedemonians*, and that he ſhould have the chief Command. This Action conſiderably encreas'd his Reputation, and his Power; for the ancient *Spartan* Kings, though they many ways endeavour'd to effect it, could never bring *Argos* to be ſtedfaſtly and ſincerely theirs. And *Pyrrhus*, a moſt experienc'd Captain, and brave Soldier, though he entred the City by force, could not keep Poſſeſſion, but was ſlain himſelf, with a conſiderable part of his Army: Therefore they admir'd the Diſpatch and Contrivance of *Cleomenes*; and thoſe that before derided him, for ſaying that he imitated *Solon* and *Licurgus*, in releaſing the People from their Debts, and in equally dividing the Wealth of the Citizens, were now perſwaded that he was the Cauſe of the deſirable Alterations in the *Spartan* Commonwealth: For before they were very low in the World, and ſo unable to ſecure their own, that the *Ætolians* invading *Laconia*, brought away Fifty thouſand Slaves; (ſo that one of the elder *Spartans* is reported to have ſaid, That *they had done* Laconia *a kindneſs by unburdening it*) and yet a little while after applying themſelves to their own Cuſtoms, and ancient Inſtitution, the gave notable Inſtances of Courage and Obedience, as if they had been under

under the Eye of *Lycurgus* himſelf; and quickly rais'd *Sparta* to be Head of all *Greece*, and recover'd *Peloponeſus* to themſelves. Whilſt *Argos* was taken, and *Cleonæ* and *Phlius* ſided with *Cleomenes*, *Aratus* was at *Corinth* ſearching after ſome who were reported to favour the *Spartan* Intereſt. The News being brought to him, diſturb'd him very much; for he perceiv'd the City inclining to *Cleomenes*, and the *Achæans* willing to be at eaſe; therefore he call'd all the Citizens into the Common Hall, and, as it were, undeſignedly retreating to the Gate, he mounted his Horſe, that ſtood ready there, and fled to *Sicyon*; and the *Corinthians* made ſuch haſte to *Cleomenes* at *Argos*, that (as *Aratus* ſays) ſtriving who ſhould be firſt there, they ſpoil'd all their Horſes: And that *Cleomenes* was very angry with the *Corinthians* for letting *Aratus* eſcape: And that *Megiſtones* came from *Cleomenes* to him, deſiring him to deliver up the Caſtle at *Corinth*, which was then gariſon'd by the *Achæans*, and offer'd him a conſiderable Sum of Money; and that he anſwered, That *Matters were not now in his Power, but he in theirs.* Thus *Aratus* himſelf writes. But *Cleomenes* marching from *Argos*, and taking in the *Trœzenians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Hermioneans*, came to *Corinth*, and block'd up the Caſtle which the *Achæans* would not ſurrender; and ſending for *Aratus*'s Friends and Stewards, committed his Houſe and Eſtate

to

to their Care and Management; and ſent *Tritymallus* the *Meſſenian* to him a ſecond time, deſiring that the Caſtle might be equally gariſon'd by the *Spartans* and *Achæans*, and promiſing to *Aratus* himſelf double the Penſion that he receiv'd from King *Ptolemy*: But *Aratus* refuſing the Conditions, and ſending his own Son with other Hoſtages to *Antigonus*, and perſwading the *Achæans* to make a Decree for delivering the Caſtle into *Antigonus*'s Hands, *Cleomenes* invaded the Territority of the *Sicyconians*, and by a Decree of the *Corinthians*, ſeiz'd on all *Aratus*'s Eſtate. In the mean time *Antigonus*, with a great Army, paſs'd *Gerania*, and *Cleomenes* thinking it more adviſable to fortifie and gariſon, not the *Iſthmus*, but the Mountains called *Onia*, and by a long Siege and Skirmiſhes to weary the *Macedonians*, than to venture a ſet Battle, put his Deſign in Execution, which very much diſtreſs'd *Antigonus*; for he had not brought Victuals ſufficient for his Army; nor was it eaſie to force a way through, whilſt *Cleomenes* guarded the Paſs. He attempted by Night to paſs through *Lechæum*, but fail'd, and loſt ſome Men; ſo that *Cleomenes* and his Army were mightily encouraged, and ſo fluſh with the Victory, that they went merrily to Supper; and *Antigonus* was very much dejected, being reduc'd to miſerable Straits. At laſt he deſign'd to march to the Promontory *Heræum*, and thence tranſport his Army in Boats to *Si-*

cyon,

cyon, which would take up a great deal of time, and be very chargeable. The ſame time about Evening ſome of *Aratus*'s Friends came from *Argos* by Sea, and invited him to return, for the *Argives* would revolt from *Cleomenes*. *Ariſtotle* was the Man that wrought the Revolt, and he had no hard task to perſwade the common People; for they were all angry with *Cleomenes* for not releaſing them from their Debts as they expected. Upon this Advertiſement *Aratus*, with Fifteen hundred of *Antigonus*'s Soldiers, ſail'd to *Epidaurus*; but *Ariſtotle* not ſtaying for his coming, drew out the Citizens, and fought againſt the Gariſon of the Caſtle, and *Timoxenus* with the *Achæans* from *Sicyon*, came to his Aſſiſtance. *Cleomenes* heard the News about the ſecond Watch of the Night, and ſending for *Megiſtones*, angrily commanded him to go and ſet things right at *Argos*. This *Megiſtones* was the Man who paſs'd his Word for the *Argives* Loyalty, and perſwaded him not to Baniſh the ſuſpected. This *Megiſtones* he diſpatch'd with Two thouſand Soldiers, and obſerv'd *Antigonus* himſelf, and encouraged the *Corinthians*, pretending that there was no great matter in the Stirs at *Argos*, but only a little Diſturbance rais'd by a few inconſiderable Perſons. But when *Megiſtones*, entring *Argos*, was ſlain, and the Gariſon could ſcarce hold out, and frequent Meſſengers came to *Cleomenes* for Succours, he fearing leſt the Enemy having taken

Argos,

Argos, ſhould ſhut up the Paſſes, and ſecurely waſt *Laconia*, and beſiege *Sparta* it ſelf, which he had left without Forces; he diſlodg'd from *Corinth*, and preſently loſt that City; for *Antigonus* entred it, and gariſon'd the Town. He turn'd aſide from his direct March, and aſſaulting the Wall of *Argos*, endeavour'd to break in; and having clear'd a way under the quarter called *Aſpis*, he joyn'd the Gariſon which ſtill held out againſt the *Achæans*; ſome parts of the City he ſcal'd, and took, and his *Cretan* Archers clear'd the Streets. But when he ſaw *Antigonus* with his *Phalanx* deſcending from the Mountains into the Plain, and the Horſe on all ſides entring the City, he thought it impoſſible to maintain his Poſt, and therefore with all his Men made a ſafe Retreat behind the Wall. Having in a ſhort time rais'd himſelf to a conſiderable height, and in one March made himſelf Maſter of almoſt all *Peloponeſus*, and loſt all again in as ſhort a time: For ſome of his Allies preſently forſook him, and others not long after put themſelves under *Antigonus*'s Protection. His Army thus defeated, as he was leading back the Relicks of his Forces, ſome from *Lacedemon* met him in the Eving at *Tegea*, and brought him News of as great a Misfortune as that which he had lately ſuffer'd, and that was the Death of his Wife; whom he doted on ſo much, that when he was moſt Proſperous, he would ever now

and

and then make a ſtep to *Sparta*, to viſit his beloved *Ægiatis*.

This News afflicted him extremely, and he griev'd, as a young Man would do for the loſs of a very beautiful and excellent Wife; yet his Paſſion did not debaſe the greatneſs of his Mind, but keeping his uſual Voice, his Countenance, and his Habit, he gave neceſſary Orders to his Captains, and took care to ſecure the *Tegeans*. The next Day he retir'd to *Sparta*, and having at home with his Mother and Children bewail'd the loſs, and finiſh'd his Mourning, he preſently appear'd about the publick Affairs of the State. Now *Ptolemy*, the King of *Ægypt*, promis'd him Aſſiſtance, but demanded his Mother and Children for Hoſtages: This for ſome conſiderable time, he was aſham'd to diſcover to his Mother; and though he often went to her on purpoſe, and was juſt upon the Diſcourſe, yet he ſtill refrain'd, and kept it to himſelf; ſo that ſhe began to ſuſpect ſomewhat, and ask'd his Friends, Whether *Cleomenes* had ſomewhat to ſay to her, which he was afraid to ſpeak? At laſt *Cleomenes* venturing to tell her, ſhe laugh'd heartily, and ſaid, *Was this the thing that you had often a mind to tell me, and was afraid? Why do not you put me on Shipboard, and ſend this Carkaſs where it may be moſt ſerviceable to* Sparta, *before Age waſtes it unprofitably here?* Therefore all things being provided for the Voyage, they went to *Tænarus* on Foot, and

the Army waited on them. *Crateſiclæa*, when ſhe was ready to go on Board, took *Cleomenes* aſide into *Neptune*'s Temple, and embracing him who was very much dejected, and extremely diſcompos'd, ſhe ſaid thus, *Go to King of* Sparta; *when we are without door, let none ſee us weep, or ſhow any Paſſion below the Honour and Dignity of* Sparta; *for that alone is in our own Power: as for Succeſs or Diſappointments, thoſe wait on us as the Deity decrees.* Having ſaid thus, and compos'd her Countenance, ſhe went to the Ship with her little Grandſon, and bad the Pilot put preſently out to Sea. When ſhe came to *Ægypt*, and underſtood that *Ptolemy* entertain'd Propoſals and Overtures of Peace from *Antigonus*, and that *Cleomenes*, though the *Achæans* invited and urg'd him to an Agreement, was afraid, for her ſake, to come to any, without *Ptolemy*'s Conſent, ſhe wrote to him, adviſing him to do that which was moſt becoming and moſt profitable for *Sparta*, and not for the ſake of an old Woman and a little Child, always ſtand in fear of *Ptolemy*: this Character ſhe maintain'd in her Misfortunes. *Antigonus* having taken *Tegea*, and plunder'd *Orchomenum* and *Mantinæa*, *Cleomenes* was ſhut up within the narrow Bounds of *Laconia*, and made ſuch of the *Heilots* as could pay five *Attick* Pounds, free of *Sparta*, and by that means got together 500 Talents; and arming 2000 after the *Macedonian* faſhion, that he might make a Body fit to oppoſe *Antigonus*'s *Leucaſpi-*

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dæ (white Shields) he undertook a very conſiderable and very ſurprizing Enterprize. *Megalopolis* was at that time a City of it ſelf, as great and as powerful as *Sparta*, and had the Forces of the *Achæans* and *Antigonus* incamping on its ſides; and it was chiefly the *Megalopolitans* doing, that *Antigonus* was call'd in to aſſiſt the *Achæans*. *Cleomenes* having a deſign upon this City (no Action was ever more ſudden and more unexpected) order'd his Men to take five days Proviſion, and ſo march'd to *Sellaſia*, as if he intended to ſpoil the Country of the *Argives*; but from thence making a deſcent into the Territories of *Megalopolis*, and refreſhing his Army about *Rhætium*, he march'd over *Helicon*, directly to the City. When he was not far off the Town, he ſent *Panteus* with two Regiments to ſurprize the *Meſopyrgion*, (the Quarter between the two Towers) which he underſtood to be the moſt unguarded Quarter of the *Megalopolitans* Fortifications; and with the reſt of his Forces he follow'd leiſurely *Panteus*, not only ſurpriz'd that Place, but finding a great part of the Wall without Guards, he pull'd down ſome Places, and demoliſh'd others, and kill'd all the Defenders that he found. Whilſt he was thus buſied, *Cleomenes* came up to him, and was got with his Army within the City, before the *Megalopolitans* knew of the Surprize: At laſt as ſoon as it was diſcover'd, ſome left the Town immediately, taking with them what Money

they had ready; ſome arm'd, and engag'd the Enemy; and though they were not able to beat them out, yet they gave their Citizens Time and Opportunity ſafely to retire: ſo that there were not above 1000 Perſons left in the Town, all the reſt flying with their Wives and Children, and eſcaping to *Meſſena*. A great number of thoſe that arm'd and fought the Enemy, were ſav'd, and very few taken, amongſt whom were *Lyſandridas* and *Thearidas*, two Men of great Power and Reputation amongſt the *Megalapolitans*; and therefore the Soldiers, as ſoon as they were taken, brought them to *Cleomenes:* And *Lyſandridas*, as ſoon as he ſaw *Cleomenes* afar off, cry'd out, *Now King of* Sparta, *'tis in your Power, by doing a moſt Kingly and braver Action than you have already perform'd, to purchaſe a conſiderable Glory.* And *Cleomenes* gueſſing at his meaning, reply'd, *What do you ſay* Lyſandridas, *ſure you will not adviſe me to reſtore your City to you again? 'Tis that which I mean*, Lyſandridas *reply'd, and I adviſe you not to ruine ſo brave a City, but to fill it with faithful and ſtedfaſt Friends and Allies, by reſtoring their Country to the* Megalopolitans, *and being the Saviour of ſo conſiderable a People.* *Cleomenes* paus'd a while, and then ſaid, *'Tis very hard to truſt ſo far in theſe Matters; but with us let Profit always yield to Glory.* Having ſaid this, he ſent the two Men to *Meſſena* with a Trumpeter from himſelf, offering the *Megalopolitans* their City again, if they would forſake

ſake the *Achæan* Intereſt, and be on his ſide. Though *Cleomenes* made theſe kind and obliging Propoſals, yet *Philopæmen* would not ſuffer them to break their League with the *Achæans*; and accuſing *Cleomenes* to the People, as if his Deſign was not to reſtore the City, but to take the Citizens too, he forc'd *Thearidas* and *Lyſandridas* to leave *Meſſena*.

This was that *Philopæmen* who was afterward Chief of the *Achæans*, and a Man of the greateſt Reputation amongſt the *Greeks*, as I have made it appear in his own Life. This News coming to *Cleomenes*, though he had before taken ſuch ſtrict care that the City ſhould not be plunder'd, yet then being in a Fury, and put out of all Patience, he rifled them of all their Coin, Plate and Jewels, and ſent their Statues and Pictures unto *Sparta*; and demoliſhing a great part of the City, he march'd away, for fear of *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*: but they never ſtirr'd, for they were in *Ægium*, at a Council of War. There *Aratus* mounted the Desk, wept a long while, and held his Mantle before his Face; and at laſt the Company being amaz'd, and commanding him to ſpeak, he ſaid, *Megalopolis is ruin'd by Cleomenes*. The Aſſembly was preſently diſſolv'd, the *Achæans* being extremely ſurpriz'd at the ſuddenneſs and greatneſs of the loſs; and *Antigonus* intending to ſend ſpeedy Succours, when he found his Army to gather very ſlowly out of their Winter-quarters, he ſent them Orders to continue there ſtill; and

he himſelf march'd to *Argos* with a conſiderable Body of Men. The ſecond Enterprize of *Cleomenes* ſeem'd to be carry'd on by extreme Boldneſs and unaccountable Madneſs; but yet in *Polybius*'s Opinion, was done upon mature Deliberation and exact Fore-ſight: for knowing very well that the *Macedonians* were diſpers'd into their Winter-quarters, and that *Antigonus* with his Friends and a few Mercenaries about him winter'd in *Argos*; upon theſe Conſiderations he invaded the Country of the *Argives*, hoping to ſhame *Antigonus* to a Battle upon unequal terms, or elſe if he did not dare to fight, to bring him into Diſ-repute with the *Achæans*. And this accordingly happen'd; for *Cleomenes* waſting, plundring, and ſpoiling the whole Country, the *Argives* vex'd at the loſs, ran in Troops to the Palace of the King, and clamour'd that he ſhould either fight, or ſurrender his Command to better and braver Men. But *Antigonus*, as became an experienc'd Captain, accounting it diſhonourable, fooliſhly to hazard his Army, and quit his Security, and not ſo to be abus'd and rail'd at by the Rabble, would not march out againſt *Cleomenes*, but ſtood fix'd to the Deſigns which he had laid: *Cleomenes* in the mean time brought his Army up to the very Walls, and having uncontroul'dly ſpoil'd the Country, and inſulted o'er his Enemies, drew off again. A little while after being advertis'd that *Antigonus* deſign'd for *Tegea*, and thence

to

to make an Incurſion into *Laconia*, he haſtily march'd with his Army another way, and appear'd early in the morning before *Argos*, and waſted the Fields about it: the Corn he did not cut down with Reaping-hooks and Sythes, as Men uſually do, but beat it down with great Staves made like Scymetars, as if with a great deal of Contempt and wanton Scorn he ſpoil'd the Fields, and waſted the Country in his March; yet when his Soldiers would have ſet *Cyllabaris*, the School of Exerciſe, on fire, he hindred the Attempt, reflecting upon ſerious Conſideration, that the Outrages committed at *Megalopolis*, were the effects of his Paſſion rather than his Wiſdom. He pretended to make ſuch little account of, and ſo much to deſpiſe *Antigonus*, who firſt retir'd to *Argos*, and afterward plac'd Gariſons on all the Mountains round about, that he ſent a Trumpeter to deſire the Keys of the *Heræum*, (*Juno*'s Temple) that he might ſacrifice to the Goddeſs. Thus with a Scoff and bitter Reflection on *Antigonus*, and having ſacrific'd to the Goddeſs, under the Walls of the Temple, which was ſhut, he march'd to *Phlius*; and from thence driving out thoſe that gariſon'd *Hologountum*, he march'd down to *Orchomenum*. And theſe Enterprizes not only encouraged the Citizens, but made him appear to the very Enemies to be an experienc'd Captain, and very worthy of Command: for with the Strength of one City, not only to fight

the Power of the *Macedonians*, and all the *Peloponeſians*; not only to preſerve *Laconia* from being ſpoil'd, but to waſte the Enemies Country, and to take ſo many and ſuch conſiderable Cities, is an Argument of no common Bravery. He that firſt ſaid, *That Money was the Sinews of Affairs*, ſeem'd chiefly in that Saying to reſpect War: And *Demades*, when the *Athenians* had voted that a Navy ſhould be made ready, but had no Money, ſaid, *They ſhould make Bread before they thought of Sailing.* And the old *Archidamus*, in the beginning of the *Peloponeſian* War, when the Allies deſir'd, that each Parties ſhare of Contributions for the War ſhould be determin'd, is reported to have ſaid, *War cannot be kept to a ſet Diet:* For as well breath'd Wreſtlers do in time weary and tire out the moſt active and moſt skilful Combatant; ſo *Antigonus* coming to the War with a great ſtock of Wealth, weary'd out *Cleomenes*, whoſe Poverty made it difficult for him either to provide Pay for the Mercenaries, or Proviſions for the Citizens. For in all other reſpects the Time favour'd *Cleomenes*; for *Antigonus*'s Affairs at home began to be diſturb'd: for the *Barbarians* waſted and overran *Macedonia* whilſt he was abſent; and at that time a vaſt Army of the *Illyrians* came down: to be freed from whoſe Outrages, the *Macedonians* ſent for *Antigonus*, and the Letters had almoſt been brought to him before the Battle was fought; upon the receipt of which he pre-

preſently diſlodg'd, and left the *Achæans* Affairs to themſelves. But Fortune, that loves to determine the greateſt Affairs by a minute, in this Conjuncture ſhow'd ſuch an exact niceneſs of Time, that immediately after the Battle in *Sellaſia* was over, and *Cleomenes* had loſt his Army and his City, the Meſſengers reach'd *Antigonus*. And this made *Cleomenes*'s Misfortune more to be pitied; for if he had forborn fighting two days longer, there had been no need of hazarding a Battle, ſince upon the departure of the *Macedonians*, he might have had what Conditions he pleas'd from the *Achæans*. But now (as I hinted before) for want of Money, being neceſſitated to rely wholly on his Arms, he was forc'd with 20000 (this is *Polybius*'s Account) to engage 30000; and approving himſelf an excellent Commander in this Difficulty, his Citizens ſhowing an extraordinary Courage, and his Mercenaries Bravery enough; he was overborn by the different way of fighting, and the weight of the arm'd *Phalanx*. Beſides, *Phylarchus* affirms, that the Treachery of ſome about him was the chief Cauſe of *Cleomenes*'s Ruine. For *Antigonus* gave Orders, that the *Illyrians* and *Acharnanians* ſhould march round by a ſecret way, and encompaſs the other Wing which *Eucleidas*, *Cleomenes*'s Brother, commanded; and then drew out the reſt of his Forces to the Battle. And *Cleomenes*, from a convenient riſing, viewing his Order, and not ſeeing

ſeeing any of the *Illyrians* and *Acharnanians*, began to ſuſpect that *Antigonus* had ſent them upon ſome ſuch Deſign; and calling for *Damoteles*, who was to inſpect, and to provide againſt Ambuſhes, commanded him carefully to look after, and diſcover the Enemies Deſigns upon his Rear.

But *Damoteles* (for ſome ſay *Antigonus* had brib'd him) telling him, that he ſhould not be ſolicitous about that matter, for all was well enough, but mind, and fight thoſe that met him in the front. He was ſatisfied, and advanc'd againſt *Antigonus*; and by the vigorous Charge of his *Spartans*, made the *Macedonian Phalanx* give ground, and preſs'd upon them with great Advantage about half a mile; but then making a ſtand, and ſeeing the danger which the ſurrounded Wing commanded by his Brother *Eucleidas*, was in, he cry'd out, *Thou art loſt, dear Brother, thou art loſt, thou brave Example to our* Spartan *Youth, and Theme of our Matron's Songs.*

Eucleidas's Wing being cut in pieces, and the Conqueror from that part falling upon his Battle, he perceiv'd his Soldiers to be diſorder'd, and unable to maintain the Fight, and therefore provided for his own Safety. When he came into the City, he adviſed thoſe Citizens that he met, to receive *Antigonus*; and as for himſelf, he ſaid, which ſhould appear moſt advantageous to *Sparta*, whether his Life or Death, that he would chuſe. Seeing the

the Women running out to thoſe that fled with him, taking their Arms, and bringing Drink to them, he entred into his own Houſe, and his Servant, who was a free-born Woman, taken from *Megalopolis* after his Wife's Death, offering, as ſhe us'd to do, to make neceſſary Proviſion for him returning from the Battle; though he was very thirſty, he refus'd to drink, and though very weary, to ſit down; but arm'd as he was, he clapt his Arm ſide-way to a Pillar, and leaning his Forehead upon his Elbow, he reſted his Body a little while, and ran over in his Thoughts what courſe he ſhould take, and then with his Friends went preſently to *Gythium*; where finding Ships fitted for the purpoſe, they embark'd. *Antigonus* taking the City, treated the *Lacedemonians* courteouſly, and neither affronting, nor ruining the Dignity of *Sparta*, but permitting them to enjoy their own Laws and Polity, and ſacrificing to the Gods, diſlodg'd the third day: for he heard that there was a great War kindled in *Macedonia*, and that the Country was ſpoil'd by the Barbarians; beſides, he grew ſick of a Conſumption and continual Defluxion on the Lungs, yet he ſtill kept up that he might return and free his own Country, and fall more gloriouſly upon an heap of ſlaughter'd Barbarians. As *Phylarchus* ſays, and 'tis probable, he broke a Vein by ſhouting in the Battle. In the Plays 'twas ſaid, that after the Victory he cry'd out for

for Joy, *O fine Day!* and preſently bringing up abundance of Blood, fell into a Fever, and dy'd in a ſhort time. And thus much concerning *Antigonus*.

Cleomenes ſailing from *Cytheræ*, touch'd at another Iſland call'd *Ægyalia*, whence as he was about to depart for *Cyrene*, one of his Friends, *Therycion* by name, a Man of an haughty Spirit in all Enterpriſes, and high and boaſting in his talk, came privately to him, and ſaid thus; *Sir, Death in Battle, which is the moſt glorious, we have let go; though all heard us ſay that* Antigonus *ſhould never tread over the King of* Sparta, *unleſs dead: And now that which is next in Bravery and Glory, is preſented to us. Whither do we madly ſail, flying that which is near, and ſeeking that which is far removed? For if it is not diſhonourable for the Race of* Hercules *to ſerve the Succeſſors of* Philip *and* Alexander, *we ſhall ſave a long Voyage by delivering our ſelves up to* Antigonus, *who, probably, ſurpaſſeth* Ptolemy *as much as the* Macedonians *do the* Ægyptians; *but if we think it mean to ſubmit to thoſe whoſe Arms have conquer'd us, why ſhould we chuſe him for our Lord, by whom we have not yet been beaten? Is it that inſtead of one, we might appear meaner than two, whilſt we fly* Antigonus, *and flatter* Ptolemy? *Or, is it for your Mother's ſake that you retreat to* Egypt? *It will indeed be a very fine, and very deſirable ſight for her to be ſhown her Son by* Ptolemy's *Women, now chang'd from a Prince into an Exile and a Slave. Are we not ſtill Maſters*

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of our own Swords? And whilſt we have Laconia *in view, ſhall we not here free our ſelves from this diſgraceful Miſery, and clear our ſelves to thoſe, who at* Sellaſia *dy'd for the Honour and Defence of* Sparta? *Or, ſhall we ſit lazily in* Egypt, *enquiring what News from* Sparta? *and whom* Antigonus *hath been pleas'd to make Governour of* Lacedemon? Thus ſpoke *Therycion*; and this was *Cleomenes*'s Reply; *By ſeeking Death, you Coward, the moſt eaſie, and moſt ready Refuge, you fancy that you ſhall appear courageous and brave, though this Flight is baſer than thy former. Better Men than we have given way to their Enemies, having been betray'd by Fortune, or oppreſs'd by Multitude; but he that ſinks under Labour or Afflictions, the Opinions or Reproaches of Men, is overcome by his own Effeminacy and Softneſs: For a voluntary Death ought not to be choſen as a Relief from Action, but as an exemplary Action it ſelf; and 'tis baſe either to live or to die only to our ſelves. That Death to which you now invite us, is propos'd only as a Releaſe from our preſent Miſeries, but carries nothing of Bravery or Profit in it. And I think it becomes both me and you not to deſpair of our Country; but when there are no hopes of that left, thoſe that have an Inclination may quickly die.* To this *Therycion* return'd no Anſwer; but as ſoon as he could get out of *Cleomenes*'s Company, went toward the Shore, and ran himſelf through. But *Cleomenes* ſailed from *Ægialia*, landed in *Lybia*, and being honourably conducted through the King's Country,

try, came to *Alexandria*. When he was firſt brought to *Ptolemy*, no more than common Civilities, and uſual Ceremonies were paid him; but when, upon Trial, he found him a Man of deep Senſe, and great Reaſon, and that his plain *Laconick* way of Converſation carried a free Pleaſantneſs with it, that he did nothing unbecoming the greatneſs of his Birth, nor bent under Fortune, and appear'd a more faithful Counſellor than thoſe who made it their buſineſs to pleaſe and flatter; he was aſham'd, and repented that he had neglected ſo great a Man, and ſuffer'd *Antigonus* to get ſo much Power and Reputation by ruining him. Therefore he heap'd up Honours and Kindneſſes on *Cleomenes*, and gave him hopes that he would furniſh him with an Army and a Navy to recover *Greece*, and re-inſtate him in his Throne. Beſides, he allow'd him a yearly Penſion of four and twenty Talents; a little part of which Sum ſupplied his and his Friends thrifty Temperance; and the reſt was imploy'd in doing good Offices to, and in relieving the Neceſſities of thoſe that fled *Greece*, and retir'd into *Ægypt*.

But the elder *Ptolemy* dying before *Cleomenes*'s Affairs had receiv'd a full Diſpatch, and the Succeſſor being a looſe, voluptuous and effeminate Prince, under the Power of his Pleaſures and his Women, his Buſineſs was neglected: for the King was ſo beſotted with his Women and his Wine, that Balls, Muſick and

and Dancing, were the only Employments of his moſt buſie and ſerious hours, and the greateſt Affairs of State were managed by *Agathoclea* the King's Miſtreſs, her Mother, and the Pimp *Oinanthes*. Therefore at the firſt they ſeem'd to ſtand in need of *Cleomenes*; for *Ptolemy* being afraid of his Brother *Magas*, who by his Mother's means had a great Intereſt amongſt the Soldiers, took *Cleomenes* into his Cabinet-Council, and acquainted him with the deſign of taking off his Brother. He, though all were for it, declar'd his opinion to the contrary, ſaying, *The King, if it were poſſible, ſhould have more Brothers for the better Security and Management of his Affairs:* And *Soſibius*, the greateſt Favourite, replying, *That they were not ſecure of the Mercenaries whilſt* Magas *was alive*; *Cleomenes* return'd, *That he need not trouble himſelf about that Matter; for amongſt the Mercenaries there were above* 3000 Peloponeſians, *who were his faſt Friends, and whom he could command at any time with a Nod.* This Diſcourſe made *Cleomenes* for the preſent to be look'd upon as a Man of Integrity and Power; but afterwards (*Ptolemy*'s Weakneſs increaſing his Fear; and, as it uſually happens, where there is no Judgment and Wiſdom at the bottom, placing his Security in Jealouſie and Suſpicion) rendred *Cleomenes* ſuſpected to the Courtiers, as having too much Intereſt with the Mercenaries; and many had this Saying in their mouths, *That he was a Lion 'midſt a flock of Sheep:*

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for ſuch he ſeem'd to be in the Court, ſlily overlooking and taking notice of the management of Affairs; therefore when he deſir'd a Navy and an Army from the King, his Petition was rejected. But when he underſtood that *Antigonus* was dead, that the *Achaians* were engaged in a War with the *Ætolians*, and that the Affairs of *Peloponeſus*, being now in very great Diſtraction and Diſtreſs, requir'd and invited his Aſſiſtance, he deſir'd leave to depart only with his Friends, but could not obtain that, the King not ſo much as hearing his Petition, being ſhut up amongſt his Women, and waſting his Hours in Debauchery and Frolicks. But *Soſibius*, the chief Miniſter of State, thought that *Cleomenes* being detain'd againſt his will, would grow ungovernable and dangerous, and yet that it was not ſafe to let him go, being an aſpiring, daring Man, and well acquainted with the Diſeaſes and Weakneſs of the Kingdom; for no Preſents, no Gifts, could win him to a Compliance. But as the Ox *Apis*, though revelling in all poſſible Plenty and Delight, yet deſires to live as Nature would provide for him, to be at liberty, and friſk about the Fields, and can ſcarce endure to be under the Prieſts keeping; ſo he could not brook their Courtſhip and tender Entertainment, but like *Achilles*,

Whilſt there, his Heart did waſte with ſecret Grief,
And he was eager for the noiſy Wars.

His

His Affairs ſtanding in this Condition, *Nicagoras*, the *Meſſenian*, came to *Alexandria*, a Man that deeply hated *Cleomenes*, yet pretended to be his Friend; for he had formerly ſold *Cleomenes* a fair Eſtate, but never receiv'd the Money, becauſe *Cleomenes* was either unable, (as it may be) or elſe, by reaſon of his Engagement in the Wars, and other Diſtractions, had no time to pay him. *Cleomenes* ſeeing him Landing, (for he was then walking upon the Key) kindly ſaluted him, and ask'd, *What Buſineſs brought him to* Ægypt? *Nicagoras* return'd his Complement, and told him, *That he came to bring ſome excellent Warhorſes to the King.* And *Cleomenes*, with a Smile ſubjoin'd, *I wiſh you had rather brought Pimps, Whores, and Pathicks; for thoſe now are the King's chief Delight.* *Nicagoras* at the preſent ſmil'd at the Conceit; but a few Days after, he put *Cleomenes* in mind of the Eſtate that he had bought of him, and deſir'd his Money, proteſting, That he would not have troubled him, if his Merchandize had turn'd to that Account, which he thought it would. *Cleomenes* replied, That he had not a Penny left of all that had been given him: At which Anſwer, *Nicagoras* being nettled, told *Soſibius Cleomenes*'s Scoff upon the King. He careſs'd him for the Diſcovery, but deſiring to have ſome greater Reaſon to excite the King againſt *Cleomenes*, perſwaded *Nicagoras* to leave a Letter written againſt *Cleomenes*, importing

that he had a Deſign, if he could have gotten Ships and Soldiers, to ſurprize *Cyrene*: *Nicagoras* wrote ſuch a Letter, and left *Ægypt*. Four Days after *Soſibius* brought the Letter to *Ptolemy*, pretending it was juſt then delivered him, and with a bitter Invective excited the Fury of the Youth; upon this it was agreed, That *Cleomenes* ſhould be invited into a large Apartment, and treated as formerly, but not ſuffer'd to go out again: This Uſage was grievous to *Cleomenes*, and by this unlucky Accident, his Hopes for the future ſeem'd to be quite daſh'd. *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Chryſermas*, a Favourite of the Kings, always carried himſelf fairly towards *Cleomenes*; they contracted a near Acquaintance, and would talk freely together about the State. He, upon *Cleomenes*'s Deſire, came to him, had ſome Diſcourſe with him upon a few and inconſiderable Subjects, to avoid Suſpicion, and made ſome Excuſes for the King; but as he went out again, not knowing that *Cleomenes* follow'd him to the Door, he very ſeverely reprimanded the Keepers, for their Careleſneſs in looking after ſo great and ſo furious a wild Beaſt. This *Cleomenes* himſelf heard, and retiring before *Ptolemy* perceiv'd it, told his Friends what he had heard. Upon this they caſt off all their former Hopes, and determin'd for violent Proceedings, reſolving to be reveng'd on *Ptolemy* for his baſe and unjuſt Dealing, to have Satisfaction for the Affronts,

to

to die as it became *Spartans*, and not ſtay till, like fatted Sacrifices, they were butcher'd: For 'twas both grievous and diſhonourable for *Cleomenes*, who had ſcorn'd to come to Terms with *Antigonus*, a brave Warrior, and a Man of Action, to wait an effeminate King's Leiſure, till he ſhould lay aſide his Fiddle, and end his Dance, and then kill him. Theſe Courſes being reſolv'd on, and *Ptolemy* happening at the ſame time to make a Progreſs to *Canopus*, they firſt ſpread abroad a Report, that his Freedom was order'd by the King; and it being the King's Cuſtom, to ſend Preſents, and an Entertainment to thoſe whom he would free, *Cleomenes*'s Friends made that Proviſion, and ſent it into the Priſon, thereby deceiving the Keepers, who thought it had been ſent by the King; for he ſacrific'd, and gave them large Portions, and with a Crown upon his Head feaſted, and made merry with his Friends: 'Tis ſaid, That he began the Action ſooner than he deſign'd, having underſtood that a Servant of one of the Accomplices lay abroad with a Miſtreſs that he lov'd. This made him afraid of a Diſcovery; and therefore, as ſoon as it was full Noon, and all the Keepers drunk, and faſt aſleep, he put on his Coat, and opening the Seam on his right Shoulder, with his drawn Sword in his Hand, he iſſued forth, together with his Friends, provided in the ſame manner, making Thirteen in all. One of them, by Name *Hippotas*, was

lame, he follow'd the firſt Onſet very well; but when afterward he perceiv'd that they were more ſlow in their Advances for his ſake, he deſir'd them to run him through, and not ruine their Enterprize, by ſtaying for an uſeleſs, unprofitable Man. By chance, an *Alexandrian* was then riding by the Door, him they threw off, and ſetting *Hippotas* on Horſeback, ran through the narrow Lanes, and proclaim'd Liberty to the People; but they, it ſeems, had Courage enough to praiſe and admire *Cleomenes*'s Daring, but not one had the Heart to follow and aſſiſt him. Three of them fell on *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Chryſermas*, as he was coming out of the Palace, and kill'd him: Another *Ptolemy*, the Lieutenant of the City, advancing againſt them in a Chariot, they ſet upon, diſpers'd his Guards and Attendants, and pulling him out of the Chariot, kill'd him upon the Place. Then they made toward the Caſtle, deſigning to break open the Priſon, and take the Priſoners to their Aſſiſtance; but the Keepers were too quick for them, and ſecur'd the Paſſages. Being baffled in this Attempt, *Cleomenes* with his Company roam'd about the City, none joining with him, but all retreating from, and flying his Approach: Therefore deſpairing of Succeſs, and ſaying to his Friends, That it was no wonder that Women rul'd o'er thoſe Men that fled Liberty; he excited them all to die as bravely as became his Followers, and

Men

Men of their glorious Performances. This ſaid, *Hippotas* was firſt, as he deſir'd, run through by one of the young Men, and then each of them readily and reſolutely fell upon his own Sword, except *Panteus*, that *Panteus* that firſt ſurprized *Megalopolis*. This Man being a very handſom Perſon, and a better Companion than any of the Youth, the King lov'd, and bad when him, he had ſeen him and the reſt fall'n, die by their Example. *Panteus* walk'd over them as they lay, and prick'd every one with his Dagger, to try whether any was alive; when he prick'd *Cleomenes* in the Leg, and ſaw him turn upon his Back, he kiſs'd him, ſat down by him, and when he was quite dead, cover'd his Carkaſs, and then kill'd himſelf upon his Body.

Thus fell *Cleomenes* that great, brave Man, after he had been King of *Sparta* Sixteen Years. The News of their Fall being nois'd through the City, *Crateſiclea*, though a Woman of a great Spirit, could not bear up againſt the inſupportable weight of this Affliction; but embracing *Cleomenes*'s Children, made grievous Lamentations; but the eldeſt Boy, none ſuſpecting ſuch a Spirit in a Child, threw himſelf headlong from the top of the Houſe; he was bruis'd very much, but not kill'd by the Fall, and was taken up crying, and expreſſing his Reſentments for not being permitted to deſtroy himſelf. *Ptolemy*, as ſoon as an Account of the Action was brought him, gave

order, that *Cleomenes*'s Body ſhould be flea'd, and hung up; that his Children, Mother, and the Women that were with her, ſhould be kill'd. Amongſt thoſe was *Panteus*'s Wife, a very fair Woman, and of a ſtately Carriage, who had been but newly Married, and ſuffer'd theſe Diſaſters in the height of her Love. Her Parents would not let her embark with *Panteus* preſently after they were married, though ſhe eagerly deſir'd it, but ſhut her up, and kept her by Violence at home; yet a few Days after ſhe got an Horſe, and a little Money, and eſcaping by Night, made ſpeed to *Tænarus*, where ſhe embark'd for *Ægypt*, came to her Husband, and with him chearfully endur'd to live in a foreign Country. She led *Crateſiclæa* as ſhe was going with the Soldiers to Execution, held up her Train, and begg'd her to be Courageous, who of her ſelf was not in the leaſt afraid of Death; and deſir'd nothing elſe, but only to be kill'd before the Children. When they were come to the Place of Execution, the Children were firſt kill'd before *Crateſiclæa*'s Eyes, and afterward ſhe her ſelf, with only theſe Words in her Mouth; *O Children, whither are you gone?* But *Panteus*'s Wife, girding her Garments cloſe to her, and being a ſtrong Woman, without any Noiſe or Lamentation, look'd after every one that was ſlain, and wound them up as well as her preſent Circumſtances would permit; and and after all were kill'd, dreſſing her ſelf,

bound

bound her Cloaths close about her, and suffering none to come near, or be an Eye-witness of her Fall, beside the Executioner, she courageously submitted to the Stroke, and wanted no Body to look after her, or wind her up after she was dead. Thus in her Death the Modesty of her Mind appear'd, and set that Guard upon her Body, which she always kept when Alive: And she, in the declining Age of the *Spartans*, shew'd, That Women were no unequal Rivals of the Men, and was an Instance of such a Courage, as would not sneak to the Affronts of Fortune. A few Days after, those that watch'd the hanging Body of *Cleomenes*, saw a very great Snake winding about his Head, and covering his Face, so that no Bird of Prey would fly at it. This made the King superstitiously afraid, and set the Women upon several Lustrations, as if he had been an extraordinary Man, and one belov'd by the Gods, that had been slain. And the *Alexandrians* made Processions to the Place, and gave *Cleomenes* the Title of *Hero*, and Son of the Gods, till the Philosophers satisfied them by saying, That *as Oxen breed Bees, putrifying Horses breed Hornets, and Beetles rise from the Carkasses of dead Asses; so the Humours and Juices of the Marrow of a Man's Body coagulating, produce Serpents.* And this the Ancients observing, appropriated a Serpent rather than any other Creature to Heroes.

TIBERIUS & CAIUS GRACCHUS



THE

LIVES

OF THE

Gracchi,

TIBERIUS and CAIUS.

Engliſhed from the Greek.

By *John Warren*, Fellow of St. *Catherine's* Hall in *Cambridge*.

HAving diſpatch'd the foregoing Hiſtory, we ſhall proceed to take a View of a pair of *Romans*, not leſs remarkable for their Misfortunes than the former; and compare with the Lives of *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, theſe

theſe of *Tiberius* and *Caius*. They were the Sons of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who though he had been once *Cenſor*, twice *Conſul*, and twice had *triumph'd*, yet was more renown'd and eſteem'd for his Vertue than his Honours. Upon this Account, after the Death of that *Scipio* who defeated *Hannibal*, he was thought worthy to match with his Daughter *Cornelia*; though there had been no Friendſhip or Familiarity between *Scipio* and him, but rather the contrary. There goes a Report, that he once found in his Bed-chamber a couple of Snakes, and that the *Soothſayers* being conſulted concerning the *Prodigy*, adviſed, *That he ſhould neither kill 'em both, nor let 'em both eſcape*; ſaying, That if the Male-Sepent was kill'd, *Tiberius* ſhould die; and if the Female, *Cornelia*: And that therefore *Tiberius*, who extremely loved his Wife, and thought beſides that it was much more becoming him, who was an old Man, to die, than her, who as yet was but a young Woman; kill'd the Male-Serpent, and let the Female eſcape: And ſoon after himſelf dy'd, leaving behind him Twelve Children born to him by *Cornelia*.

Cornelia taking upon her ſelf all the Care of her Family, and Education of her Children, approved her ſelf ſo modeſt a Matron, ſo indulgent a Mother, and ſo conſtant and noble-ſpirited a Widow, that *Tiberius* ſeem'd to all Men to have done nothing unreaſonable, in chuſing to die for ſo great a Woman; who, when

when King *Ptolemy* himſelf would have married her, and proffer'd her his Crown, refuſed it, and choſe rather to live a Widow. In this State ſhe continued, and loſt all her Children, except one Daughter, that was married to *Scipio* the Younger; and two Sons, *Tiberius* and *Caius*, whoſe Lives we are now writing.

Theſe ſhe brought up with ſo great Care, that though they were without diſpute of the nobleſt Family, and had the beſt natural Parts among the *Romans*; yet they ſeem'd to owe their eminent Vertues, more to their Education than their Birth. Now, as in the Statues and Pictures of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, though the Brothers reſemble one another, yet there is a difference to be perceived in their Countenances; between the one, who delighted in the *Caeſtus*, and the other, that was famous for managing the Horſe: So though there was a great Agreement between theſe two noble Youths, in their common purſuit after Fortitude and Moderation, after Liberality and Eloquence, and greatneſs of Mind; yet in their Actions, and Adminiſtrations of publick Affairs, a Diſagreement as great manifeſtly appear'd. It will not be amiſs before we proceed, to ſet down the Difference between them.

Tiberius, in the Make of his Countenance and his Looks, in his Geſture and Motion, was gentle and compos'd; but *Caius*, earneſt and

and vehement: So that in their publick Speeches to the People, the one modeſtly uſed very little Action, nor changed his Place; the other would walk about in the *Roſtrum*, and in the heat of his Orations, pull his Gown off his Shoulders, and was the firſt of all the *Romans* that uſed ſuch Geſtures: As *Cleon* is ſaid to be the firſt Orator among the *Athenians*, that pull'd off his Cloak, and ſmote his Thigh, in his Harangues to the Multitude. *Caius* his Oratory was impetuous, and ſo pathetical, that it raiſed Horror in the Auditory; but *Tiberius* was more mild, and apt to move Pity and Compaſſion: In his Words he was pure and natural, yet laborious and accurate; but *Caius* was pompous and figurative. So likewiſe in their way of Living, and at their Tables, *Tiberius* was frugal, and no Affecter of Variety; but *Caius*, if indeed compared with other Men, moderate enough: But in reſpect of his Brother, too curious a Lover of Rareties, and profuſe; which *Druſus* objected to him, That he had bought certain Dolphins of Silver, to the Value of 1250 Drachma's, for every Pound weight.

The ſame difference that appear'd in their Speaking, was obſervable alſo in their Tempers: The one was ſmooth and ſedate, the other rough and paſſionate; and to that degree, that often in the midſt of his Orations, he was ſo hurried away by his Paſſion, even againſt his own Will, that he fell to give ill

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Language; and ſo ſtrain'd his Voice, that he could not proceed in the Speech. For a Remedy to this Exceſs, he made uſe of an ingegenious Servant of his, one *Licinius*, who ſtood conſtantly behind him with a * *Pitch-pipe*, or Inſtrument to regulate the Voice by; and when-ever he perceive his Maſter's Tone alter, and grow harſh with Anger, he ſtruck a ſoft Note, with his Pipe; at the hearing of which, *Caius* immediately bated of the vehemence of his Paſſion and Voice, grew Mild, and was eaſily recall'd to Temper. Theſe are the Differences between the two Brothers; but their Valour againſt their Enemies, their Juſtice to their Country-men, their Care and Well-management or their publick Affairs, and laſtly, their Continency againſt Senſuality and Pleaſures, were equally remarkable, and alike in both.

Tiberius was the Elder by Nine Years, which occaſion'd that their publick Actions were divided, by the difference of the Times, in which thoſe of the one, and thoſe of the other, were tranſacted. This was no ſmall hindrance to their Undertakings; for not coming at the ſame time to the Adminiſtration of Affairs, they could not join their Intereſts together, which between them both, had they flouriſh'd at once, muſt needs have been very great, and almoſt

* Φανασικὸν ὄργανον.

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irreſiſtable. We muſt therefore give an Account of each of them ſingly, and firſt of the Eldeſt.

Tiberius, though as yet but a young Man, was ſo celebrated and eſteem'd, that he was ſoon admitted into the College of the *Augurs*, and that with Reſpect had, more to his early Vertue, than his noble Birth. This *Appius Claudius* made appear; who, though he had been *Conſul* and *Cenſor*, and was then the chief of the *Roman* Senate, and excelling in Wiſdom moſt of his Quality, at a publick Feaſt of the *Augurs*, addreſs'd himſelf openly to *Tiberius*, and with great Expreſſions of Kindneſs, offer'd him his Daughter in Marriage; which, with much Satisfaction embracing, and the Wedding Agreements being thus ſpeedily concluded, *Appius* went ſtraight home, and calling out his Wife to the Gate, with a loud Voice cry'd out, *O* Antiſtia, *I have contracted our Daughter* Claudia *to a Husband.* She being amazed, anſwered, *But why ſo ſuddenly? Or what means this haſte? Unleſs you have provided* Tiberius Gracchus *for her Husband.* I am not ignorant that ſome apply this Story to *Tiberius*, the Father of the *Gracchi*, and *Scipio Africanus*; but moſt People relate it as we have done: And *Polybius* writes, that after the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, the neareſt Relations of *Cornelia*, preferring *Tiberius* to all other Competitors, gave her to him in Marriage, not having been engaged or promiſed to any one by her Father.

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Now this young *Tiberius* ſerving in *Africa* under the younger *Scipio*, who had married his Siſter, and converſing under the ſame Tent with his General, ſoon obſerv'd and learn'd his noble Genius, which excited a great Emulation of his Vertues, and ſtirr'd him up to the imitation of his Actions, and in a ſhort time excell'd all the young Men of the Army, in his regular Behaviour and Courage; and he at one Siege was the firſt that mounted the Enemies Wall, as *Fannius* ſays, who writes, that he himſelf climb'd up with him, and was partaker in that Action. His preſence created amongſt the Soldiers an extraordinary Affection, and his departure left a paſſionate deſire of his Return.

After that Expedition, being choſen *Paymaſter of the Army*, it was his fortune to ſerve in the War againſt the *Numantines*, under the Command of *C. Mancinus* the *Conſul*, a Perſon no ways blamable, but the moſt unfortunate of all the *Roman* Generals. Notwithſtanding, amidſt the greateſt Misfortunes, and in the moſt unſucceſsful Enterprizes, not only the Diſcretion and Valour of *Tiberius*, but alſo (which was ſtill more to be admired)the great Reſpect and Veneration which he had for his General, was moſt eminently Remarkable; though the General himſelf, when reduced to Straits, forgot his own Dignity and Office: For being beaten, he endeavoured to diſlodge by Night, and leave his Camp; which the

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Numantines perceiving, they immediately poſſeſs'd themſelves of his Camp, purſuing that part of the Forces which was put to flight; ſlew all thoſe that were in the Rear, hedg'd the whole Army in on every ſide, and forc'd them into ſuch intricate Places, as that there could be no poſſibility of an Eſcape. *Mancinus*, deſpairing to make his way through by force, ſent a Meſſenger to deſire a Truce, and Ceſſation of Arms; but they refuſed to conclude a Treaty with any one except *Tiberius*, and required that he ſhould be ſent to treat with them. This they earneſtly inſiſted upon, not only in regard to the young Man's Courage, (for he had a great Reputation amongſt the Soldiers) but likewiſe in remembrance of his Father *Tiberius*, who in his Expedition againſt the *Spaniards*, had utterly deſtroyed ſeveral other Places, but granted a Peace to the *Numantines*, and prevail'd upon the *Romans* to keep it punctually and inviolably.

Upon this Conſideration, *Tiberius* was diſpatch'd to the Enemy, whom he perſwaded to accept of ſeveral Conditions, and he himſelf complied with others; and by this means it's evident, that he ſaved 20000 of the *Roman* Citizens, beſides Slaves, and thoſe that follow'd the Army. However the *Numantines* plundered the Camp, and carried away every Thing they found there; amongſt other Things were *Tiberius*'s Books of Accompts, containing the whole Tranſactions of his

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Quæſtorſhip, upon which he ſet an extraordinary Value: And therefore when the Army was all ready upon their March, he return'd to *Numantia*, accompanied with only Three or Four of his intimate Friends; and making his Application to the principal Officers of the *Numantines*, he earneſtly intreated, that they would return him his Books, leſt his Enemies ſhould thereby take an Occaſion to upbraid him, for not being able to give an Account of the Moneys received and diſburſed by him. The *Numantines* joyfully embraced this Opportunity of obliging him, and kindly invited him into the City; as he ſtood arguing the Caſe with them, they approach'd towards him, took him by the Hands, and earneſtly begg'd, that he would never again look upon them as Enemies, but relying upon their Friendſhip, be confident for the future of this their preſent Sincerity. *Tiberius* thought it convenient to believe them, becauſe he was deſirous to have his Books return'd, and was afraid leſt he ſhould diſoblige them, by ſhewing any manner of Diſtruſt. As ſoon as he enter'd into the City, they in the firſt Place invited him to a publick Entertainment, and were very earneſt that he would accept of it: Afterwards they return'd his Books, and gave him the Liberty to take what-ever he ſaw moſt acceptable of the remaining Spoils. He, on the other hand, would accept of nothing but ſome Frankincenſe, which he uſed in his

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Numan-

Numantines perceiving, they immediately poſſeſs'd themſelves of his Camp, purſuing that part of the Forces which was put to flight; ſlew all thoſe that were in the Rear, hedg'd the whole Army in on every ſide, and forc'd them into ſuch intricate Places, as that there could be no poſſibility of an Eſcape. *Mancinus*, deſpairing to make his way through by force, ſent a Meſſenger to deſire a Truce, and Ceſſation of Arms; but they refuſed to conclude a Treaty with any one except *Tiberius*, and required that he ſhould be ſent to treat with them. This they earneſtly inſiſted upon, not only in regard to the young Man's Courage, (for he had a great Reputation amongſt the Soldiers) but likewiſe in remembrance of his Father *Tiberius*, who in his Expedition againſt the *Spaniards*, had utterly deſtroyed ſeveral other Places, but granted a Peace to the *Numantines*, and prevail'd upon the *Romans* to keep it punctually and inviolably.

Upon this Conſideration, *Tiberius* was diſpatch'd to the Enemy, whom he perſwaded to accept of ſeveral Conditions, and he himſelf complied with others; and by this means it's evident, that he ſaved 20000 of the *Roman* Citizens, beſides Slaves, and thoſe that follow'd the Army. However the *Numantines* plundered the Camp, and carried away every Thing they found there; amongſt other Things were *Tiberius*'s Books of Accompts, containing the whole Tranſactions of his

Quæſtor-

Quæſtorſhip, upon which he ſet an extraordinary Value: And therefore when the Army was all ready upon their March, he return'd to *Numantia*, accompanied with only Three or Four of his intimate Friends; and making his Application to the principal Officers of the *Numantines*, he earneſtly intreated, that they would return him his Books, leſt his Enemies ſhould thereby take an Occaſion to upbraid him, for not being able to give an Account of the Moneys received and diſburſed by him. The *Numantines* joyfully embraced this Opportunity of obliging him, and kindly invited him into the City; as he ſtood arguing the Caſe with them, they approach'd towards him, took him by the Hands, and earneſtly begg'd, that he would never again look upon them as Enemies, but relying upon their Friendſhip, be confident for the future of this their preſent Sincerity. *Tiberius* thought it convenient to believe them, becauſe he was deſirous to have his Books return'd, and was afraid leſt he ſhould diſoblige them, by ſhewing any manner of Diſtruſt. As ſoon as he enter'd into the City, they in the firſt Place invited him to a publick Entertainment, and were very earneſt that he would accept of it: Afterwards they return'd his Books, and gave him the Liberty to take what-ever he ſaw moſt acceptable of the remaining Spoils. He, on the other hand, would accept of nothing but ſome Frankincenſe, which he uſed in his

publick Sacrifices; and after he had kindly embraced them, and made his Complements, departed.

When he return'd to *Rome*, he found the whole Tranſaction cenſured and reproach'd, as a Buſineſs that was baſe and ſcandalous to the *Romans*; but the Relations and Friends of the Soldiers, which were the greateſt part of the Populace, came flocking to *Tiberius*, whom they acknowledg'd the Preſerver of ſo many Citizens, and imputed all the Miſcarriages which had happen'd, to the General. They who were diſſatisfied with the Proceedings, propoſed the Example of their Anceſtors to be followed; for after the haſty Peace, which had been concluded with the *Samnites*, upon conditions that the *Romans* ſhould march home without Moleſtation, they ſtripp'd all ſuch as had been any way concern'd in making that Peace, as well the Treaſurers and Tribunes, as the leading Officers; and in that manner deliver'd 'em up into the Enemies Hands, laying the Crimes of Perjury, and breach of that Peace at their Doors. But in this Affair, the Populace ſhewing an extraordinary Kindneſs and Affection for *Tiberius*, they indeed voted that the *Conſul* ſhould be ſtripp'd and put in Irons, and ſo deliver'd to the *Numantines*; but they granted a general Pardon to all the others, out of Reſpect only to *Tiberius*. It may be probable alſo, that *Scipio*, who at that time was a leading Man among

among the *Romans*, lent him his Aſſiſtance; though he was nevertheleſs cenſured for not protecting *Mancinus* too; and that he did not ratifie the Articles of Peace, which had been agreed upon by his Kinſman and Friend *Tiberius*. But it's evident, that the greateſt part of theſe Differences did ariſe from the Ambition of ſome deſigning Politicians, who had a Kindneſs for *Tiberius*. However this Diſorder never came to a malignant and incurable Diſeaſe; and truly I cannot be perſwaded, that *Tiberius* would ever have taken thoſe Courſes which he did, if *Scipio Africanus* had had any hand in the management of his Affairs: For at the time when he was engaged in the War againſt *Numantia*, *Tiberius* then ventured to make Propoſals of new Laws, for the better regulation of the Government, upon the following occaſion.

The *Romans* had by Conqueſt gain'd ſome Lands, adjoyning to the Suburbs, part whereof they ſold publickly, and turn'd the remainder into *Common*; this Common they aſſign'd to ſuch of the Citizens as were poor and indigent, for which they were to pay only a ſmall acknowledgment into the publick Treaſury: But when the wealthy Men began to raiſe the Rents, and turn the poor People out of their Poſſeſſions, it was enacted by Law, that no Perſon what-ever ſhould enjoy more than 500 Acres of Ground. This Act did for ſome time reſtrain the Avarice of the

richer, and was no ſmall ſupply to the poorer People, who poſſeſs'd their reſpective Proportions of Ground, as they had been formerly rented by them: Afterwards the rich Men of the Neighbourhood contrived to get theſe Lands again into their Poſſeſſions, under other Peoples Names, and at laſt would not ſtick to claim moſt of 'em publickly in their own. The Poor, who were thus deprived of their Farms, would neither liſt themſelves in the *Militia*, nor take any care of the Education of their Children: Inſomuch that in a ſhort time there were few Free-men remaining in all *Italy*, which ſwarm'd with a numerous company of barbarous Slaves: Theſe the rich Men employed about the cultivating their Ground, diſpoſſeſſing the Citizens. *C. Lælius*, an intimate Acquaintance of *Scipio's*, undertook to rectifie this Abuſe; but meeting with Oppoſition from Men of Authority, and fearing leſt a Riot ſhould thereupon be committed, he ſoon deſiſted; upon which account he was call'd, *Lælius* the *Wiſe*.

Tiberius being elected *Tribune* of the People, proſecuted that Deſign with all diligence, at the Inſtigation (as 'tis commonly reported) of *Diophanes* the Orator, and *Bloſſius* the Philoſopher. *Diophanes* was one that had been baniſhed from *Mytilene*, the other was an *Italian*, of the City of *Cuma*, who was educated there by *Antipater* of *Tarſus*, that afterwards did him the Honour to dedicate his Philoſophical

phical Lectures to him. Some are apt to think *Cornelia*, the Mother of *Tiberius*, contributed towards it, becauſe ſhe frequently upbraided her Sons, upon this account, that the *Romans* as yet rather call'd her the Daughter of *Scipio*, than the Mother of the *Gracchi*; but 'twas thought *Sp. Poſtumius* was the chief occaſion of this. He was Contemporary with *Tiberius*, and very ambitious to gain the Reputation of being the better Orator; whom, when *Tiberius* at his return from the Campaign, found to be in very great Eſteem and Authority, he was deſirous to out-do him, by attempting a popular Enterprize of this Difficulty, and of ſuch great Conſequence. But his Brother *Caius* left it us in Writing, that when *Tiberius* went through *Tuſcany* into *Numantia*, and found the Countries almoſt depopulated, there being hardly any Husbandmen or Shepherds, and for the moſt part only barbarous foreign Slaves; he from that time took into his ſerious Conſideration, the management of this Affair, which in the ſequel proved ſo fatal to his Family; though it is moſt certain, that the People themſelves chiefly excited him to be Active and Vigorous in the proſecution of this, by their fixing publick Libels upon the Porches, Walls and Monuments, humbly beſeeching him, that he would re-eſtabliſh them in their former Poſſeſſions.

However he did not make this Law without the Advice and Aſſiſtance of thoſe Citizens, that were then moſt eminent for their Vertue and Authority; amongſt whom was *Craſſus* the High-Prieſt, *Mutius Scævola* the Lawyer, (who at time was *Conſul)* and *Claudius Appius* his Father-in-law. Never did any Law appear more moderate and gentle, eſpecially being enacted againſt ſo great an Oppreſſion and Avarice: For they who ought to have been ſeverely puniſhed for tranſgreſſing the former Laws, and ſhould at leaſt have loſt all their Titles to ſuch Lands, which they had unjuſtly uſurp'd; yet they were order'd notwithſtanding to receive a Gratuity, for quitting their unlawful Claims, and reſtoring their Lands to thoſe right Owners, who ſtood in need thereof. But though this Reformation was managed with ſo much Tenderneſs, that all the former Tranſactions ſmother'd, the People were only careful to prevent Abuſes of the like nature for the future. Yet on the other hand, the Money'd Men, and thoſe of great Eſtates, were exaſperated, through Covetuouſneſs, againſt the Law it ſelf, and againſt the Law-giver, through Anger and Obſtinacy; they therefore endeavour'd to ſeduce the People, inſinuating to them, that *Tiberius* had introduced ſuch a diviſion of the Lands, with a deſign only to diſturb the Government, and put all things into a Confuſion.

But

But they ſucceeded not in this Project; for *Tiberius* being a Perſon always reſolute in the maintaining of an honourable and juſt Cauſe, and one whoſe Eloquence was ſufficient to have made a leſs creditable Action appear plauſible, was earneſt, and not eaſily to be controuled. Upon this account, being plac'd in the *Roſtrum*, he made a Speech on the behalf of the poor People, to this effect. *The ſavage Beaſts*, ſays he, *in* Italy, *have their particular Dens, they have their Places of Repoſe and Refuge; but the Men who bore Arms, and expoſed their Lives for the ſafety of their Country, enjoy'd in the mean time nothing more in it but the freſh Air and Sunſhine; and having no Houſes or Settlements of their own, were conſtrain'd to wander from Place to Place with their Wives and Children.* He told 'em, *That the Commanders were guilty of a ridiculous Error, when at the Head of their Armies, they exhorted the common Soldiers to fight for their Sepulchres and Altars; when not any amongſt ſo many* Romans, *is poſſeſs'd of either Altar or Monument, neither have they any Houſes of their own, or Seats of their Anceſtors to defend: They fought indeed, and were ſlain, but it was to maintain the Luxury and the Wealth of other Men: They likewiſe were ſtyled the Lords of the Univerſe, but in the mean time had not one foot of Ground, which they could call their own.* An Harangue of this nature, ſpoken to an Enthuſiaſtical and Tumultuous Rabble, by a Perſon of extraordinary Prudence, and great Zeal; none of

his Adverſaries at that time preſumed to make any oppoſition thereunto. Forbearing therefore all manner of Diſputes, they turn'd themſelves towards *Marcus Octavius*, his fellow-*Tribune*, who being a young Man, of a ſober Converſation, modeſt in his Behaviour, and an intimate Friend of *Tiberius*'s, did upon that account decline at firſt the oppoſing of him; but at length over-perſwaded with the repeated Importunities of ſome conſiderable Perſons, he was prevail'd upon to oppoſe *Tiberius*, and he hindred the paſſing of the Law; it being a Cuſtom that the *Tribunes* have a Power to hinder any Law from paſſing, and that all the reſt can enact nothing, if only one of them diſſents from it. *Tiberius* being enraged at theſe Proceedings, preſently laid aſide this mild Bill; but at the ſame time preferr'd another; which as it was more grateful to the common People, ſo it was much more ſevere againſt Extortioners; commanding them, *To make an immediate ſurrender of all ſuch Lands, which they, contrary to former Laws, had got into their Poſſeſſions.* From hence it was, that there aroſe daily Contentions between him and *Octavius* in their Orations; however, though they expreſs'd themſelves with much heat and earneſtneſs, they yet were never known to uſe any ſcurrilous Language, or in their Paſſion to let ſlip any indecent Expreſſions, ſo as to derogate from one another. From whence it's obſervable, how much a good

good Temper, and an Ingenuous Education does influence and compoſe Mens Minds; not only in their Meetings for Pleaſure and Diverſion, but likewiſe in their Contentions, and in their very emulation for Preferments.

When *Tiberius* conſidered, that *Octavius* himſelf had offended againſt this Law, and detain'd a great quantity of Ground from the Commonalty, he deſired him to forbear oppoſing him any farther; and generouſly proffer'd for the Publick Good, though he himſelf had but an indifferent Eſtate, to purchaſe *Octavius*'s ſhare, at his proper Coſt and Charges: But upon the refuſal of this proffer by *Octavius*, he then publiſh'd an Edict, prohibiting all Magiſtrates to exerciſe their reſpective Functions, till ſuch time as the Law was either ratified or rejected by Publick Votes. He farther Seal'd up the Gates of *Saturn*'s *Temple*, in which the Publick Treaſury was kept, ſo that the Treaſurers could neither take any thing out from thence, or put any thing in. He threaten'd to impoſe a ſevere Fine upon ſuch as ſhould preſume to diſobey his Commands, inſomuch that all the Officers for fear of this Penalty, omitted the exerciſe of their ſeveral Juriſdictions. Upon this, the Gentlemen of Eſtates put themſelves into Mourning, went up and down Melancholy and Dejected; they enter'd into a Conſpiracy againſt *Tiberius*, and procured *Ruffians* to Murther him; inſomuch that he never

never went abroad without ſuch a *Tuck* or *Rapier* as Robbers uſe, which the *Latines* call *Dolon*.

When the day appointed was come, and the People ſummon'd to give their Votes, the rich Men ſeized upon the *Ballotting-Boxes*, and carried them away by Force; thus all things were in confuſion. But when *Tiberius*'s Party appeared ſtrong enough to oppoſe the contrary Faction, and were drawn together in a Body, with Reſolutions to do ſo; *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, two of the Conſular Quality, threw themſelves at *Tiberius*'s Feet, took him by the Hand, and with Tears in their Eyes, humbly begg'd of him to deſiſt. *Tiberius* conſidering the Inconveniencies that were likely to ariſe, and having a great Reſpect for two ſuch eminent Perſons, demanded of them what they would adviſe him to do. They acknowledged themſelves Perſons altogether unfit to adviſe in a Matter of ſo great Importance, but earneſtly entreated him to leave it to the determination of the Senate. When the Senate was aſſembled, and yet could not bring the buſineſs to a Period, by reaſon of the prevalency of the rich Faction, he then betook himſelf to illegal and unjuſt Methods, endeavouring to deprive *Octavius* of his Tribuneſhip; it being impoſſible for him without that, to get the Law ratified and confirmed: At firſt he careſs'd him with moſt obliging Language, and taking him by his Hands, beſeech'd

ſeech'd him, that now in the preſence of all the People, he would take this Opportunity to oblige them, in granting only that Requeſt which was in it ſelf ſo juſt and reaſonable, being but a ſmall Recompence in regard of thoſe many Dangers and Hardſhips which they had undergone for the publick Safety. *Octavius* would by no means be perſwaded to a Compliance; whereupon *Tiberius* declared openly, that ſeeing they two were jointly concern'd in the ſame Office, and of equal Authority, it would be a difficult matter to compoſe this Difference without a Civil War; and that the only Remedy which he knew, muſt of neceſſity be the depoſing one of them from their Office. He deſired therefore that *Octavius* would ſummon the People to paſs their Verdict upon him firſt, averring that he would willingly relinquiſh his Authority if the honeſt Citizens would conſent to it. But *Octavius* ſtill continued refractory; wherefore *Tiberius* told him plainly, That the People ſhould have liberty to vote againſt him, if upon mature Deliberation he did not ſuddenly alter his Mind, and after this Declaration adjourned the Aſſembly till the next day. When the People were met together again, *Tiberius* placed himſelf in the *Roſtrum*, and endeavoured a ſecond time to perſwade *Octavius*: But all being to no purpoſe, he referred the whole matter to the People, ordering them to vote whether *Octavius* ſhould be depoſed or not;

and

and when ſeventeen of the thirty five Tribes had already voted againſt him, and there wanted only the Votes of one Tribe more for his final Deprivation, *Tiberius* put a ſhort ſtop to the Proceedings, and vouchſafed to renew his Importunities, he embraced and kiſſed him before all the Aſſembly, begging with all the earneſtneſs imaginable, that he would neither ſuffer himſelf to be expoſed to ſuch Infamy, nor him to be reputed the Author and Promoter of ſuch an odious Project. *Octavius* (they ſay) ſeemed a little ſoftned and moved with their Importunities, and with his Eyes full of Tears continued ſilent for a conſiderable time: But afterwards looking towards the Men of Eſtates who were gathered together in a Body, partly for ſhame, and partly for fear of incurring their Diſpleaſure, he generouſly bid *Tiberius* do what he pleaſed. The Law for his Deprivation being thus voted, *Tiberius* ordered one of his Servants, whom he had made a Freeman, to pull *Octavius* out of the *Roſtrum*, for he employed his own Domeſtick Servants in the ſtead of Serjeants.

And this was a further addition to the Puniſhment, that *Octavius* was dragged out in ſuch an ignominous manner. The People immediately aſſaulted him with great Violence, whilſt the rich Men ran in to his Aſſiſtance. *Octavius* preſently fled, and without any Attendant eſcaped the Fury of the Rabble, though it happen'd that a truſty Servant of

of his, who had placed himſelf by his Maſter, that he might aſſiſt him towards his Eſcape, in keeping off the Multitude, had his Eyes ſtruck out, contrary to the intention of *Tiberius*, who ran with all haſt (when he perceived the Diſturbance) to appeaſe the Rioters.

This being done, the Law concerning the Lands was ratified, and confirmed, and three Commiſſioners were appointed to make a Survey of the Grounds, and ſee the ſame equally divided: The Commiſſioners were *Tiberius* himſelf, *Claudius Appius* his Father-in-law, and his Brother *C. Gracchus*, who at this time was not at *Rome*, but in the Army under the Command of *Scipio Affricanus* before *Numantia*. Theſe things were tranſacted by *Tiberius* without any Diſturbance, none daring to ſtand in oppoſition to him; and beſides all this, he choſe by his own Intereſt and Authority another Tribune, not as formerly out of the eminent Nobility, but *Mutius*, one of his own Domeſtick Servants. Upon the account of theſe Proceedings, the Rich were extremely offended, and ſtill dreaded, leſt he ſhould grow more Popular; they therefore took all Opportunities of affronting him publickly in the Senate-Houſe; for when he deſired, as was uſual, to have a Tent provided at the publick Charge for his uſe, when he ſhould begin his Expedition to divide the Lands, though it was a favour commonly granted to Perſons employed in Buſineſs of much leſs importance,

portance, yet was peremptorily refus'd to him; and they would allow him only nine *Oboli* to defray each days Expences.

P. Narſica was the chief Promoter of theſe Affronts, and was not afraid to own how much he hated him, upon the account of his having formerly a very great Eſtate in thoſe publick Lands, and did not a little reſent it, to be turned out now by force. The People on the other hand were ſtill more and more enraged, inſomuch that a little after this, it happening that one of *Tiberius*'s Friends died ſuddenly, and his Body being full of malignant Spots, the People ran in a tumultuous manner to his Funeral, crying aloud that the Man was poiſoned: They took the *Coffin* upon their Shoulders, and carried the Corps to the Funeral Pile, really believing that the plain Symptoms of Poiſon were eaſily diſcernable, for the Body ſwell'd to a great bigneſs, and ſuch a quantity of corrupt Humours iſſued out, that the Funeral-fire was extinguiſhed thereby; and when it was again kindled, the Wood ſtill would not burn, inſomuch that they were conſtrained to carry the Corps to another place, where with much difficulty it took fire. Beſides this, *Tiberius*, that he might incenſe the People yet more, put himſelf into Mourning, brought his Children amongſt the Crowd, intreated the People to provide for them and their Mother, as if he himſelf did now deſpair of his own Security. About this time

time King *Attalus*, ſirnamed *Philopater*, died, and *Eudemus*, a *Pergamenian*, brought his *Laſt Will* to *Rome*, whereby he had made the *Roman* People his Heirs.

Tiberius, to ingratiate himſelf ſtill more with the Commonalty, immediately propoſed making of a Law, that all the ready Money which *Attalus* left, ſhould be diſtributed amongſt ſuch poor Citizens as were to be Sharers of the publick Lands, for the better enabling of them to proceed in the management and cultivating of their Ground; and as for the Cities that were in the Territories of *Attalus*, he declared that the diſpoſal of them did not at all belong to the Senate, but the People, and that he himſelf would ask their Pleaſure herein; by this he exaſperated the Senate more than ever he had done before, and therefore *Pompeius* ſtood up inſtantly, and acquainted the Senate that he was the next Neighbour to *Tiberius*, and ſo had the opportunity of knowing, that *Eudemus* the *Pergamenian* had preſented *Tiberius* with a *Royal Crown* and a *Purple Robe*, thereby intimating that *Tiberius* ſhould e'er long be King of *Rome*.

Quintus Metellus alſo upbraided *Tiberius*, that when his Father was *Cenſor*, the *Romans* never returned home from their Country-Houſes after Supper, but they put out their Torches, leſt they ſhould be ſeen to have indulged themſelves in Banquetting at unſeaſonable hours. But inſtead of this decent Cuſtom,

ſtom, his common Practice was, to walk the Streets at Midnight, whilſt mean and inſolent Fellows flock'd to him, and made up his Retinue.

Titus Annius, a Man of no great Repute either for his Honeſty or Learning, but a cunning Sophiſter in propoſing cramp Queſtions, and returning Anſwers, offered to prove by undeniable Arguments, that *Tiberius* had done unworthily in depoſing a *Roman Magiſtrate*, whom the Laws ever eſteemed ſacred and inviolable. The People immediately grew tumultuous, and *Tiberius* ſummoning a General Aſſembly, commanded *Annius* to appear and maintain that which he had aſſerted: But *Annius* being neither a good Logician, nor pretending much to Oratory, rather betook himſelf to his old way of asking ſome cunning ſort of Queſtions, and deſired that he might propoſe one or two to *Tiberius*, before he entered upon the chief Argument. This Liberty being granted, and Silence proclaimed, *Annius* propoſed this Queſtion. *If you*, ſays he, *had a deſign to viliſie and defame me, and I ſhould apply my ſelf to any other Magiſtrate for Redreſs, and he ſhould come readily to my Aſſiſtance, would you for that reaſon fall into an extravagant Paſſion, and put him out of Commiſſion? Tiberius*, they ſay, being much ſurprized at this Queſtion, was wholly ſilent, though at other times his aſſurance at well as his Eloquence was always remarkable; yet now upon this account he thought

thought it convenient to diſmiſs the Aſſembly.

Afterwards beginning to underſtand that his Behaviour towards *Octavius* did diſguſt the *Populace* as well as the *Nobility* (becauſe the Dignity of the Tribunes ſeemed to be violated, which had always continued till that day very ſacred and honourable) he made a Speech to the People in Juſtification of himſelf, out of which it may not be improper to collect ſome Particulars, that we may thereby diſcern what impreſſion ſuch Eloquence was able to make upon an Auditory. *A Tribune*, ſays he, *of the People is Sacred indeed, and ought to be inviolable, becauſe in a manner conſecrated to be the Guardian and Protector of them; but if he degenerates ſo far as to oppreſs the People, to retrench their Privileges, and take away all their Liberty of Voting, he then deprives himſelf of that honourable Station by the neglect of his Duty, for which the Honour was beſtowed upon him; otherwiſe a Tribune might not think himſelf obnoxious, though he ſhould demoliſh the Capitol, or burn the Naval Magazines.*

Certainly when he that is only guilty of ſuch Extravagancies as theſe, can't be look'd upon as a good Tribune; much leſs can he be ſo, that dares preſume to diminiſh the Privileges of the People, becauſe he ceaſes from that time to be the Peoples Tribune. Is it not very unreaſonable, that a Tribune ſhould have Power to impriſon a Conſul, if the People muſt have no Authority to degrade him when he uſes that

Honour which he received from them, to their detriment: For the Tribunes, as well as the Conſuls, are elected to that Dignity by the Peoples Votes. (But to proceed) the Kingly Government, which comprehends all ſorts of Authority in it ſelf alone, is confirmed with the greateſt and moſt religious Solemnity imaginable, as being a Government which does moſt reſemble that of Heaven. But the Citizens notwithſtanding this, depoſed King Tarquin, *becauſe of his tyrannical Oppreſſions, and for the Injuſtice of one ſingle Man, the ancient Government under which* Rome *was built, was aboliſh'd for ever. What is there in all* Rome *ſo ſacred and venerable, as the veſtal Virgins, to whoſe care alone the preſervation of the eternal Fire is committed; yet if their Chaſtity be violated, and their Reputation ſtained, they are buried alive: for when they preſume to commit any Offence againſt their Gods, they inſtantly loſe that Veneration, which they claimed as Attendants in their Service; ſo likewiſe a* Tribune *ſhould no longer be reſpected by the People as a ſacred Perſon, when he offends againſt that Authority from whence he derived his own.*

We always eſteem that Perſon legally choſen Tribune, *who is elected only by the majority of Votes; and is not therefore the ſame Perſon much more lawfully degraded, when by a general Conſent of them all, they agree to depoſe him. Nothing is ſo ſacred as religious Offerings; yet the People were never prohibited to make uſe of them, but ſuffered to remove and carry them where-ever they pleaſed: they likewiſe, whenever it has been thought convenient, have*

have transferr'd the Tribuneſhip *as a ſacred Preſent, from one Perſon to another; and if this had been an unuſual thing, yet that Authority could not have been thought unalterable, becauſe ſeveral Magiſtrates have often voluntarily ſurrendred their Commiſſions, or deſired to be diſcharged.*

Thoſe were the principal Heads of *Tiberius*'s Apology; but his Friends apprehending the Dangers which ſeemed to threaten him, and thoſe Conſpiracies that were ſecretly contrived againſt him, were of opinion, that the ſafeſt way would be for him to petition, that he might be continued *Tribune* for the year enſuing. Upon this Conſideration he again endeavoured to oblige the People with other Laws, making the years of ſerving in the War fewer than formerly, in granting the liberty of Appeals from the Judges to the People, and joining to the Senators that were Judges at that time, an equal number of ordinary Gentlemen, endeavouring as much as in him lay to leſſen the Power of the Senate; which proceeded rather from Paſſion and Prejudice, than from any rational regard to Equity and the publick Good. When it came to be debated, whether theſe Laws ſhould be ratified, he was preſently ſenſible, that his Adverſaries had the moſt Votes, (the People as yet being not got together in a full Body) and in ſuch caſes, 'twas his Cuſtom to raiſe ſome Diſputes with his Fellow-Officers, out of deſign only to gain longer time; but failing

in that Project too, he at length adjourned the Aſſembly till the day following.

Tiberius then went down into the Market-place amongſt the People, and made his firſt Addreſſes to them in an humble poſture with Tears in his Eyes; and afterwards told them, he had juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that his Adverſaries would attempt in the Night-time to break open his Houſe, and murder him. This work'd ſo ſtrongly with the multitude, that ſeveral of them erected Tents round about his Houſe, and kept Guard all Night for the ſecurity of his Perſon. By break of day came one of the *Soothſayers*, who prognoſticate good or bad Succeſs by the pecking of Fowls, and threw them ſomething to eat: the *Soothſayer* uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to fright the Fowls out of their Coop; but none of them except one would venture out, which flutter'd with its left Wing, and ſtretch'd out its Leg, and run back again into the Coop, without eating any thing. This put *Tiberius* in mind of another ill Omen, which had formerly happen'd to him: he had a very coſtly Head-piece, which he made uſe of when he engag'd in any Battle, and into this piece of Armour two Serpents crawl'd, laid Eggs, and brought forth young ones; the remembrance of which made *Tiberius* more concern'd at this, than otherwiſe he would have been. However he went towards the *Capitol*, as ſoon as ever he underſtood that the People were aſſembled there;

there; but before he got out of the Houſe, he ſtumbled upon the Threſhold with ſuch violence, that he broke the Nail of his great Toe, inſomuch that Blood guſh'd out of his Shoo. He was not gone very far, before he ſaw two Ravens fighting on the top of a Houſe, which ſtood on his left hand as he paſs'd along; and though he was ſurrounded with an infinite number of People, a Stone happen'd to fall juſt at his Foot, beaten down (as it's probable) by the Ravens: which Accident put a ſtop to thoſe that were the boldeſt Men about him. But *Bloſſius* of *Cuma*, who happen'd to be then preſent, told him, That it would be a ſhameful thing for *Tiberius*, who was the Son of *Gracchus*, the Nephew of *Scipio Africanus*, and the *Protector* of the *Roman People*, to refuſe (for fear of a ſilly Bird) to promote the Intereſt of his Countrymen, who apply'd to him; and that his Adverſaries would repreſent this as the effect of a mean Spirit, of a tyrannical Temper, which took a pride in the frequent importunate Petitions of the People. At the ſame time ſeveral Meſſengers came alſo from *Tiberius*'s Friends, to deſire his Preſence at the *Capitol*, and to acquaint him, that all things went there according to expectation. Indeed *Tiberius*'s firſt entrance there was very pompous, and he was honourably received; for as ſoon as ever he appeared, his Friends welcom'd him with loud Acclamations into the *Capitol*: and when he had taken his Place,

they repeated their Expreſſions of Joy, and took care that no Perſon whatever ſhould come near him, unleſs thoſe who were his intimate Friends. *Mutius* then began to put the Buſineſs again to the Vote; but nothing was performed with the uſual Decency and Order, by reaſon of the Diſturbance which the Rabble made, by their preſſing forwards to get into the *Capitol*.

Whilſt theſe things were carried on in this Confuſion, *Flavius Flaccus*, a Senator, ſtanding in a Place higher than ordinary, but at ſuch a diſtance from *Tiberius*, that when he could not make him hear, by reaſon of the tumultuous noiſe, ſignified to him by certain motions of his Hand, that he had a deſire to impart ſomething of Conſequence to him in private. *Tiberius* order'd the Multitude to make way for him, by which means (though not without ſome difficulty) *Flavius* got to him, and inform'd him, that the Senators, ſeeing they could not prevail upon the *Conſul* to eſpouſe their Quarrel, had at length come to this final Determination amongſt themſelves, that he ſhould be aſſaſſinated; and to that purpoſe had a great number of their Friends and Servants prepared to accompliſh it. *Tiberius* no ſooner communicated this Confederacy to thoſe about him, but they immediately tuck'd up their long Gowns, broke the Halberts which the Serjeants uſed to keep the Crowd off, into pieces, and with

thoſe

thoſe reſolv'd to oppoſe all violent Aſſaultants. They who ſtood at a diſtance wonder'd, and demanded what the occaſion of that Diſorder ſhould be; *Tiberius* knowing that they could not hear him at that diſtance, lifted his Hand to his Head, thereby intimating the great Danger which he apprehended himſelf to be in: his Adverſaries taking notice of that Action, ran preſently to the Senate-Houſe, and declared, that *Tiberius* deſired the People to beſtow a Crown upon him, and that he might be King of *Rome*. This being very ſurpriſing, *Naſica* preſently demanded of the Conſul, that he would puniſh this Tyrant, and defend the Government, as by Law eſtabliſh'd. The Conſul mildly reply'd, *That he would not be guilty of an unjuſt Action; and as he would not ſuffer any Freeman to be put to death, before Sentence had lawfully paſs'd upon him, ſo neither would he protect* Tiberius, *if by his Inſinuation the People ſhould act any thing contrary to Law.* But *Naſica* riſing from his Seat in a great Paſſion, *Since the Conſul*, ſays he, *regards not the Safety of the Commonwealth, let every one who will defend the Dignity and Authority of their Laws, follow me.* He then caſting the Skirt of his Gown over his Shoulder, haſten'd to the *Capitol:* they who bore him company, wrapp'd their Gowns alſo about their Arms, and forc'd their way after him: but upon the account that they were Perſons of the greateſt Authority in the City, the common People durſt not

obſtruct their going thither, but were rather ſo careful in avoiding 'em, that they tumbled over one another in haſte. Some had furniſh'd themſelves with Clubs; others got up the feet of Stools and Chairs, which were broken by the haſty flight of the common People. Thus arm'd, they made towards *Tiberius*, knocking down all thoſe whom they happen'd to meet with; ſo that the People were ſoon wholly diſperſed, and many ſlain, as they endeavour'd to make their Eſcape.

Tiberius ſeeing theſe things, thought it his beſt way to ſave himſelf by flight: as he was running, he chanc'd to be ſtopp'd by one who catch'd him hold by the Gown; but he preſently getting clear of that, fled in his under-Garments only. In this haſty flight it happened, that falling over thoſe who before had been knock'd down, as he was endeavouring to recover himſelf, one *Publius Satureius*, a Tribune, was obſerv'd to give him the firſt fatal ſtroke, by hitting him upon the Head with the foot of a Stool: the next Man who ſtruck him, was *Lucius Rufus*, who afterwards boaſted of it, as an honourable Exploit. In this Tumult there were above 300 Men ſlain, with Clubs and Staves only, there being no *warlike Inſtruments* made uſe of. This was the firſt Inſurrection amongſt the *Romans*, that ended with the effuſion of Blood, ſince the Abrogation of Kingly Government;

for

for all former Seditions, which were neither ſmall, nor about trivial Matters, were always amicably compoſed, the two Parties conſtantly ſubmitting to one another, either the Senate for fear of the Commons, or the Commons out of reſpect to the Senate. And it's probable indeed that *Tiberius* himſelf might then have been eaſily brought to ſubmiſſion, if he had not been proceeded againſt in ſuch a rigorous manner; for he had not at that time above 3000 Men of his Party: but it's evident, that this Conſpiracy was fomented againſt him, more out of an Averſion and Malice which the rich Men had to his Perſon, than for the Reaſons which they commonly pretended againſt him: in teſtimony whereof, we may alledg the Cruelty and unnatural Inſultings which they uſed to his dead Body; for they would not ſuffer his own Brother, though he earneſtly begg'd the favour, to bury his Corps in the Night, but threw it together with other Carkaſſes into the River. Neither did their Cruelty ſtop here; for they baniſhed ſome of his Friends without legal Proceſs, and ſlew as many of the others as they could lay their hands on: amongſt whom *Diophanes* the Orator was ſlain; they murder'd one *Caius Billius*, by ſhutting him up cloſe in a large Tun with Vipers and Serpents: *Bloſſius* of *Cuma* indeed was carried before the Conſuls, and examin'd touching what had happen'd; who freely confeſſed, That

he

he had never failed to execute whatever *Tiberius* commanded him: *What*, reply'd *Naſica*, *then if* Tiberius *had commanded that you ſhould burn the Capitol, would you have burnt it?* His firſt Anſwer was, *That* Tiberius *never commanded any ſuch thing:* but being preſſed with the ſame Queſtion by ſeveral others, he declared, *That if* Tiberius *had commanded it, he would not have thought it an inglorious Action to have done it; for he never commanded any thing but what he thought for the Peoples Advantage.* *Bloſſius* at this time was pardoned, and afterwards fled to *Ariſtonicus* in *Aſia*, whoſe Fortune being then reduced to a deſperate condition, he kill'd himſelf. However the Senate to mollifie the People after theſe Tranſactions, did not oppoſe the Diviſion of the publick Lands, and permitted them to chuſe another Commiſſioner for that Buſineſs in the room of *Tiberius:* ſo they elected *Publius Craſſus*, who was *Gracchus*'s near Kinſman, becauſe his Daughter *Licinia* was married to *Caius Gracchus*; altho' *Cornelius Nepos* ſays, that ſhe was not *Craſſus*'s Daughter whom *Caius* married, but *Brutus*'s, that triumph'd for his Conqueſts in *Portugal:* but moſt Hiſtorians are of the ſame Opinion with us. Afterwards the People were much concern'd for the loſs of *Tiberius*; and it was apparent, that they wanted nothing but a convenient opportunity to be revenged, and already threaten'd to bring *Naſica* to his Trial. The Senate

Senate fearing leſt ſome Miſchief ſhould befal *Naſica*, ſent him Ambaſſador into *Aſia*, though there was no occaſion for his going thither. The common People did not conceal their Indignation even in the open Streets, but rail'd at him, whenever they met him abroad, calling him a Murderer and a Tyrant, one who had polluted even the Temple it ſelf, with the Blood of a Tribune. Upon this Conſideration *Naſica* left *Italy*, although he was obliged, being the *Chief-Prieſt*, to officiate in all principal Sacrifices: thus wandring full of Diſcontent and Affliction from one place to another, he died in a ſhort time after not far from *Pergamus*. It is no wonder that the People had ſuch an averſion to *Naſica*, when even *Scipio Africanus*, who, though deſervedly belov'd by the *Romans*, was in danger of quite loſing the good opinion which the People had of him, only for repeating, when the News of *Tiberius*'s Death was firſt brought to *Numantia*, this Verſe out of *Homer*:

Ὣς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέζοι.

So may he periſh, who ſuch Crimes commits.

And afterwards being ask'd by *Caius* and *Fulvius*, in a great Aſſembly, what he thought of *Tiberius*'s Death; he anſwer'd, That he did not at all approve *Tiberius*'s way of Proceeding. Upon which account the People would

would begin to interrupt him with their Hiſſings, in the middle of his Orations, which they never preſumed to do before that time; and he on the other hand was ſo incenſed at it, that upon this account he reflected very ſmartly upon the People. But of theſe Particulars I have given a full account in the Life of *Scipio*.

THE

THE LIFE OF CAIUS.

Caius Gracchus at firſt, either for fear of his Brother's Enemies, or deſigning to render them more odious to the People, abſented himſelf from their publick Aſſemblies, and quietly retired to his own Houſe, as if he was a Perſon, to whom ſuch private Circumſtances were not only

only very agreeable at preſent, but that he was content alſo to paſs the remainder of his Life, without affecting any publick Action; which made ſome imagine, That he abhorr'd and deteſted the Tranſactions of *Tiberius*: However he was now but very young, being not ſo old as his Brother by Nine years, who was ſcarce Thirty when he was ſlain.

It was not long before he plainly diſcover'd his Temper, having a natural Antipathy to a lazy Retirement and Effeminacy; nor in the leaſt inclin'd to any ſort of Luxury, or Covetouſneſs. He wholly addicted himſelf to the ſtudy of Eloquence, as Wings whereby he might eaſily aſpire to publick Buſineſs and Government; and it was very apparent, that he did not intend to paſs his Days in obſcurity. When *Bettius*, a Friend of his, was impeach'd of high Miſdemeanors, and he undertaking publickly to defend his Cauſe, the People were in an Ecſtaſy, and tranſported with Joy, to find him at the Bar, and Maſter of ſuch Eloquence, that the other Orators ſeem'd to talk like Children in compariſon to him. This created new Jealouſies and Fears amongſt thoſe in Authority, and their great Deſign was, how to hinder *Caius* from being made *Tribune*.

But ſoon after, it happen'd that he was elected *Quæſtor*, and obliged to attend *Oreſtes* the *Conſul* into *Sardinia*. This, as it pleaſed his Enemies, ſo it was not ungrateful to him; for

for being naturally a ſtout Man, he was as well train'd in the Art of War, as in that of Pleading. And beſides, as yet he very much dreaded meddling with State-Affairs, and appearing publickly in the *Roſtrum*, which (becauſe of the Importunity of Friends) he could no otherwiſe avoid, than by taking this Voyage, therefore readily embraced the Opportunity of abſenting himſelf. Notwithſtanding which, many are of Opinion, that he was always deſirous of the People's Favour, and more Ambitious than ever *Tiberius* had been, of popular Applauſe; but it's certain that he was forc'd upon, not that he courted publick Buſineſs. And *Tully* relates this of him, That when he declin'd all thoſe Concerns, and would have liv'd privately, his Brother appear'd to him in a Dream, and calling him by his Name, ſaid; *To what purpoſe*, Caius, *are all theſe Delays? There is no poſſibility of avoiding that Fate, which is deſtin'd for us Two, both to Live and Die alike, in Vindication of the People's Right.*

Caius was no ſooner arrived in *Sardinia*, but he gave exemplary Proofs of his true Valour; for he not only excelled all the young Men of his Age, in his early Actions againſt his Enemies; in doing Juſtice to his Inferiors, and in ſhewing all Obedience and Reſpect to his ſuperior Officer; but likewiſe in Diſcretion, Frugality and Induſtry, he ſurpaſſed even thoſe who were much elder than himſelf.

It

It happen'd to be a ſharp and ſickly Winter in *Sardinia*, inſomuch that the General was forc'd to lay an Impoſition upon ſeveral Towns, to ſupply the Soldiers with neceſſary Cloaths: The Cities ſent an Expreſs to *Rome* with a Petition, to be excuſed from that Burthen; the Senate found their Requeſt reaſonable, and order'd the General to find ſome other way of new cloathing the Army. While he was long contriving what courſe to take in this Affair, the Soldiers were reduced to great Extremities; but *Caius* went from one City to another, and by laying before them the reaſonableneſs of that Demand, he ſo far prevailed with them, that of their own accord they cloathed the *Roman* Army. Theſe Tranſactions being carried to *Rome*, and ſeeming to be only the Forerunners of popular Ambition, rais'd new Jealouſies amongſt the Senators: And beſides this, there came Ambaſſadors out of *Africa* from King *Micipſa*, to acquaint the Senate, that their *Maſter*, out of Reſpect to *Caius Gracchus*, had ſent a conſiderable quantity of Corn to the General in *Sardinia*; at which the Senators were ſo much offended, that they turn'd the Ambaſſadors out of the Senate-houſe, and made an Order, that the common Soldiers ſhould be relieved, by ſending others in their room; but that *Oreſtes* ſhould continue upon the Place, and *Caius* alſo, upon the account of his being Treaſurer. But he ſoon finding how Things were carried,

carried, fell into a great Paſſion, and immediately took Shipping for *Rome*: His Appearance there was ſo unexpected, that he was generally Cenſur'd, not only by his Enemies, but alſo by the Commons; who thought it an unreaſonable Thing, that he being *Quæſtor* ſhould deſert the Army before his Commander. When this Miſdemeanour came to be tried before the *Cenſors*, he deſired leave to make his Apology; which he did ſo effectually, that his Auditors quickly entertain'd a better Opinion of him, believing that he had been very much injured. He made it then appear, that he had ſerved Twelve Years in the Army, whereas others are obliged to ſerve only Ten; that he had continued *Quæſtor* to the General Three Years, whereas he might by Law have return'd at the end of One Year; that none but he in that Expedition carried his own Money to the Army, whereas others firſt took care to drink off the Veſſels of Wine which they carried with them, and then to have them better fill'd with the Riches and Spoil of the Country. After this, they brought other Accuſations and Writs againſt him, for creating Differences amongſt the Allies, and being engaged in the Conſpiracy that was diſcover'd about *Fregella*; but he having clear'd himſelf of theſe Things, he not only appear'd wholly innocent of the Crimes laid to his Charge, but made what Intereſt he could to be elected *Tribune*; in which, though he was

generally oppoſed by all Perſons of Quality, yet there came ſuch infinite Numbers of People from all Parts of *Italy*, to Vote for *Caius*, that many wanted Lodgings in the City; and the Field being not large enough to contain the Company, there were ſeveral who gave their Votes from Roofs and Battlements of Houſes: However the Nobility did ſo influence the People, and croſs *Caius*'s Expectations, that he was not return'd the firſt, (as was expected) but the fourth *Tribune*. When he came once to the execution of his Office, it was ſeen preſently who deſerved to have been the firſt *Tribune*; for he was a much better Orator than any of his Cotemporaries; and the Concern which he ſtill retain'd for the Murther of his Brother, made him the bolder in Speaking. He us'd on all Occaſions to remind the People of what had happen'd in that Tumult, and laid before them the Examples of their Anceſtors; how they declared War againſt the *Faliſci*, only for giving ſcurrilous Language to one *Genutius*, a *Tribune* of the People; and ſentenced *C. Vulturius* to death, for taking the Wall of a *Tribune* in the Streets: *Whereas*, ſaid he, *theſe Perſons did, in the Preſence of you all, murther* Tiberius *with Clubs, and dragg'd the ſlaughter'd Body through the middle of the City, to be caſt into the River; even his Friends, as many as could be taken, were put to death immediately, without any Tryal, notwithſtanding that juſt and ancient Cuſtom,*

ſtom, which was always obſerved among our Fore-fathers; that when-ever any One was accuſed of a capital Crime, and did not make his perſonal Appearance in Court, a Trumpet was ſent in the Morning to his Lodging, to ſummon him by ſound of Trumpet to appear: And before this Ceremony was duly performed, the Judges would never proceed to paſs Sentence; ſo cautious and reſerv'd were our Anceſtors about Buſineſs of Life and Death.

Caius having moved the People with ſuch Speeches, (for his Voice was loud and ſtrong) he propoſed Two Laws: The *firſt* was, That who-ever was turn'd out of any publick Office by the People, he ſhould be thereby render'd incapable of bearing any Office afterwards. The *ſecond* was, That if any Magiſtrate ſhall condemn a *Roman* to be baniſhed, without a legal Tryal, the People ſhall be authorized to take cognizance thereof.

One of theſe Laws was manifeſtly levell'd at *M. Octavius*, who, at the Inſtigation of *Tiberius*, had been depriv'd of his *Tribuneſhip*: The other touched *Popilius*, who, in his *Prætorſhip*, had baniſhed all *Tiberius*'s Friends; whereupon *Popilius*, being unwilling to ſtand the hazard of a Tryal, fled out of *Italy*. As for the former Law, it was abrogated by *Caius* himſelf, who declared his readineſs to oblige *Octavius*, for the ſake of his Mother *Cornelia*: This was very acceptable and pleaſing to the People, who had a great Veneration for *Cornelia*, both in reſpect to her Father, and her

Children; and therefore they afterwards erected a Statue of Braſs in Honour of her, with this Inſcription, Cornelia, *the Mother of* Gracchi. There are ſeveral Expreſſions in writing, which he uſed perhaps with too much Affectation and Popularity concerning her, to one of her Adverſaries: *How*, ſaid he, *dare you preſume to reflect upon* Cornelia, *the Mother of* Tiberius? And becauſe the Perſon who made the Reflections, had been ſuſpected for Sodomy, *With what Face*, ſaid he, *can you compare* Cornelia *with your ſelf? Have you brought forth ſuch Children as ſhe has done? And yet all* Rome *knows, that ſhe has refrain'd from the Converſation of Men, longer than you your ſelf have done.* Theſe, and many other ſuch Satyrical Expreſſions, may be collected out of his Writings. He afterwards propoſed ſeveral other Laws, to raiſe the People's Authority, and to detract from the Senate's.

The *firſt* was concerning the publick Lands, which were to be divided amongſt the poor Citizens.

Another was concerning the common Soldiers, that they ſhould be cloathed at the publick Charge, without any diminution of their Pay; and that none ſhould be obliged to ſerve in the Army, who was not full Seventeen Years old.

Another gave an equal Liberty to all the *Italians* in general, of voting at Elections, as was granted to the Citizens of *Rome*.

Ano-

Another was concerning the Price of Bread-corn, which was to be ſold at a lower Rate than formerly to the poor People.

Another was concerning Matters of Judicature, whereby the Authority of the Senate was very much retrenched.

For only Senators were formerly Judges in all Cauſes, by which means their Authority was very much dreaded by the *Roman* Knights, and the People: But he join'd 300 ordinary Gentlemen with the Senators, who were 300 likewiſe in Number; and ordain'd, That a judicial Authority ſhould be equally inveſted in the 600. While he was arguing for the Ratification of this Law, his Behaviour was obſerved to be quite different from others: For all other Orators in their Speeches, uſed to turn their Faces towards the Senate-houſe, and the Place called *Comitium*: But he, on the contrary, was the firſt Man, that in his Harangue to the People, turn'd himſelf the other way towards them, and after that time always obſerved the ſame Poſture. Which however inſignificant that Turn might ſeem, yet it was the Cauſe of no ſmall one in State-Affairs: For he in a manner converted the Government from an *Ariſtocracy* to a *Democracy*, thereby intimating by that Action, That all Orators in propoſing State-Affairs, ought to ſpeak to the People, not the Senate.

As ſoon as the Commonalty had ratified this Law, and given him Power to elect thoſe

whom he approved of, to be Judges, he was inveſted with ſuch an abſolute Power, That the Senate ſubmitted to conſult with him in Matters of Difficulty; and he always took care to adviſe nothing, that might any ways derogate from the Honour of that Body. As for Example: His Reſolution about the Bread-corn, which *Fabius*, the *Propretor*, ſent from *Spain*, was very juſt and honourable; for he perſwaded the Senate to ſell the Corn, and return the Money, to the ſame Provinces which had furniſh'd them with it; and alſo that *Fabius* ſhould be cenſured, for having render'd the *Roman* Government odious and inſupportable to the Provinces abroad. This Propoſal got him an extraordinary Reſpect and Favour among the foreign Provinces; beſides all this, he propoſed Ways for the repeopling of ſeveral ruinous Cities, for repairing the High-ways, and for building publick Granaries. Of all which Works he himſelf undertook the Management and Superintendency; and was never wanting to give neceſſary Orders for the quick Diſpatch of different and great Undertakings; and that too, with ſuch wonderful Expedition and Diligence, as if they had been only one: Inſomuch that all Perſons, even thoſe who hated or fear'd him, ſtood amazed to ſee how active and induſtrious he was in all his Deſigns. As for the People themſelves, they were ſtrangely tranſported at the very Sight of him; eſpecially whenever

ever they ſaw him ſurrounded with Crowds of Labourers, Artificers, Meſſengers, Officers, Soldiers, and Scholars. All theſe he treated with an eaſy Familiarity; yet always took care to ſupport his Dignity, even in his greateſt Condeſcentions, accommodating his Carriage according to the Quality of every particular Perſon: By which means he ſo far prevailed, that his Enemies were look'd upon no better than envious Detractors, when-ever they preſumed to repreſent him either dangerous, raſh, or guilty of the leaſt ill Nature.

He had that peculiar Art of inſinuating himſelf, and gaining by degrees upon the Commonalty, that he became rather more Popular by his common Converſation, than by his publick Harangues.

But his greateſt Endeavour was to put the High-ways into good condition, always taking care to make them handſom and pleaſant, as well as convenient; for they were drawn by his Directions, through the Fields, exactly in a ſtraight Line; ſome paved with hewn Stone, others cover'd with binding Sand, brought thither from the Places adjacent for that Purpoſe: When he met with any Valleys, or deep Holes, occaſion'd by great Floods, he either cauſed them to be fill'd up with Rubbiſh, or Bridges to be built over, ſo well levell'd, that they being of an equal height on both Sides, the whole Work made a beautiful Proſpect. Beſides this, he cauſed

the Ways to be all divided into Miles, (each Mile containing little leſs than Eight Furlongs) and erected Pillars of Stone, to ſignify the diſtance from one Place to another: He likewiſe placed other Stones at ſmall diſtances from one another, on both Sides of the Way, by means whereof Travellers might get eaſier on Horſe-back without Stirrups. For theſe Reaſons, the People highly extoll'd him, and were ready upon all Occaſions to expreſs their Affection towards him. One Day, in an Oration to the People, he declared, that he had only one Favour to requeſt; which, if granted, as he ſhould think it the greateſt Obligation in the World; ſo, if it were denied, he would never blame them for the Refuſal. This Expreſſion made the World believe, That his Ambition was to be *Conſul*; and it was generally expected, that he would be both *Conſul* and *Tribune* at the ſame time. When the Day for Election of *Conſuls* came, and all in great Expectation, to ſee what would be the Event of that Days Work; he appeared in the Field with *Caius Fannius*, and made all the Intereſt he could for him, that he might be choſen *Conſul*. This Intereſt was ſo conſiderably uſeful to *Fannius*, that he was immediately choſen *Conſul*; and *Caius* likewiſe was then elected *Tribune* the ſecond time, without his own ſeeking, or petitioning for it, but at the voluntary Motion of the People.

When

When he underſtood that the Senators were his declared Enemies, and that *Fannius* himſelf was none of the trueſt Friends, he began again to flatter the People with other new Laws. He propoſed that a Colony of *Roman* Citizens might be ſent to Re-people *Tarentum* and *Capua*, and that all the *Latins* ſhould enjoy the ſame Privileges with the Citizens of *Rome*. But the Senate apprehending that he would at laſt grow too Powerful and Dangerous, took a new and unuſual courſe to alienate the Peoples Affections from him, by their gratifying them in things beyond what they could reaſonably expect. *Livius Druſus* was fellow-*Tribune* with *Caius*, a Perſon of as good a Family, and as well Educated as any amongſt the *Romans*, and no ways inferior to thoſe, who for their Eloquence and Riches were the moſt Famous and Powerful Men of that time. To him therefore the chief Senators make their Application, exhorting him to fall upon *Caius*; and that he would engage himſelf on their ſide in oppoſition to him, not by uſing any force, or oppoſing of the common People, but in gratifying and obliging them with ſuch unreaſonable things, as might otherwiſe very well deſerve to be deteſted.

Livius offer'd to ſerve the Senate with his Authority in this Buſineſs, and in order thereunto, enacted ſuch Laws as were in reality neither honourable nor advantageous for the Publick;

Publick; his whole Deſign being to out-do *Caius* in pleaſing and cajoling the Populace, (as Comedians do) with obſequious Flattery and Popularity; whereby the Senate gave plain Teſtimonies, that they were not at all diſpleaſed with *Caius*'s management of Affairs, but privately deſigned either to ruine him utterly, or to leſſen at leaſt his Reputation. For when *Caius* propoſed the Re-peopling of only two *Colonies* abroad, and mentioned the moſt conſiderable Citizens for that purpoſe, they accuſed him for abuſing the People; but on the contrary were pleaſed with *Druſus*, when he propoſed the ſending of Twelve Colonies abroad, and each to conſiſt of 3000 Perſons, and thoſe too the moſt beggarly Raſcals that he could find. When *Caius* divided the publick Fields amongſt the poor Citizens, and charged them with a ſmall Rent, annually to be paid into the Exchequer, they were angry at him, as one who pretended to gratifie the People only for his own Intereſt; yet afterwards they commended *Livius*, though he exempted them from paying even that little Acknowledgement. Beſides they were diſpleaſed with *Caius*, for giving the *Latins* an equal Power with the *Romans*, of voting at the Election of Magiſtrates; but when *Livius* propoſed, that it might not be lawful for a *Roman* Captain to ſtrike a *Latin* Soldier, they promoted the paſſing of that Law: And *Livius* in all his Speeches

Speeches to the Mobile, always told them, That he propoſed no Laws but ſuch as were agreeable to the Senate, who had a particular regard to the Peoples Advantage. And this truly was the only Action during the time of his *Tribuneſhip*, which proved advantageous to the Publick; for the People were by this inclined to ſhew a more than ordinary Love and Reſpect to the Senate: And though they formerly ſuſpected and hated the principal Senators, yet *Livius* appeas'd and mitigated all their former Perverſneſs and Animoſity, by convincing them, that he had done nothing in favour and for the benefit of the Commons, without their Advice and Approbation. But the greateſt Credit which *Druſus* got for his Kindneſs and Juſtice towards the People, was, that he never ſeem'd to propoſe any Law, either of his own Head, or for his own Advantage; for he committed the charge of ſeeing the Colonies rightly ſettled, to other Commiſſioners: Neither did he ever concern himſelf with the diſtribution of the Moneys; whereas *Caius* was always the principal Man concern'd in ſuch conſiderable Tranſactions.

When *Rubrius*, another *Tribune* of the People, had propoſed to have *Carthage* again Inhabited, which had been formerly demoliſhed by *Scipio*, it fell to *Caius*'s lot to ſee the ſame performed, and for that purpoſe he ſailed into *Africa*. *Druſus* took this oppertunity of his

his abſence, to inſinuate himſelf ſtill more into the Peoples Affections; which he did chiefly by accuſing *Fulvius*, who was a particular Friend to *Caius*, and deputed a Commiſſioner with him for the diviſion of the Lands. This *Fulvius* was a Man of a turbulent Spirit, and notoriouſly hated by the Senate; and beſides, he was ſuſpected by others to have fomented a Difference between them and their *Confederates*, and under-hand to have perſwaded the *Italians* to rebel; though there was no other way to prove the truth of theſe Accuſations, than by his being a ſuſpicious Perſon, and of a ſeditious Temper. This was one principal Cauſe of *Caius*'s Ruine; for part of the Envy which fell upon *Fulvius*, was derived upon him: And when *Scipio Africanus* happen'd to die ſuddenly, and no outward Cauſe of ſuch an unexpected Death appear'd, except ſome marks of Blows upon his Body, which intimated that he had been violently Murder'd, (as we have related in the Hiſtory of his Life) the greateſt part of the Blame was thrown upon *Fulvius*, becauſe he was his mortal Enemy, and that very Day had reflected upon *Scipio* publickly in the Tribunal; nor was *Caius* himſelf clear from Suſpition: However ſuch an horrible Murther, and committed too upon the Perſon of one of the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Men in *Rome*, was never either puniſhed or enquired into thorowly; for the *Mobile* oppoſed

poſed and hinder'd the Proceedings of Juſtice, for fear that *Caius* ſhould be found acceſſary to the Murther; but theſe things were ſometime after. But in *Africa*, where at preſent *Caius* was engaged in the Re-peopling of *Carthage*, (which he named *Junonia*) many ominous Prodigies which preſaged Miſchief, are reported to have been ſent from the Gods. For a ſudden guſh of Wind falling upon the firſt Colours, and the Enſign holding it faſt, the Staff broke: Another ſudden Storm blew away the Sacrifices which were laid upon the Altars, and threw them beyond the bounds of the City: And beſides all this, the Wolves made an Incurſion, and carried away the very Marks that were ſet up, whereby they deſigned the Precincts of the City. *Caius* notwithſtanding all this, order'd and diſpatch'd the whole Buſineſs in the ſpace of 70 Days, and then return'd to *Rome*, underſtanding how *Fulvius* was proſecuted by *Druſus*, and that the preſent juncture of Affairs would not ſuffer him to be abſent; for *Lucius Hoſtilius*, (one who ſided much with the Nobility, and of no ſmall Authority in the Senate, who had formerly ſued to be *Conſul*, but was repulſed by *Caius*'s Intereſt, whereby *Fannius* was elected) was in a fair way now of being choſen *Conſul*, becauſe he had a numerous company of Friends; and it was generally believ'd, if he did obtain it, that he would wholly ruine *Caius*'s Intereſt, whoſe Power

was

was already in a declining Condition; and the People were not ſo apt to admire his Actions as formerly, becauſe there were ſeveral others who every Day contrived new ways to pleaſe the People, with which the Senate did readily comply. After his Return to *Rome*, he quitted his Houſe on the *Palatine Mount*, and went to live in a certain Place near to the publick Market-place, thereby endeavouring to make himſelf more popular in thoſe Parts, where moſt of the pitiful and meaneſt Inhabitants were lodged. In the next place he endeavour'd to propoſe other Laws, in order to have them ratified by popular Votes; upon which account he conven'd a prodigious number of People from all the adjacent Places: But the Senate perſwaded *Fannius* the *Conſul*, to command all Perſons, who were not Natives and Inhabitants of *Rome*, to depart the City. A new and unuſual Proclamation was thereupon made, prohibiting any of the Allies or Confederates to appear at *Rome* during that time. *Caius* on the contrary publiſh'd an Edict, accuſing the *Conſul* for what he had done, and ſetting forth to the Confederates, that if they would continue upon the Place, they might be aſſured of his Aſſiſtance and Protection. However he was not ſo good as his Word; for though he ſaw one of his own familiar Friends and Companions dragg'd to Priſon by *Fannius*'s Officers, he notwithſtanding paſſed by, without either aſſiſting him,

or

or taking any notice of him: Which he did, either becauſe he was afraid to ſtand the teſt of his Power, which was already decreaſed, or becauſe he (as himſelf reported) was unwilling to give his Enemies an opportunity, which they very much deſired, of making an Inſurrection. About that time there happen'd likewiſe a Difference between him and his fellow-Officers upon this occaſion: A Prize was to be fought before the People in the Market-place, and moſt of the Officers erected Scaffolds round about, with an intention of letting them for Advantage. *Caius* commanded them to take down their Scaffolds, that the poor People might ſee the Sport without paying any thing. But no body obeying theſe Orders of his, he gather'd together ſome Labourers, and overthrew all the Scaffolds, the very Night before the *Prize* was to be play'd, ſo that by the next Morning the Market-place was clear'd, and the common People had an opportunity of ſeeing the Paſtime *gratis*. Upon this account, the Rabble eſteem'd him as a Man of great Generoſity; but he very much diſobliged the *Tribunes*, and the Action was look'd upon as a piece of Raſh and full of Preſumption.

This was thought to be the chief Reaſon, that he fail'd of being a third time elected *Tribune*; not but that he had the moſt Votes, but becauſe his *Colleagues* out of Revenge cauſed falſe *Returns* to be made. But as to this

Matter

Matter there is not much credit to be given: Certain it is, he very much reſented this Repulſe, and behav'd himſelf with an unuſual ſort of Arrogance towards ſome of his Adverſaries, who were joyful at this Defeat of his, telling them, That all their Mirth was a *Sardonian Laugh* only; they being wholly in the dark, as to thoſe Intrigues which he was carrying on.

As ſoon as *Opimius* was choſen *Conſul*, they preſently cancell'd ſeveral of *Caius*'s Laws, eſpecially as to what he had enacted in reference to ſome Deſigns at *Carthage*, omitting nothing which was moſt probable to enrage him, that from ſome effect of his Paſſion they might find out a colourable pretence to put him to death. *Caius* at firſt bore theſe things very patiently; but afterwards at the Inſtigation of his Friends, eſpecially *Fulvius*, he reſolved to raiſe Forces, and oppoſe the Authority of the *Conſuls*. His Mother *Cornelia* alſo is reported by ſome to have aſſiſted him in carrying on this Sedition, by ſending privately ſeveral Strangers into *Rome*, under pretence as if they came to be hired there for Harveſt-men; and ſhe acquainted her Son with this Project, by writing Letters to him in Cyphers: However 'tis confidently affirmed by others, that *Cornelia* did not in the leaſt approve of theſe Actions.

When the Day came, in which *Opimius* deſigned to abrogate the Laws of *Caius*, both Parties

Parties met very early at the *Capitol*; and the *Conſul* having performed all the Rites uſual in their Sacrifices, one *Quintus Attyllius*, a Serjeant, carrying out the Entrails of the Beaſt, ſpoke to *Fulvius*, and his Friends who ſtood about him, *Ye factious Citizens*, ſays he, *make way for honeſt Men.* Some report, that beſides this provoking Language, he extended his naked Arm towards 'em, which is reckon'd, it ſeems, as a piece of Scorn and Contempt. Upon this they preſently ſlew him, with a ſort of *Bodkins* or *Pencils*, which are uſed in Writing; though ſome ſay that at preſent they had furniſh'd themſelves with 'em for this purpoſe only. This Murther cauſed a ſudden Conſternation in the whole Aſſembly, and the Heads of each Faction had their different Reſentments of it: As for *Caius*, he was in a great Paſſion, and ſeverely reprimanded ſome of his own Party, becauſe they had given their Adverſaries a colourable pretence to proceed againſt them, which they had ſo long hop'd for, *Opimius* preſently cloſing with this occaſion, ſtood up, and excited the People to Revenge; but there happening a great ſhower of Rain on the ſudden, it put an end to the Buſineſs of that Day.

Early the next Morning the *Conſul* ſummon'd the Senate, and whilſt he adviſed with the Senators in the Senate-houſe, the Corps of *Attyllius* was laid upon a Bier, and brought through the Market-place, being there ex-

poſed to open view, juſt before the Senate-Houſe, every one expreſſing a great deal of Sorrow and Lamentation. *Opimius* was not at all ignorant, that this was deſign'd to be done; however he ſeem'd to be ſurprized, and wonder'd what the meaning of it ſhould be: the Senators therefore preſently went out, to know the occaſion of it; and ſtanding about the Corps, ſome condoled the Perſon that was ſlain; all repreſented it as an inhumane and barbarous Action. In the mean time, there were ſome then preſent, who were ſenſible of, and very much reſented this Partiality of the Senators; conſidering, that when they themſelves had not only aſſaſſinated *Tiberius Gracchus*, as he was executing his Office in the very *Capitol*, but had alſo thrown his mangled Body into the River; yet that now they ſhould expoſe to open view; that they ſhould bewail and honour with their Preſence, the Corps of a mean Serjeant, (who though he might perhaps die wrongfully, was however in a great meaſure the occaſion of it himſelf) and by theſe means to undermine him, who was the only Defender and Safeguard of the People.

The Senators after ſome time withdrew, and preſently order'd, that *Opimius* the *Conſul* ſhould be inveſted with ſuch Power, whereby he might protect the Commonwealth, and ſuppreſs all Tyrants. This being decreed, he preſently commanded the Senators to arm themſelves, and the *Roman Knights* to be in a readi-

readineſs very early the next Morning, and every one of 'em to be attended with two Servants well armed. *Fulvius* on the other ſide accoutred himſelf, and got together the Rabble. *Caius* at that time returning from the Market-place, made a ſtop juſt before his Father's Statue, and fixing his Eyes for ſome time upon it, remain'd in a deep Contemplation; at length he ſigh'd, let fall a few Tears, and departed. This made no ſmall Impreſſion upon thoſe who ſaw it, and they began to upbraid themſelves, that they ſhould deſert and betray ſo worthy a Man as *Caius*. They therefore went directly to his Houſe, remaining there as a Guard about it all Night, though in a different manner from thoſe who were a Guard to *Fulvius*; for they with a great deal of Drink and Noiſe paſs'd away the Night; and *Fulvius* himſelf, being the firſt who was made drunk, ſpoke and acted many things, very unbecoming a Man of his Character: on the other ſide, the Party which guarded *Caius*, were very diligent, relieving one another by turns, and prudently forecaſting, as is uſual in all publick Calamities, what the iſſue of things might be. As ſoon as Day-light appear'd, they rouzed *Fulvius*, who as yet ſlept very ſecure, by reaſon of the Doſe he took over-night; and having armed themſelves with the Weapons which hung up in his Houſe, that were formerly taken from the *Gauls*, whom he conquer'd in the time of his *Conſulſhip*, they

presently with Threats and loud Acclamations made their way towards the *Aventine Mount*.

Caius could not be perſwaded to arm himſelf, but put on his Gown, as if he had been going to the Aſſembly of the People, only with this difference, that under it he had then a ſhort Dagger by his ſide. As he was going out, his Wife came running to him at the Gate, holding him with one Hand, and with her other a young Child of his; ſhe thus *tenderly* beſpoke him: *Alas* Caius, *I don't now part with you, as if you were going to make Speeches to the People, either as a Tribune or a Law-giver; nor as if you were going to ſome glorious War: for though then you might perhaps have been ſubject to that Fate, which all muſt ſometime or other ſubmit to, yet you had left me this mitigation of my Sorrow, that your Fall was honourable. But now,* Caius, *you expoſe your Perſon to the infamous Murderers of* Tiberius, *and that too unarm'd, chuſing rather to ſuffer the worſt of Injuries, than be in any capacity of doing the leaſt your ſelf; but what is yet far more than all, even your very Death at this time can't be any ways ſerviceable to the publick Good. Faction prevails; Power and Arms are now the only meaſures of Juſtice: had your Brother fell before* Numantia, *the Enemy would generouſly have given back what then remain'd of* Tiberius; *but ſuch is my hard Fate, that I probably muſt be an humble Suppliant to the Floods and to the Waves, that they would ſome-*

where

where diſcover to my view, their ſacred charge of your Relicts; for what truſt is there now left for you, either from the Laws, or the Gods, ſince they have ſlain Tiberius? *Licinia* thus bewailing, *Caius* by degrees getting looſe from her Embraces, ſilently withdrew himſelf, being accompanied by his Friends; ſhe endeavouring to catch him by the Gown, fell proſtrate upon the Earth, lying there for ſome time ſpeechleſs: her Servants took her up for dead, and convey'd her to her Brother *Craſſus*.

Fulvius, when the People were gather'd together in a full Body, by the advice of *Caius*, ſent his youngeſt Son into the Market-place, with an Herald's Rod in his Hand. He being a very handſom Youth, and modeſtly addreſſing himſelf, with Tears in his Eyes, and a becoming Baſhfulneſs, humbly offer'd Propoſals of Agreement to the *Conſul* and the whole Senate. The greateſt part of the Aſſembly were inclinable to accept of the Propoſals; but *Opimius* was of opinion, that it did not become them to ſend Meſſengers, and capitulate with the Senate; but to ſurrender themſelves like good Citizens, and endeavour to merit their Pardon by Submiſſion. He commanded the Youth not to return, unleſs they would comply with theſe Conditions. *Caius*, as 'tis reported, was very forward to go and clear himſelf before the Senate; but none of his Friends conſenting to it, *Fulvius* ſent his Son a ſecond time to intercede for 'em,

as before. But *Opimius*, who chiefly deſign'd that a Battle ſhould enſue, cauſed the Youth to be apprehended, and committed into ſafe Cuſtody; and then with a Company of his Foot-Soldiers, and ſome *Cretan Archers*, ſet upon that Party which was under the Command of *Fulvius*. The Archers did ſuch Execution, and wounded their Enemies ſo mortally, that they were ſoon put to flight. *Fulvius* abſconded for a time in an old *Bagnio*; but ſhortly after being diſcover'd, he and his eldeſt Son were ſlain together. *Caius* was not obſerved to encounter any one; but extremely concerned at theſe Outrages, he retired to *Diana*'s Temple: there he attempted to kill himſelf, but was hinder'd by his faithful Friends, *Pomponius* and *Licinius*: they took his Sword away from him, and were very urgent that he would endeavour to make his Eſcape. It's reported, that falling upon his Knees, and lifting up his Hands, he prayed earneſtly to the *Goddeſs*, that the *Romans*, as a Puniſhment for their Ingratitude and Treachery, might always remain in perpetual Slavery; for as ſoon as a Proclamation was made of a Pardon, they preſently deſerted him.

Caius therefore endeavour'd now to make his Eſcape, but was purſued ſo cloſe by his Enemies, as far as the *wooden Bridge*, that from thence he narrowly eſcap'd. There it was that his two truſty Friends begg'd of him,

to

to preſerve his own Perſon by flight, whilſt they in the mean time would keep their Poſt, and maintain the Paſſage; neither could their Enemies, till they were both ſlain, paſs the Bridge. *Caius* had no other Companion in his flight but one *Philocrates*, a Servant of his. As he run along, it's true, every body encourag'd him, and wiſh'd him Succeſs, (as ſtanders by may do to thoſe who are engaged in a Battle) but no body either freely lent him any Aſſiſtance, or ſo much as furniſh'd him with a Horſe; though that he earneſtly deſir'd, becauſe his Enemies had gain'd Ground, and got very near him: however he had ſtill time enough to hide himſelf in a little Grove, conſecrated to the *Furies*. In that place, his Servant *Philocrates* having firſt ſlain him, preſently afterwards kill'd himſelf alſo, and fell dead upon his Maſter; though ſome affirm it for a Truth, how that they were both taken alive by their Enemies, and that *Philocrates* embrac'd his Maſter ſo cloſe, that they could not wound *Caius* till his Servant was ſlain.

They ſay, that when *Caius*'s Head was cut off, and carried away by one of his Murderers, *Septimuleius*, *Opimius*'s Friend, met him, and forc'd it from him; becauſe, before the Battle began, they had made Proclamation, that whoever ſhould bring the Heads either of *Caius* or *Fulvius*, he ſhould, as a Reward, receive their weight in Gold. *Septimuleius* therefore having fix'd *Caius*'s Head upon the top of his Spear, came and preſented it to

Opimius the *Conſul*. They preſently brought the Scales, and it was found to weigh above 17 Pounds. But in this Affair, *Septimuleius* gave as great ſigns of his Knavery, as he had done before of his Cruelty; for having taken out the Brains, he fill'd the Skull with Lead. There were others who brought the Head of *Fulvius* too; but being mean, inconſiderable Perſons, were turn'd away without the promis'd Reward. The Bodies of theſe two Perſons, as well as of the reſt who were ſlain, to the number of 3000 Men, were all thrown into the River; their Goods were confiſcated, and their Widows forbidden to put themſelves into Mourning: but they dealt more ſeverely with *Licinia*, *Caius*'s Wife, and wrong'd her even of her Jointure; and as an addition ſtill to all their Inhumanity, they barbarouſly murder'd *Fulvius*'s youngeſt Son; his Crime was not, that he took up Arms againſt 'em, or that he was preſent in the Battle, but becauſe he had propoſed Articles of Agreement: for this he was firſt impriſon'd, then ſlain.

But that which enraged the common People beyond all theſe things, was, becauſe at this time (in memory of his Succeſs) *Opimius* built the *Temple* of *Concord*, as if he glory'd and triumph'd in the Slaughter of ſo many Citizens; wherefore ſome body in the Night-time, under the Inſcription of the Temple, added this Verſe:

Ἔργον ἀπονοίας, ναὸν ὁμονοίας ποιεῖ.

Folly and Diſcord Concords Temple built.

Opi-

Opimius was the first, who being *Consul*, presumed to usurp the Power of a *Dictator*, and condemned, without any Trial, not only 3000 Citizens, but *Caius Gracchus*, and *Fulvius Flaccus*; One of whom had triumph'd, and been *Consul*; the other far excell'd all his Cotemporaries in Vertue and Honour. Notwithstanding this, *Opimius* could not restrain himself from Extortion and Bribery; for when he was sent Ambassador to *Jugurtha*, King of *Numidia*, he was there corrupted by Presents, and at his Return being shamefully convicted of it, he was hated and reproach'd by the common People; so that growing melancholy, and his Spirits sinking, his Infamy still increas'd with his years.

It quickly now appear'd to the World, what Respect and Veneration they had for the Memory of the *Gracchi*. They order'd their Statues to be made, and fix'd up in publick view; they consecrated the Places where they were slain, and thither brought the first Fruits of every thing, according to the Season of the Year, for to make their Offerings. Many came likewise thither to their Devotions, and daily worshipp'd there, as at the Temples of the Gods.

It's reported, that as *Cornelia*, their Mother, bore the loss of her two Sons with a noble and undaunted Spirit; so in reference to the Temples in which they were slain, she said, *Their Memory deserved such Monuments.* She removed after-

afterwards, and dwelt near the Mount *Mycene*, not at all altering her former way of Living. She was very much reſpected and beloved, and kept open Houſe for the Entertainment of all Strangers, having daily a great number of *Grecians* and Learned Men, who reſorted thither: Nor was there any foreign Prince but received Gifts from her, and preſented her again. Thoſe who were moſt converſant with her, were much diverted, when e'er ſhe pleaſed to entertain 'em with any Relation concerning her Father *Scipio African*, or his way of Living. But it was very ſurprizing to hear her make mention of her Sons, without any Tears or ſign of Grief; and to give a full Account of all their Deeds and Misfortunes, as unconcern'd, as if ſhe had been relating the Hiſtory of ſome ancient Heroes. This made ſome imagine, that Age, or the greatneſs of her Afflictions, had made her delirous, and wholly inſenſible of all her Calimities: But they who were of that opinion, had no Notion at all, how much a noble Birth, or a good Education, could conquer any Affliction; and though envious Fortune may often be more ſucceſsful, and may ſmother vertuous Actions, yet with the worſer Calamities, ſhe can't bereave us of that tranquility of Mind, by which we generouſly bear them.

The End of the Lives of the Gracchi, Tiberius *and* Caius.

The

The Compariſon

OF

Tiberius and *Caius*, *Gracchi*, with *Agis* and *Cleomenes*.

WE having given an Account ſeverally of theſe Perſons, it remains only, that we ſhould take a View of them, in Compariſon with one another.

As for the *Gracchi*; the greateſt Detractors, and their worſt Enemies, could not but allow, that they had a Genius to Vertue, beyond all other *Romans*, which was improved alſo by a generous Education. *Agis* and *Cleomenes* ſeem'd to have had better natural Parts, and a more ſolid Judgment; for though they wanted all the Advantages of good Education, and were bred up in thoſe very Cuſtoms, Manners, and Way of Living, which had for a long time corrupted others, yet they were publick Examples of Temperance and Frugality.

Beſides, the *Gracchi* happening to live when *Rome* had her greateſt Repute for Honour, and vertuous Actions, might juſtly have been aſhamed, if they had not inherited the Vertues of their Anceſtors: Whereas the other Two had Parents of different Morals; and though they found their Country in a ſinking Condition, and debauch'd, yet that did not quench their forward Zeal to what was juſt and honourable.

The

The Generoſity and Integrity of the Two *Romans*, was chiefly remarkable in this, That in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs, they kept themſelves from the imputation of Bribery: Whereas *Agis* might juſtly be offended, if he had only that mean Commendation given him, that he took nothing wrongfully from any Man, being he diſtributed his own Fortunes, which amounted in ready Money to the Value of 600 Talents, amongſt his Fellow-Citizens; and ſurely Extortion muſt appear a Crime of a ſtrange Nature to him, who eſteem'd it a piece of Covetouſneſs, to poſſeſs, though ne'er ſo juſtly gotten, greater Riches than his Neighbours.

Their Politicks likewiſe, and Tranſactions, in reference to State-Affairs, were of a very different Nature. The chiefeſt Things in general that the Two *Romans* commonly aim'd at, was the repairing of Cities, and mending of High-ways; and in particular, the moſt generous Deſign which *Tiberius* is fam'd for, was his diviſion of the Lands amongſt the poor People: And *Caius* gain'd his greateſt Reputation, by the addition of 300 of the Commonalty to the ſame number of Senators, inveſting them with an equal Authority.

Whereas the Alteration which *Agis* and *Cleomenes* made, was in a quite different Manner. They did not redreſs Things by little and little, and cure ſmall Diſtempers; for that would have been (according to *Plato*) like cutting off one of the *Hydra*'s Heads, which was the only means to increaſe the Number: But they made a thorow Reformation, and at once free'd their Country from all Grievances; or to ſpeak more truly, they took away that Change, which was the Cauſe of all their Calamities, and ſo reſtor'd their City to its Ancient State.

However this muſt be confeſs'd in the behalf of the *Gracchi*, That their Undertakings were always oppoſed

ſed by men of the greateſt Quality. But on the other ſide, thoſe Things which were firſt attempted by *Agis*, and afterwards conſummated by *Cleomenes*, were ſupported by the famous Authority of thoſe Ancient *Laws* concerning *Frugality* and *Levelling*, which were inſtituted by *Lycurgus*, ratified and confirmed by *Apollo*. It is alſo further obſervable, That from the Tranſactions of the *Gracchi*, the City of *Rome* received no Additions to her former Greatneſs, whereas, by the Conduct of *Cleomenes*, *Greece* preſently ſaw, that *Sparta* exerted her Sovereign Power over all *Peloponeſus*, and ſhe ſtill ſought to enlarge her Dominions, with the greateſt Princes of that Age; deſigning by all her warlike Actions, to ſet *Greece* at liberty, from her ſubjection to the *Gauls* and *Illyrians*, and reſtore her Government, as formerly, to the Race of *Hercules*.

From their different manner of Dying, we may alſo make ſome Obſervations, in relation to their Courage. The *Gracchi*, fighting with their Fellow-Citizens, were both ſlain, as they endeavour'd to make their Eſcape; but *Agis* willingly ſubmitted to his Fate, rather than any Citizen ſhould be in danger of their Lives. *Cleomenes* alſo being affronted and abuſed, made an effort toward Revenge, but failing of that, generouſly fell by his own Hand.

But on the contrary we muſt conſider, That *Agis* never did a great Action worthy a Commander, being prevented by an untimely Death. And as for thoſe heroick Actions of *Cleomenes*, we may juſtly compare with them that of *Tiberius*'s, when he was the firſt who attempted to ſcale the Walls of *Carthage*, it being look'd upon as no mean Exploit. To which may be added likewiſe, the Peace which he concluded with the *Numantines*, by which he ſaved the Lives of 20000 *Romans*, who otherwiſe had certainly been cut off. And *Caius*, not only at this Place, but in *Sardinia*

too,

too, behaved himſelf very valiantly; that their early Actions were no ſmall Argument, that afterwards they might have been deſervedly compared with the chiefeſt of the *Roman* Commanders, if they had not died ſo young. *Agis* proceeded but faintly in the Management of publick Affairs; and meeting too with ſome Diſappointments, by the Craft of *Ageſilaus*, he fruſtrated the Expectations of the Citizens, as to the *diviſion* of the *Lands*; and was conſtrained to leave all his Deſigns imperfect and unfiniſh'd, only for want of a manly Reſolution. *Cleomenes*, on the contrary, acted more boldly and boiſterouſly in all his publick Tranſactions, and unjuſtly ſlew the *Ephore*, whom he might by Conqueſt have gain'd over to his Party; or elſe might eaſily have baniſh'd, as he did ſeveral others of the City: For to cut off any Members, unleſs in the extremeſt Neceſſity, is neither the part of a good *Chirurgeon*, nor a *Politician*, but argues Unskilfulneſs in both; and in the latter, Cruelty is added to Injuſtice.

Neither of the *Gracchi* were forward to be engaged in a Civil War; and *Caius* is reported to have avoided all manner of Revenge, even when his Life was aim'd at, ſhowing himſelf always valiant againſt a foreign Enemy, but wholly unactive in a Sedition. This was the Reaſon that he went from his own Houſe unarm'd, and was not preſent in the Battle; which makes it evident, that he was provided rather, not to do any harm to others, than not to ſuffer any himſelf. Even the very flight of the *Gracchi*, muſt not be look'd upon as an Argument of their mean Spirit, but an honourable Retreat from endangering of others: For if they had ſtay'd, they muſt either have yielded to thoſe who aſſail'd 'em, or elſe have fought 'em in their own defence. The greateſt Crime that can be laid to *Tiberius*'s Charge, was the depoſing of his Fellow-*Tribune*, and that

that he afterwards ſubſtituted *Caius* in his room: And as for the Death of *Attyllius*, it is falſly and unjuſtly attributed to *Caius*; for he was ſlain unknown to him, and much to his Grief.

On the contrary, *Cleomenes* (not to mention the Murther of the *Ephore*) ſet all the Slaves at liberty, and govern'd by himſelf alone in reality, having a Partner only for ſhow; having made choice of his Brother *Euclid*, who was one of the ſame Family. He alſo prevail'd upon *Archidamas*, (who was the next Heir to the Kingdom of the other Line) that he would venture to return home from *Meſſene*; but after his being ſlain, becauſe *Cleomenes* did not endeavour to revenge his Death, he gave an Occaſion of being juſtly ſuſpected, that he was privy to it himſelf. Truly, *Lycurgus*, whoſe Example he pretends to imitate, after he had voluntarily ſettled his Kingdom upon *Charilaus*, his Brother's Son; fearing, leſt if the Youth ſhould chance to die by Accident, he might be ſuſpected for it, he travell'd a long time, and would not return again to *Sparta*, till *Charilaus* had a Son, and an Heir to his Kingdoms. But we have ne'er another *Grecian*, who is worthy to be compared with *Lycurgus*: for amongſt the Deeds of *Cleomenes*, there were greater Innovations, and worſe Faults than theſe.

They therefore who ſtrictly examine their different Manners, may obſerve, That the two *Grecians* were Diſturbers even from their Youth, and inclining to be Tyrants; that *Tiberius* and *Caius* by nature had too great a deſire after Glory and Honours; and beſides, they never ſtood in Competition for any thing; but as ſoon as the Contention began with their Adverſaries, their Heat and Paſſions would ſo far prevail beyond their natural Temper, that by them, as by ill Winds, they were driven afterwards to all their raſh Undertakings. What could be more

juſt

just and honourable, than their first Design, had not the Power and the Faction of the Rich, by endeavouring to abrogate that Law, engag'd 'em both in those fatal Quarrels; the one, for his own Preservation; the other, to revenge his Brother's Death, who was Murder'd without any Law or Justice.

From the Account therefore which has been given, you your self may perceive the Difference; which if it were to be pronounc'd of every one singly, I should affirm *Tiberius* to have excell'd them all in Vertue; that young *Agis* had been guilty of the fewest Miscarriages; and that in Action and Boldness *Caius* came far short of *Cleomenes*.

FINIS.